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CONTENTS OF VOLUME 63 (1959)

A512JA	PAGE
A1(*11' A 77 . C 7 . "TI C . F.1 1'	I
Anderson, W. F. Rev. of Chadwick, <i>The Decipherment of Linear B</i>	299
Bellinger, L. Rev. of Guerrini, Le stoffe copte del Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Antica col-	
lezione)	320
Benson, J. L. Rev. of Will, Korinthiaka	305
Benton, S. Rev. of Willemsen, Olympische Forschungen III. Dreifusskessel von Olympia Bernal, I. Rev. of Lister, Archaeological Excavations in the Northern Sierra Madra Occidental,	94
Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico	325
Bieber, M. Rev. of Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age	99
Rev. of Becatti, Colonna di Marco Aurelio	107
Blake, M. Rev. of Stern, Receuil général des mosäiques de la Gaule. I. Gaule-Belgique	216
von Blanckenhagen, P. H. Note on Guido Freiherr von Kaschnitz-Weinberg	87
Blegen, C. W. and Lang, M. The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1958 Bloch, H. The Serapeum of Ostia and the Brick-Stamps of 123 A.D.	121
Boardman, J. Rev. of Johansen, Exochi. Ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld	225
von Bothmer, D. see Vermeule, C.	398
Rev. of Ure and Ure, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Great Britain, fasc. 12, Reading,	139
fasc. 1	309
see Vermeule, C.	329
Brann, E. An Early Protoattic Hydria	178
Brogan, O. Rev. of Rolland, Fouilles de Glanum (Gallia, Supp. XI)	317
Rev. of Schoppa and Schmidt-Glassner, Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Gallien, Ger-	5 /
manien und Britannien	410
Broneer, O. Rev. of Himmelmann-Wildschütz, ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ	103
Rev. of Howland, The Athenian Agora, V. The Greek Lamps and their survivals	401
Broughton, T. R. S. Rev. of Leschi, Études d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire africaine	317
Burton, V. Rev. of Saad, Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs	288
Cambitoglou, A. Rev. of Hafner, Zum Epheben Westmacott	307
Cammann, S. V. R. Rev. of Groslier and Arthaud, The Arts and Civilization of Angkor	321
Clairmont, C. Rev. of Dugas and Flacelière, Thésée, Images et Récits	403
Comfort, H. Rev. of Chenet and Gaudron, La céramique sigillée d'Argonne des IIe et IIIe siècles	III
An Arretine-Type Signature from Lezoux	179
An Unusual Roman Bowl at Strasbourg	277
Cook, R. M. and Woodhead, A. G. The Diffusion of the Greek Alphabet	175
Cox, D. H. Rev. of Noe, Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi	94
Davis, E. M. Rev. of Roberts (ed.), River Basin Surveys Papers, Nos. 91-94	328
Edmonson, C. N. Rev. of Klaffenbach (ed.), Inscriptiones Graecae, Vol. IX, Pt. I, ii, Inscriptiones	
Acarnaniae	213
Edwards, G. R. The Gordion Campaign of 1958: Preliminary Report	263
Ekholm, G. F. Rev. of Dark, Mixtee Ethnohistory	327
Emery, I. Rev. of Kent, The Cultivation and Weaving of Cotton in the Prehistoric Southwestern	
United States	323
Emery, W. B. Rev. of Dunham, Royal Cemeteries of Kush, Vol. 2	89
Finkelstein, J. J. Rev. of Lachemann, Excavations at Nusi, VII	290
Fischer, H. G. Rev. of The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu, Vol. V: The Temple Proper,	***
Part I	195
Foltiny, S. The Oldest Representations of Wheeled Vehicles in Central and Southeastern Europe Rev. of Scheibenreiter, Das Hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Hadersdorf am Kamp,	53
N.Ö.	88

Gettens, R. J. Rev. of Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, Vol. V 285 Gimbutas, M. Rev. of Narr, Schulz-Weidner, Fürer-Haimendorf, Christie, Loehr, Jettmar, Menghin, Abriss der Vorgeschichte 88 Glidden, H. W. Rev. of Miles, Contributions to Arabic Metrology. I. Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps Acquired by The American Numismatic Society, 1951-1956 322 Graham, J. W. The Residential Quarter of the Minoan Palace 47 Griffin, J. B. Rev. of Caldwell, Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States 414 Hammond, P. C. Jr. Pattern Families in Nabataean Painted Ware 371 Hanfmann, G. M. A. Rev. of McEwan, Braidwood, Frankfort, Güterbock, Haines, Kantor, Kraeling, Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah 292 Rev. of Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period. Vols. 7 and 8, Pagan Symbols in Judaism 406 Hanson, J. A. Rev. of Coupel and Frézouls, Le Théâtre de Philippopolis en Arabie 409 Harris, J. M. Rev. of Coche de la Ferté, L'antiquité chrétienne du Musée du Louvre 220 Harrison, E. B. Rev. of Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Studien zum Ilissos-Relief 208 Haury, E. W. Rev. of Carter, Pleistocene Man at San Diego 116 Haynes, D. E. L. Rev. of Poinssot, Les Ruines de Dougga 219 Haywood, R. M. Rev. of Gsell, Albertini, Zeiller, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, T. II, v. I 113 Hencken, H. Rev. of Childe, The Prehistory of European Society 286 Hill, D. K. Rev. of Greek Antiquities at Utrecht, I 97 - Greek Vases Acquired by the Walters Art Gallery 181 - Rev. of Roques de Maumont, Antike Reiterstandbilder 406 - Rev. of Faider-Feytmans, Receuil des bronzes de Bavai 411 Hoffmann, H. An Etruscan Rhyton in Vienna 180 Howard, S. On the Reconstruction of the Vatican Laocoon Group 365 Howe, B. Rev. of Balout, Algérie Préhistorique 286 Howell, F. C. Rev. of Summers, Inyanga. Prehistoric Settlements in Southern Rhodesia 395 Hughes, K. Rev. of de Paor and de Paor, Early Christian Ireland 413 Immerwahr, S. A. Rev. of Taylour, Mycenean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas 295 Jesi, F. Rev. of Morlet, Vichy Gallo-Romain 314 Jones, F. F. Rev. of Webster, Greek Theatre Production 211 - Rev. of Crowfoot, Crowfoot and Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste 300 Kardara, C. Rev. of Schiering, Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos 209 Kustas, G. L. Rev. of Grant, Roman History from Coins 315 Lambdin, T. O. Rev. of Friedrich, Extinct Languages 294 Lang, M. see Blegen, C. W. 121 - Rev. of Bennett (ed.), The Mycenae Tablets II 206 Lawrence, M. Rev. of Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 11 113 Lawrence, P. The Corinthian Chimaera Painter 349 Lechler, G. Rev. of Kloiber, Die Graeberfelder von Lauriacum. Das Ziegelfeld 218 Lehmann, P. W. Rev. of Schefold, Die Wände Pompejis, Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive 312 Liversidge, J. Rev. of Boon, Roman Silchester III - Rev. of Fremersdorf, Das Römergrab in Weiden bei Köln 407 Long, C. R. Shrines in Sepulchres? 59 MacDonald, W. Rev. of Downey, Nikolaos Messarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople 113 Malz, G. Rev. of Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana, Vol. III: Non-Literary Papyri 98 Markotic, V. Rev. of Mikov, Zlatnoto Sukrovishte ot Vulchitrun 285 Megaw, J. V. S. Rev. of Klindt-Jensen, Bornholm I Folkevandringstiden 202

Mellink, M. J. Archaeology in Asia Minor	73
Rev. of Bittel, Herre, Otten, Röhrs, Schaeuble, Die Hethitischen Grabfunde von	
2 10 1 7 7 1 134 1 34	191
	294 326
14 : T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T	
	195
d'Ors, A. Rev. of Gordon, A. E., and Gordon, J. S., Album of Dated Roman Inscriptions, I: Rome	313
Rev. of Gordon, J. S., and Gordon, A. E., Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin	313
Packard, E. Rev. of Abstracts of the Technical Literature on Archaeology and the Fine Arts, I,	395
Palmer, R. E. A. Rev. of Peek, Attische Grabschriften II: Unedierte Grabinschriften aus Athen	310
Perkins, A. Rev. of Hrouda, Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopo-	90
Rev. of Koşay and Akok, Ausgrabungen von Büyük Güllücek ausgeführt durch die Türkische historische Gesellschaft	290
Porada, E. Rev. of Barnett, A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories	92
Pritchett, W. K. Rev. of Mihailov, Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae, Vol. 1	214
	251
Raubitschek, A. E. Rev. of Pleket, The Greek Inscriptions in the "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" at Leyden	99
m: 1 1 m rr m / rr F: 71 1 1 1 777 1 2 4 11	103
Richter, G. M. A. Calenian Pottery and Classical Greek Metalware	241
	400
	404
Riefstahl, E. Rev. of Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt	89
	397
	407
	410
Roebuck, C. Rev. of Susini, Nuove scoperte sulla storia di Coo	96
	404
	117
	412
Sherk, R. K. Rev. of Jagenteufel, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus	217
Simpson, W. K. The Vessels with Engraved Designs and the Repoussé Bowl from the Tell Basta Treasure	29
	395
Sjöqvist, E. Rev. of Lugli, La tecnica edilizia dei Romani con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio	104
	206
Morgantina: Hellenistic Inkstands	275
Smith, M. On the New Inscription from Serra Orlando	183
Smith, W. Rev. of Kidder, Pecos, New Mexico: Archaeological Notes	416
Smithson, E. L. Rev. of Brock, Fortetsa. Early Greek Tombs near Knossos	303
Soper, A. Rev. of Lyons and Ingholt, Gandharan Art in Pakistan	114

vi	AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY	[AJA 63
Stillwell, R.	Excavations at Serra Orlando 1958. Preliminary Report III	167
	. Rev. of Marec, Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone, ville episcopale de Saint Augu	
	D. B. Rev. of Laumonier, Exploration archéologique de Delos XXIII: Les figur	
-	de terre cuite	209
Thompson,	J. E. S. Rev. of Tozzer, Chichen Itza and its Cenote of Sacrifice	119
Toynbee, J.	M. C. Rev. of Hull, Roman Colchester	315
	A. E. Rev. of Harrington, New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity	224
	G. W. A New Interpretation of the So-Called South Arabian House Model	269
	A. W. Rev. of Acta Congressus Madvigiani, Hafniae MDMLIV. Proceedings of Second International Congress of Classical Studies, Vol. IV. Urbanism and To	the
	Planning	215
	News Letter from Rome	383
	, E. News Letter from Greece	279
Verdier, P.	Rev. of Weitzmann, The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio	220
Vermeule,	C. Rev. of Felletti Maj, Iconografia romana imperiale da Severo Alessandro a Aurelio Carino (222-285 d.C.)	: M. 108
	Rev. of Daltrop, Die stadtrömischen männlichen Privatbildnisse trajanischer	
	hadrianischer Zeit	110
	and von Bothmer, D. Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in G	
	Britain. Part Three: 1	139
]	Rev. of Blanco, Museo del Prado. Catalogo de la escultura, I, II	313
	and von Bothmer, D. Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marble	s in
	Great Britain. Part Three: 2	329
Vermeule, I	E. T. Rev. of Blegen, Boulter, Caskey and Rawson, Troy, Vol. IV: Settlements V	
	VIIb and VIII	203
	Rev. of Zervos, L'Art des Cyclades, du début à la fin de L'Age de Bronze, 2500-	
	avant notre ère	398
Welles, C. I	B. Rev. of Bon, Bon, Grace, Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos	97
	3. Rev. of Martin, Digging into History	416
	C. K. Rev. of Schmidt, Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and other Discovery	
	V. Rev. of Bowen and Albright, Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia	318
	A. G. see Cook, R. M.	175
	E. Rev. of Kenyon, Digging Up Jericho	91
	R. E. Two Athenian Shrines	67
	I. Rev. of Vessberg and Westholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. IV, Pa	
2	The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus	95
	MISCELLANEOUS	
A . 1 1		
Archaeologi Asia M		73
Greece		279
Rome		385
Erratum		328
Necrology	7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1 7 1	
	Freiherr von Kaschnitz-Weinberg	87
	odge Hill	193
Felix O	neral Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (1058)	194
DIXUCIN GC	neral Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (1058)	т86

BOOK REVIEWS

Abstracts of the Technical Literature on Archaeology and the Fine Arts, I, II, 1955-58 (E. Packard)	395
Acta Congressus Madvigiani, Hafniae MDMLIV. Proceedings of the Second International Con-	
gress of Classical Studies, Vol. IV. Urbanism and Town Planning (A. W. Van	
Buren)	215
Albertini, see Gsell	113
Albright, see Bowen	318
Arthaud, see Groslier	321
Balout, Algérie Préhistorique (B. Howe)	286
Barnett, A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories (E. Porada)	92
Becatti, Colonna di Marco Aurelio (M. Bieber)	107
Bennett (ed.), The Mycenae Tablets II (M. Lang)	206
Bittel, Herre, Otten, Röhrs, Schaeuble, Die Hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankayasi (M. J.	
Mellink)	291
Blanco, Museo del Prado. Catalogo de la escultura, I, Il (C. Vermeule)	313
Blegen, Boulter, Caskey and Rawson, Troy, Vol. IV: Settlements VIIa, VIIb and VIII (E. T.	
Vermeule)	203
Bober, Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini (K. Shepard)	223
Boehringer (ed.), Robert Boehringer, Eine Freundesgabe (B. S. Ridgway)	404
Bon, Bon, Grace, Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos (C. B. Welles)	97
Boon, Roman Silchester (J. Liversidge)	III
Boulter, see Blegen	203
Bowen and Albright, Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia (F. V. Winnett)	318
Braidwood, see McEwan	292
Brea, Akrai (E. Sjöqvist)	206
Breuil, The White Lady of the Brandberg (H. L. Movius, Jr.)	195
Brock, Fortetsa. Early Greek Tombs near Knossos (E. L. Smithson)	303
Caldwell, Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States (J. B. Griffin)	414
Carter, Pleistocene Man at San Diego (E. W. Haury)	116
Caskey, see Blegen	203
Caso, The Aztecs: People of the Sun (Dunham tr.) (R. F. Millon)	326
Cassola, La Ionia nel Mondo Miceneo (M. J. Mellink)	294
Chadwick, The Decipherment of Linear B (W. F. Anderson)	299
Chenet and Gaudron, La céramique sigillée d'Argonne des Ile et Ille siècles (H. Comfort)	111
Childe, The Prehistory of European Society (H. Hencken)	286
Christie, see Narr	88
Coche de la Ferté, L'antiquité chrétienne du Musée du Louvre (J. M. Harris)	220
Coupel and Frézouls, Le théâtre de Philippopolis en Arabie (J. A. Hanson)	409
Crowfoot, G. M., see Crowfoot, J. W.	300
Crowfoot, J. W., Crowfoot, G. M., Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste (F. F. Jones)	300
Daltrop, Die stadtrömischen männlichen Privatbildnisse trajanischer und hadrianischer Zeit (C.	300
Vermeule)	110
Dark, Mixtee Ethnohistory (G. F. Ekholm)	327
Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (E. Riefstahl)	89
Demargne, Fouilles de Xanthos. I, Les Piliers Funéraires (G. M. A. Richter)	400
de Paor, M. and de Paor, L., Early Christian Ireland (K. Hughes)	
Downey, Nikolaos Messarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople	413
(W. MacDonald)	777
Dugas and Flacelière, Thésée, Images et Récits (C. Clairmont)	402
Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 11 (M. Lawrence)	403
Daniel Carlo I apers, 140. 11 (M. Lawrence)	113

Dunham, The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, Vol. 2 (W. B. Emery) The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, Vol. IV: Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal (W. K.	89
Simpson)	395
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu, Vol. V: The Temple Proper, Part I (H. G. Fischer)	195
Études d'archéologie classique I, 1955-56 (M. C. Roebuck)	404
Evans, see Meggers	117
Faider-Feytmans, Receuil des bronzes de Bavai (D. K. Hill) Felletti Maj, Iconografia romana imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino (222-	411
285 d.C.) (C. Vermeule)	108
Flacelière, see Dugas	403
Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, Vol. V (R. J. Gettens)	285
Frankfort, see McEwan	292
Fremersdorf, Das Römergrab in Weiden bei Köln (J. Liversidge)	407
Frézouls, see Coupel	409
Friedrich, Extinct Languages (T. O. Lambdin)	294
Fürer-Haimendorf, see Narr	88
Gaudron, see Chenet	III
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period. Vols. 7 and 8, Pagan Symbols in	
Judaism (G. M. A. Hanfmann)	406
Gordon, A. E., and Gordon, J. S., Album of Dated Roman Inscriptions, I: Rome and the Neigh-	
borhood, Augustus to Nerva (A. d'Ors)	313
Gordon, J. S., and Gordon, A. E., Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions (A.	
d'Ors)	313
Grace, see Bon Grant, Roman History from Coins (G. L. Kustas)	97
	315
Greek Antiquities at Utrecht, I (D. K. Hill) Groslier and Arthaud, The Arts and Civilization of Angkor (S. V. R. Cammann)	97
Gsell, Albertini, Zeiller, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, T. II, v. 1 (R. M. Haywood)	321
Guerrini, Le stoffe copte del Museo Archeologico di Firenze (antica collezione) (L. Bellinger)	113
Güterbock, see McEwan	320
Hafner, Zum Epheben Westmacott (A. Cambitoglou)	292
Haines, see McEwan	307
Harrington, New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity (A. E. Treganza)	292
Herre, see Bittel	224
Himmelmann-Wildschütz, ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ (O. Broneer)	291 103
Studien zum Ilissos-Relief (E. B. Harrison)	208
Howland, The Athenian Agora. V. The Greek Lamps and their Survivals (O. Broneer)	
Hrouda, Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien	401
(A. Perkins)	90
Hull, Roman Colchester (J. M. C. Toynbee)	315
Ingholt, see Lyons	114
Jagenteufel, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian (R. K.	
Sherk)	217
Jettmar, see Narr	88
Johansen, Exochi. Ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld (J. Boardman)	398
Kantor, see McEwan	292
Kent, The Cultivation and Weaving of Cotton in the Prehistoric Southwestern United States (I. Emery)	222
Kenyon, Digging Up Jericho (G. E. Wright)	323
see Crowfoot, J. W.	91
See Stations 1. 11.	300

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(E. T. Vermeule)

Hasta—Summa Imperii

The Spear as Embodiment of Sovereignty in Rome

ANDREW ALFÖLDI

Venerandae memoriae Hugh Last sacrum
PLATES 1-10

Hasta summa armorum et imperii est: this definition¹ may come from Verrius Flaccus. It means that the most important weapon in early Rome became the expression of the ruling power. What were the manifestations and consequences of this overwhelming political importance of the spearensign? Modern scholarship has not concerned itself very much with the answer to this question. The entry "hasta" is entirely lacking in the register of Mommsen's superb "Staatsrecht" and our great lexical surveys contain relevant data only on the spear of the state auction and on that of the praetor hastarius.²

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On the other hand, the whole significance of the problem was long ago revealed by Wolfgang Helbig,³ who was ahead of his time in comparing the archaeological evidence concerning the archaeic Roman State with the literary sources. He wrote⁴ in 1908:

"Wie bei den Franken und Longobarden, war bei den prisci Latini der Speer ein Abzeichen der königlichen Gewalt. Die hasta symbolisierte in Rom zu allen Zeiten . . . in gewissen Fällen das imperium und stets das iustum dominium, welches letztere im Zivilrechte einen ähnlichen Begriff darstellte, wie das imperium im Staatsrechte. Da der Begriff des imperium bereits in dem rex verkörpert war, und es undenkbar ist, dass die Römer bei dem konservativen Prinzipe, welches sie auf dem Gebiete des Staatsrechtes beobachteten, nach dem Sturze des Königtums für jenen Begriff ein neues Symbol eingeführt hätten, dürfen wir mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass die hasta von altersher zu den Attributen der latinischen Könige gehörte."

Unfortunately, Helbig was not able to find any document for this discovery from the age of the Republic. And as he was also convinced that such documents could not have existed, he erroneously supposed-and everyone followed his lead-that the spear as attribute of sovereign power was replaced by a rather short staff, like a marshal's baton or a scepter;5 he thought that only Augustus restored this baton to the original length of a spear and renewed its old function.6 The interpretation of the hasta donatica, i.e., the military award for bravery," by Varro, De gente populi Romani,8 as pura, id est sine ferro seemed to reinforce his assumption. But the irresponsible passion of Varro, the great connoisseur of the remnants of ancient Roman past, for etymological explanations can easily be disposed of in this case. The denarii of M. Arrius Secundus struck in 43 B.c. with the hasta pura, the corona aurea, and the phalerae show indeed a rod-like spear, yet it has been disfigured through an incorrect drawing in the survey of E. Babelon (taken from him also in the Dictionnaire des Antiquités of Daremberg-Saglio) into a commander's baton. And the aurei of the same mint-supervisor, more carefully executed than the silver, show clearly the triangular point on the top, impossible on a wooden

The existence of such a spearhead of considerable size on the *hasta donatica* is the easier to understand if we realize that this honorary weapon was never of wood, but always forged of metal.¹¹ Our main

shaft without a metallic spearhead (pl. 1, 4); still

more strongly accentuated are the spearheads of the hastae purae on the tombstone of a Roman officer

from Amastris.10

¹ Fest. p. 55.3 Linds. Cf. ibid. p. 90. 19.

² Cf. RE 7 (1912) 2501 sq. DarSag III, 37 sqq.

⁸ W. Helbig, Zur Geschichte der hasta donatica (Abh. Ges. Wiss., Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl, n. F. 10 [1908] no. 3).

⁴ ibid. p. 30. 5 ibid. 6 ibid. p. 32. 1 loc.cit

⁸ Serv., ad Aen. 6. 760.

Ocncerning the chronology cf. my remarks in Netherlands Year-Book for History of Art 1954, 151 sqq. The erroneous description of the coin-type of M. Arrius Secundus is not the

fault of W. Helbig. The drawing by E. Babelon, Déscription historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine 1 (Paris 1885) 220 n. 1 had already misled E. de Cuq, who describes (DarSag III 41) the hasta pura represented there as "plus semblable à un sceptre qu'à une arme."

¹⁰ CIL III 13648. P. Steiner, Bonn/bb 114/115 (1906) 35, fig. 23. DarSag III 41 fig. 3733.

¹¹ The evidence available was discussed also by W. Helbig, op.cit. (supra n. 3) 39.

authority for this is Polybios12 who, in his account of the Roman awards for valor, does not render the name hasta donatica with the usual Greek equivalents of the Roman spear, but with yairos, which was the special weapon of the Celts of the Rhone valley;13 in the time of the Empire, the gaesum still belonged to the national equipment of the Raeti gaesati. Polybios who had keen eyes for technical details of warfare was well aware of this; he tried (though unsuccessfully) to catch the exact meaning of this Celtic term.14 Even if he uses this name for the Roman pilum,18 the reason for it is that iron was the material of both javelins: γαῖσος ἐμβόλιον όλοσίδηρον writes Hesychios. Furthermore, the coin-type of M. Arrius Secundus as well as the representation of the spearheads on the tombstone mentioned above reveal through the proportional difference of size between the hasta(e), the corona and phalerae, that no reduction in length existed for the former. The later development of the hasta pura reinforces these results. The attributes and distinctions of the Republic show a hierarchic differentiation: the phalerae on the trappings of the general are of gold, those of the nobility of silver; the finger-rings given for bravery are of gold for the aristocracy and of iron for the simple citizen.16 In a similar way, the silver spears offered to the grandsons of Augustus17 as principes iuventutis imply that the gold would be appropriate only for the princeps himself. It may be that the spear-award distributed to officers from the primi pili upwards18 was wrought of iron, and that the hasta pura argentea attested in the age of Severus19 used this precious metal only so late: but, in any case, it was always of metal. The royal staff of the Alban kings is also called a hasta pura by Vergil,20 who seems to hint at a golden spear; whether pura stands for

ritual purity as e.g. herba pura,²¹ or for "of pure metal," since the gaesum was ὁλοσίδηρον, we do not need to discuss. In any case, it is no baton, but long and strong: ille vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta, Silvius, Albanum nomen...

The supposition of Helbig that the spear-ensign was transformed under the Republic to a marshal's baton, has no foundation whatsoever, as we see now. The gap in the archaeological evidence which prevented this great scholar from pursuing the fate of that signum praecipuum of the sovereign power through the course of the Roman history can now be bridged by hitherto neglected or misinterpreted Republican coin-types and by extremely small but no less conclusive representations used on the denarii as mint-marks. The exploitation of this invaluable material for this and other related problems has been made possible for me by the generous help of the American Philosophical Society.²²

This new source material links up with the spear-attribute on some imperial monuments of art; and a large group of ornamental spearheads found in the provinces, the "Benefiziarlanzen" of the late Emil Ritterling, are revealed as ramifications of the same token of sovereignty-so also the spear as the basic part of most of the military standards is not independent of this concept. From these later aspects of the development we shall return to its beginning. First we shall find the idea of sovereignty of the spear in Rome illuminated by the corresponding implement of sovereignty in early Greece, the royal scepter. Finally we shall try to grasp the magico-religious awe surrounding that most dreadful tool of killing in early Rome, which was never entirely replaced by the juridical interpretation of unconditional obedience in the face of the sovereign spear.

and Prof. G. A. Mansuelli in Bologna, Mrs. Bruna Forlati and Prof. Michelangelo Muraro in Venice, Dr. Franco Panvini-Rosati, Mr. E. Nash and Miss H. Speier in Rome, Prof. Gianguido Belloni and Dir. E. Leuthold in Milan, Dr. H. Cahn in Basle, Prof. D. Schwarz in Zurich, Mr. N. Duerr in Geneva, Dr. M. Stettler in Berne, Dr. R. Fellmann in Brugg, Mr. J. Lafaurie in Paris, Dr. H.-J. Hundt, Dr. J. Menzel in Mainz, Prof. W. Schleiermacher in Frankfurt am Main, Dr. H. von Petrikovits in Bonn, Miss Margaret Thompson and Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser in New York, Mrs. Vl. Clain-Stefanelli in Washington, D.C., Prof. H. Cherniss, Dr. S. Foltiny, Dr. Lucy T. Shoe, Profs. E. Kantorowicz and H. A. Thompson in Princeton. The librarian of the Institute for Advanced Study, Dr. J. E. Sachs, never failed to spot the rare books needed. For many photographs and for all his help on my journeys, I am indebted to my son, Dr. A. Alföldi, Jr., and, for the careful preparation of my manuscript

for printing, to Mrs. E. Baldwin Smith.

¹² Polyb. 6.30.3

¹⁸ The whole source material for the gaesum is easily accessible in the Thes. l. Lat. VI 2. 1667, v. 37 sqq.

¹⁴ Polyb. 2.22.1; 2.23.1; 2.28.3-8; 2.30.5; 2.34.2.

¹⁵ Polyb. 18.18.4.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Alföldi, Der frührömische Reiteradel (Baden-Baden 1952) 17 sqq.; 26 sqq.; 73 sqq.

¹⁷ Res gestae divi Augusti 3.5. H. Mattingly, BMC Emp. 1 (1923) pl. 13, 7 sqq.

¹⁸ P. Steiner, op.cit. (supra n. 10) 81 sqq.

¹⁹ ILS 9194.

²⁰ Aen. 6.760 sq.

²¹ Cf. M. Cary-A. D. Nock, CQ 21 (1927) 122 sqq. etc.

²² My thanks are due to those colleagues and friends who willingly helped me by discussing details, gave me expert advice or called my attention to new material. Among these are: Prof. Luisa Banti and G. Caputo in Florence, Miss Rosanna Pincelli

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Hasta AND imperium.

For many later centuries the sword was the vehicle of conquest, but for Greeks and Romans alike the spear preceded it.28 When epic poetry flourished, the expressions of this as δουρικτητός24 were long ago established; and long after Homer, the objects of subjugation were called δορυκτητός, δορυαλώτος and the like. This meant the terrible, but the only possible consequence of victory in war,25 as the poet of the Iliad depicts it:

καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐύζωνος παράκοιτις λίσσετ΄ όδυρομένη, καί οἱ κατέλεξεν ἄπαντα κήδε΄, όσ ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη. ανδρας μεν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, τέκνα δέ τ΄ άλλοι άγουσι βαθυζώνους τε yuvaîkas.26

No different is the brutal havoc wrought by the spear for the poets of Attic tragedy. Aischylos writes:27

οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὧδ΄ ὡγυγίαν 'Αίδα προϊάψαι δορὸς ἄγραν δουλίαν ψαφαρά σποδώ ὑπ'ἀνδρὸς 'Αχαιοῦ θεόθεν περθομέναν ἀτίμως,

and Euripides:28

έπει Φρυγών πόλιν κίνδυνος έσχε δορί πεσείν Έλληνικώ.

δούλη, πόλεως ἀπελαυνομένη της Ἰλιάδος, λόγχης $ai\chi\mu\hat{\eta}$ δορὶ θήρατος πρὸς 'Αχαιῶν . . . , and other examples are readily at hand. Also in Rome the spear is the instrument of irrevocable appropriation.29 Prisoners of war were sold standing under a spear: et captivi sub eadem (sc. hasta) veneunt, writes Festus³⁰ and a coin-type of 50 B.C. (pl. 2, 9) gives a pictorial illustration of this. 31 The solemn forms of legal procedure, which developed from a contest

of arms, employed the concept of imperio subiacere also on the legal transfer of possessions: and this happened also sub hasta, as we shall see. On the same ground, the spear became the insigne of the auction executed on behalf of the State: hastae subiciebant ea, quae publice venundabant, quia signum praecipuum est hasta.38 In general, the spear was regarded as a signum quoddam iusti dominii.34

This solemn symbol of power does not belong, of course, to the subaltern officials who carried or stuck it in the earth, but to the highest authority in the state. One example will be sufficient to show this: Et si ab hasta—Cicero reproached Antony⁸⁵ valeat hasta, ... modo Caesaris, non tua ... Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit, quis hastam illius venditionis vidit, quis vocem praeconis audivit? . . . iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae.

This interrelation between imperium and spearensign is very old. That this ensign belonged to the kings must be postulated from the place where the sacred spears of Mars were guarded; it was not in the temple of Mars, but in the regia, the house of the king, stripped of his power, but not of all his religious duties. Vergil, who knew thoroughly the traditions of earliest Rome, certainly did not invent the idea that the kings of Alba Longa did not carry a scepter, but a hasta pura, as visible sign of their dignity. This is corroborated by the statement of Trogus Pompeius36 on the beginnings of the Roman history: per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant. As the Romans themselves declared that all paraphernalia of their own kingship were of Etruscan origin, it must be pointed out that the kings of the Etruscan populi also possessed this attribute. S. Mazzarino at has discovered that an archaic tomb-relief from Chiusias and a terracotta relief from a sanctuary in Velletri30 represent

²³ W. Helbig, Mém. Inst. nationale de France XXXVII 2 (1906) 253, duly underlined this.

²⁴ Iliad 9.342 sqq. 28 Iliad 22.60-76.

²⁶ Iliad 9.590 sqq.

²⁷ Aischyl., Septem 308 sqq. Cf. ibid. 78 sqq., 106 sqq., 325 sqq. (T. G. Tucker, Cambridge 1908).

²⁸ Eurip., Hecab. 4 sqq. and 101 sqq.

²⁹ Cf. E. Koeser, De captivis Romanorum (Diss. Giessen) (1904) 97 etc.

⁸⁰ Fest., p. 55.9 Linds. sq.

⁸¹ H. Grueber, BMCRep. 1 (1910) 488 n. 3907. A. Alföldi, Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 36 (1954) 16 and 24, cf. pl. 24:6-7.

⁸² Fest., p. 55.9 Linds.

⁸⁴ Gai., Inst. 4.16. 33 ibid. p. 90.19 Linds.

⁸⁵ Cic., Phil. 2.40.103-104; cf. also 8.3.9. Ad fam. 9.10.3.

⁸⁶ Justin. 43-3-3-

⁸⁷ S. Mazzarino, Dalla monarchia allo stato repubblicano (Collezione Ethos) (1945) 69-75.

⁸⁸ E. Gabrici, StEstr 2 (1928) 71 no. 3 with pl. 5 b. E. Paribeni, StEst 12 (1938) 93 sq., no. 74 with pl. 19:1. G. Q. Giglioli, L'arte Etrusca (1935) pl. 141.

⁸⁹ E. D. Van Buren, Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium (1921) 69 sq. Giglioli, op.cit. (supra n. 38) pl. 99:1. A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Acta Inst. Rom. R. Suec. 6) (1940) 412, no. 449-450 and pl. 128.

the consessus of the leading magistrates of their respective cities. In the case mentioned first (pl. 3, 1) the personality highest in rank-it is difficult to decide whether he is a Republican leader of state, as Mazzarino thinks, or the representative of a moderate concept of monarchy—is sitting between two augurs. In any case the attributes of these dignitaries did not change much even after the transition to a Republican form of government, and that of the most prominent of them is surely inherited from the monarchy; it is no scepter as Mazzarino thought, but a spear as Enrico Paribeni already correctly described it; our plate shows the spearhead clearly. As this group of magistrates sit on curule chairs in peacetime attire with their attributes of civilian rank and dignity, the spear is unmistakably a badge of sovereign power and has nothing to do with an actual weapon. The brokenup end of the staff of the corresponding personality on the relief of Velletri40 may also have been a spearhead. There is a third representation of Etruscan royalty with the spear in the hand of the sovereign, instead of a scepter. I am thinking of the famous wall painting of the tomba Golini (G. Q. Giglioli, L'Arte Etrusca [Milan 1935] pl. 245) where the queen of the nether world is solemnly enthroned with her long scepter fashioned on Greek models, whereas her husband, Hades-Eita, appears with the open throat of a wolf on his head and with the royal spear of the Etruscan ruler in his right hand. The Etruscan king or his Republican substitute from Chiusi with the spear (pl. 3, 1) dates from the second half of the sixth century B.C., i.e. from the epoch when Etruscan kings ruled in Rome.41

During the Republic the gradual differentiation of the once global idea of *imperium* between the sphere of peace *intra pomerium* and that of war extra pomerium restricted the use of the spear as expression of the sovereign power to some special functions in the capital, but it remained the signum praecipuum of Roman might always and everywhere outside the sacred boundary of the City. An

the years after the death of Sulla. This mint-supervisor, like another, L. Roscius Fabatus, reproduced the images of hundreds of objects as control marks on the denarii in a peculiar way: in order to facilitate the correct coupling of obverse- and reversedies, they earmarked them with the image of a pair of interrelated objects. This correlation helps us to a great extent to grasp not only the typological character of the things depicted, but also the religious, political, etc. sense of them. These representations have not yet been explored systematically.42 I think they have been considered negligible because they are very tiny. But bacilli are still smaller, nay immensely smaller, and nevertheless not negligible factors. Some examples of the military sphere will give an idea of the special character of these double marks. With a vexillum on the obverse goes, in one case, the attacking snake of Juno Sospita (pl. 4, 1-2),48 in another the wolf's throat and skin as head-gear of the standard-bearers (pl. 4, 3-4). With the eagle-standard on the obverse appears the altar of the signa militaria, venerated as divinities (pl. 4, 5-6); with the missile of a ballista, this machine itself; with a barbarian helmet with two horns is coupled a classical one (pl. 4,8); similarly with a long Celtic sword a Celtic war trumpet (pl. 4,9). The square of the leather straps to be applied on the armor with the phalerae appears together with a phalera for the horse-trapping with its mounting (pl. 4,10). The pair, pl. 4,7, show a special spearensign discussed later (cf. pl. 5, 1,2,6-8) with a round medallion: as this spear is an attribute, not a weapon, so also must be the round medallion, which is, I think, one of the phalerae on the horse-trappings of high-ranking dignitaries. In another case (pl. 5,8), the same peculiar spear-symbol is accompanied by the outstretched right hand of the imperator, symbolizing the fides data, the guarantee of legal power. These examples illuminate the complementary meaning of the two ob-

important definition of it as expression of sovereign

power is offered by a mint-mark of L. Papius from

⁴⁰ That this relief has previously been interpreted as an assembly of deities was due first of all to the fact that in front of the seated row of personalities referred to above there are two much smaller standing figures, thought to be worshippers. But the latter do not bring offerings and make no gestures of adoration, and I am following the opinion of Miss Lucy Shoe that the disparity in scale between the standing and sitting men results from the isocephalism characteristic of early archaic art, the inability to represent the seated and standing figures in the same proportion.

⁴¹ Cf. P. de Francisci, "Intorno all' origine etrusca del con-

cetto di 'imperium.' "StEtr ser. 2, 24 (1955-56) 19 sqq. with the previous literature. The representation of the old Sabine king Titus Tatius with the staff of the judge on the denarii of T. Vettius Sabinus (pl. 2, 8) is not founded on a realistic tradition, but resulted from a romantic glorification of the good old times; cf. also infra n. 44.

⁴² Cf. the synopsis by H. A. Grueber, BMCRep 1 (1910) 371 and 423.

⁴⁸ Cf. the denarius of L. Procilius, by H. A. Grueber, BMCRep 3, pl. 41, 18-19.

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jects, selected carefully for each of these double marks, of which we are concerned primarily with the securis and hasta as the two insignia of imperium (pl. 4,11-12). The heart-shaped spearhead is certainly not so big by chance: such an enlarged spear on an elongated shaft was certainly more apt to advertise the presence of the sovereign power than a marshal's baton.

The spearheads of the same type (pl. 2,1-4) used on the early silver coinage as the badge of some aristocratic clan or the pictogram of a cognomen*4 could eventually represent the sovereign spear. But the earliest Roman example of this latter occurs on the reverse of the gold series struck in 209 B.C. representing king Latinus holding such an oversize spear-emblem in his right hand, and opposite him Aeneas with a normal spear-weapon far shorter (pl. 6,1-5); the evidence for the identification of both of these individuals will be discussed below.

No less instructive is the pictorial rendering of the spear of the sovereign power on the denarii of P. Porcius Laeca (pl. 5,4-5; pl. 9,3) from the end of the second century B.C., hitherto overlooked.45 They advertise the lex Porcia de provocatione which enabled Roman citizens residing in the provinces to appeal to the people, in criminal affairs, against the decisions of a governor. The Roman citizen who does this is standing on the left, as the inscription PROVOCO discloses. The magistrate who duly accepts his announcement holds his right hand over his head, facing him in the middle; his military attire signifies that the action represented happens extra pomerium. Behind this representative of the State stands a viator with the two rods (virgae) of his office in the left hand and with his right hand he raises vertically the spear-ensign of the imperium. We owe two more relevant details of information

to this coin-type. First, the spear-ensign was not carried by the possessor of the sovereign power himself, but by his lower ranking subordinate; the idea of the "Vortragslanze" of early medieval German kings has consequently very old antecedents. Secondly, the restriction of the full military right of disposal to the juridical sphere outside of the sacred boundary of the city in the course of an earlier political evolution compels us to assume that the viator of the men in power carried the spear before them only outside Rome. Since the magistrate returning to the capital was obliged to take off his paludamentum and to put on the praetexta when he crossed the pomerium, he must also have ceased to be accompanied by the spear "at home."

Nevertheless, with the return to monarchy, this discrimination of the two spheres of *domi* and *militiae* was sometimes disregarded. Caesar apparently refrained from the use of the sovereign spear in the city⁴⁶ and preferred to stress the religious symbols of his authority as *pontifex maximus* and dictator.⁴⁷

The spear-ensign of the *imperium* is possibly indicated by the staff—sometimes studded with globules⁴⁸—coupled with a legionary eagle, a *vexilum* and a plough on a denarius of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, struck for Octavian in summer 43 B.C. and promising land in colonies to the veterans (pl. 5,10-11) who enabled the young pretender to capture the city without bloodshed. The globules, of course, make this staff resemble the *scipio*, but I do not find any reasonable identification of it other than the symbol of power of Octavian, the initiator or warrant of the *deductiones* hinted at by the standards and the plough.⁴⁹

An intaglio of the British Museum (pl. 5,1)⁵⁰ offers an interesting problem. It shows the head of a youthful man behind which there is a very long

⁴⁴ The scipio on the obverses pl. 2, 5-7, means, I think, the cognomen Scipio, and other parallels are easily available.

⁴⁵ Grueber, BMCRep. 2 (1910) 301 no. 649 does not mention the spear at all and describes the man behind the commander-in-chief as a lictor holding fasces. E. Babelon, Description historique des monnaies de la Rép. rom. 2 (1886) 370 no. 4 gives a completely erroneous description: "Guerrier romain armé d'une cuirasse et d'une épée et suivi d'un licteur portant les faisceaux." By the sword he means the spear which is not in the hand of the "warrior," but in that of the viator. E. A. Sydenham, The Coinage of the Roman Republic (London 1952) 78 n. 571 has "soldier cuirassed standing left with sword (1); behind him lictor holding fasces," obviously copying Grueber, and not having looked at the original.

⁴⁶ I have found in the Museo Civico of Bologna a concave coin with the heads of Caesar and Octavian which seemed to me to show behind the head of DIVOS IVLIVS the spear in the shape

of pl. 10, 6. But I have discovered later an aureus from the same die in the Historical Museum in Basle (E. Boehringer, Der Caesar von Acireale [Stuttgart 1933] pl. 9, 34) which shows that a spear is erroneously combined here with an apex; thus this type may be in fact a forgery of the renaissance.

⁴⁷ J. Bayet, Bull. de la classe des Lettres de l'Acad. r. de Belgique, 5º série 41 (1955) 453ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Netherlands Year-Book for History of Art 1954, 151 sqq. and pl. 3, 9-10; pl. 4, 10-12; pl. 5, 4-5.

⁴⁹ E. Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 2, 432 sqq. nos. 10-11, speaks of a "scepter"; in the same way Grueber, op.cit. (supra n. 45) I 593 no. 4314 and Sydenham, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 185, no. 1127 took over the "sceptre." But such a feature of the regalia as a scepter did not exist in 43, except for gods who cannot be meant in this case.

⁵⁰ H. B. Walters, BMC Engraved Gems² (1926) 233 no. 2271.

spearhead with a globular end, a rudder before his profile and a donkey⁵¹ above the head. The same curious spear-type appears as a mint-mark on the denarius of M. Volteius M.f. from 81 B.C. (pl. 5,2)52 and on that of L. Papius, struck not much later (pl. 5,7-8), so that we must wonder whether this peculiar spear could not have belonged to a definite magistrate cum imperio (e.g. to one of the praetors). Fortunately, we are in a position to establish the identity of the person who is represented on this sardonyx ringstone. The portrait has exactly the same style as the head of the praetor Livineius Regulus of 42 B.C. (cf. pl. 5,3), though the individual is decidedly different; the short oblique strokes of the hair, the modelling of the face and the cut-out of the neck are perhaps even from the same hand. The Spear as the badge of the imperium, the rudder as the symbol of luck or sign of aspiration to govern, bear witness that we have a leading personality before us. And the very Roman pictorial hint at the name, the asinus, tells exactly who he is. Just at this time, one of the key figures of the triumvirate is C. Asinius Pollio, with his strong army in Spain, consul designatus for 40, to whom, very soon after, Vergil dedicated his famous fourth eclogue. In 42, Pollio was 34 years old, which fits well the age of the gem-portrait.53

This series of well-defined documents on the spear as the badge of the *imperium* in the Republican epoch completes our evidence, eliminating the lacunae which misled Helbig and his followers. The testimony of two relevant, highly official monetary documents from the Augustan age bear witness to the continuity of the use of the spearensign. The first is the *denarius* of L. Caninius Gallus (pl. 1,2), noticed, but misunderstood, by W. Helbig.⁵⁴ He interpreted the seat represented as a "Richterbank" and the spear—a very long one, which was no "Kommandostab"—as relating to a

subhastatio, or the tribunal of the centumviri, mainly because we know how assiduous Augustus was in assisting the work of the courts and presiding over them himself. But the subsellium is defined, along with the spear, as an implement of the TR(ibunicia) POT(estas) through the letters inscribed just on the top of it. And the great scholar overlooked the fact that another coin gives an additional illustration of the same political device.55 This is the denarius of C. Sulpicius Platorinus (pl. 1,3; pl. 5,9) where Augustus and Agrippa are seated on the same subsellium tribunicium placed on a platform ornamented with rostra; their gestures show that they are discussing official matters. At their right, a full-length spear is set up, the globular end of which could be a simplified rendering of the type pl. 5.1 and 2. The spear as summa imperii referring to the tribunicia potestas has a momentous juridical significance. Since Mommsen, the potestas has been carefully distinguished from the concept of imperium. Quite recently, P. De Francisci⁵⁶ advanced serious arguments to the contrary. We can now reaffirm his view and illustrate the basic fact that the attribution of the function of the tribunes to the Emperor meant power,57 power even intra pomerium!

But besides this expression of potestas, it can be demonstrated that the spear continued to be the emblem of supreme power extra pomerium under the Emperors also. The first proof is offered by one of the reliefs found on the site of the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome, the scene of departure of Domitian to the Danube, accompanied by Mars, by his special divine protector Minerva, and by Virtus, further on by lictors and some cohortes praetoriae; the Genius senatus, the Genius populi Romani, with whom are some praetorians staying on in Rome, are bidding him farewell.⁵⁸ The bearded soldier of the entourage of the departing Emperor, separated from

⁵¹ Walters saw a goat in it, but P. Corbett who kindly examined the representation upon my request confirmed my observation: the body of the tiny animal is as clumsy as that of a pony (which is excluded from the Roman iconography), but his long ears prove that only a donkey could be meant.

⁵² The date is given by the exact repetition of the head of Virtus-Bellona on an aureus of Sulla; cf. A. Alföldi, Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer, Rektoratsprogramm Basel 1956 (1957) pl. 9, 1-2. Whether the same spearhead is meant with the mint-mark of the denarius (pl. 5, 7) of C. Calpurnius Piso is uncertain; perhaps someone knows another piece which could decide this.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. André, La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion (Études et Commentaires VIII) (1949) 9 sqq. 17 sqq.

⁵⁴ W. Helbig, op.cit. (supra n. 3) 33 sqq.

⁵⁵ E. Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 2, 476 no. 11 does not mention the spear at all. H. Mattingly, BMCEmp I (1923) 23 no. 115, writes that Augustus and Agrippa are seated on a bisellium, and sees in the spear "an apparitor's staff."

⁵⁶ P. De Francisci, StEtr 2. ser. 24 (1955/56) 40 sqq.
⁵⁷ For further details cf. J. Béranger, Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat, Basler Beiträge zur Altertumswissen-

schaft 6 (1953) 96 sqq.

⁵⁸ Principal publication: F. Magi, *I rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Mon. Vatic. vol. 6 (1945) 81 sqq. with plates 1A and 3 ("lastra 4"). Cf. also H. Last, *JRS* 37 (1947) 187.

H. Kähler, *Gnomon* 22 (1950) 30 sqq. K. Schefold, *Aslantis* (Zürich 1949) 546 sqq. G. Bendinelli, *I rilievi Domizianei del*

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him by hierarchical considerations, who carries a big lance with an elaborate spearhead, looking back—surely saying goodbye to his comrades behind him—must retain our attention. Magi⁵⁰ calls him "sottoufficiale" and rightly observes that the same spearhead occurs on provincial monuments, but he does not see the real significance of the *hasta*, nor do the other scholars who have discussed this monument after him.

Now we have unmistakable proof that this officer does not bear the attributes of his own rank, but those of the monarch. Namely, he does not carry the shield on his right arm in the obvious way, as do his fellow-praetorians, but under the armpit; and the aegis of the divine patron of Domitian on this shield reveals to whom it belonged.60 Thus our man is the spear- and shield-bearer of the Emperor, an indispensable function in those times when the supreme commander came to such close quarters with the enemy in battle. The consul of the Republic had of course such a courageous and reliable armiger, 61 whose duty was latera tegere of his general. This functionary was the ὑπασπιστής62 of Caesar, his shield-bearer, mentioned on the occasion of his defeat at Dyrrachium, 62a as in the case of a certain Racilius who latus Cassi tegebat,63 or Dardanus, the ύπασπιστής of Brutus.64 A soldier of Augustus in this role states on his tombstone: merui post classicus miles ad latus Augusti annos septemque decem nullo odio, sine offensa.65 Under Domitian the prefect of the guard could already be styled sacri lateris custos,66 as later, after Gallienus, the elite of the officers assembled around the Emperor were called protectores divini lateris. 67 But besides this honorary and allegoric use of protegere, the armiger, in his practical function, remained beside the ruler

in the field; he is represented on an aureus of Elagabalus (pl. 2,12). 68

On this evidence, we can confidently justify the bearded officer on the Cancelleria reliefs, surely a high-ranking centurio of the praetorians, with the armiger of Domitian. It may be that on the voyage to the frontier the same man was in charge of the hasta belonging to the possessor of the imperium and of his shield: but otherwise two officials must have been entrusted with the care of the spearattribute and the shield of the Emperor.

Now it is an essential fact that the same sort of decorative spears were not only employed to mark the presence of the supreme commander during the profectio, but also during the fighting itself. F. Magi discovered this summa imperii on the two well known reliefs representing Trajan's Dacian wars and later built into the middle archway of the arch of Constantine; ⁶⁰ we reproduce one of them ⁷⁰ (pl. 7,2; pl. 10, fig. 43).

In all these cases the unbroken line of continuity from the Republic to the Empire is attested, but it is nowhere so obvious as on the well known relief of Hadrian from the so-called arco di Portogallo (pl. 8,1).71 The Emperor standing on a suggestus accompanied by the Genius senatus and the Genius populi Romani holds an allocutio as usual upon return to the capital, before entering the city proper,72 i.e. still extra pomerium. By the side of the suggestus stands a military person who holds a spear. This is well ascertained, in spite of a series of restorations. 78 A. J. B. Wace⁷⁴ may have hit the mark in identifying him as the trecenarius of the speculatores of the bodyguard. This spear-bearer corresponds iconographically exactly to the viator of the promagistrate on the denarius of Porcius Laeca (pl. 9,3).75

Palazzo della Cancelleria in Roma (Bibl. Fac. di Lett. e Filos. Univ. Torino). B. Neutsch, Jdl 63-64 (1948-49) 108 sqq. A. Rumpf, Bonnlbb 155/156 (1955/56) 112 sqq. R. Egger, Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Magdalenenberg 1953 (1955) 76 etc.

⁵⁹ F. Magi, op.cit. (supra n. 58) 87.

⁶⁰ This decides the date of the reliefs; they were made for Domitian, not for Nerva, as my dear friend K. Schefold contended, followed by A. Rumpf and others.

⁶¹ Liv. 22.6.4. Cic., De domo 5.13: (Sergius) armiger Catilinae, stipator tui corporis. Plaut., Merc. 852: egomet mihi comes calator equos agaso armiger (sum). Further quotations are to be found in E. Bickel, ThLL II 613, v. 77 sqq.

⁶² Cf. Corpus gloss. II 463.33: ὑπασπιστήs, protector, armiger.

⁶²a Plut., Caes. 39.2 (Vol. 2, 343 Ziegl.).

⁶³ Bell. Alex. 52.2.

⁶⁴ Plut., Brut. 51.3; 52.1.

⁶⁸ CIL V 938 (Aquileia).

⁶⁶ Martial. 6.76.1 sq.

⁶⁷ A. Alföldi, CAH 12 (1939) 219 sqq. Cf. ibid. 378 (W. Ensslin) with references.

⁶⁸ Catal. no. 15 of the Münzen und Medaillen A.-G., Basle, no. 816.

⁶⁹ F. Magi, op.cit. (supra n. 58) 87 sqq. with fig. 64. His

drawing is not correct; cf. our pl. 10, fig. 43.

⁷⁰ After the photo of Alinari no. 46983; the other on Alinari no. 17321 is not perceptible.

⁷¹ H. Stuart Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (1926) 266 (scala IV I, 32) pl. 105 (above to the left. Latest discussion by A. Rumpf, Bonn]bb 155/156 [1955/56] 118 sqq.).

⁷² One example: Cass. Dio 49.15.3.

⁷⁸ A. J. B. Wace, BSR 4, 3 (1907) 258 sqq.

⁷⁴ op.cis. (supra n. 73) 261; cf. H. St. Jones, BSR 3 (1926)

⁷⁵ The presence of the viator defines the rank of the magis-

THE SPEAR OF SOVEREIGNTY ENTRUSTED TO LOWER OFFICIALS AND MANIPULATED BY THE AIDES AND STAFF OF THE magistratus cum imperio

In order to enable the old-fashioned local magistrates of the city to cope with all the problems of a worldwide Empire, the use of delegated and mandatory power was an obvious practice. 76 It is important to stress the point that this happened in Rome as well as in the provinces. In the later Republic, as is known to us in a somewhat concrete manner, the competences of the magistrates inside of the sacred precinct of the City and outside of its sphere were, as already stressed, differentiated and separated in a painstakingly exact way. But, as we pointed out previously,77 though the religious significance of that boundary was as old as the City, yet the juridical discrimination intra and extra pomerium did not emerge with the birth of the Republic, as Mommsen believed, but resulted from a gradual development. To the remnants of the older unbiassed concept of sovereignty which I collected in an earlier paper, must be added the permanence of the spear of sovereignty in the city itself in certain state actions and judicial affairs concerning the right of property and the status of personal freedom.78

We have already mentioned the hasta of the auctions. The origin of this procedure in the sale of war booty was recognized by the Romans themselves. To Sulla still boasted fiercely: est enim ausus dicere hasta posita, quum bona in foro venderet et bonorum virorum et locupletum et certe civium,

"praedam se suam vendere." And this happened in the heart of the City, on the forum, 80 in the same way that the possessions of Pompey were sold after Pharsalos pro aede Iovis Statoris.81 It goes without saying that the victorious general did not himself undertake such a business; this was done by the quaestor. But even the treasurer did not bother with such minima and sold the whole complex to be auctioned to a speculator (sector) for a round sum. And as the retail sale of the sector was still regarded as an official transaction, 82 it is to be assumed that he was acting under the protection of the sovereign spear. The personal control of the hasta by the war-lord was still less the case in the proscriptions of Sulla when, amongst others, his triumviri coloniis deducendis were largely acting for him, 83 with the hasta venditionis; or after the defeat of the Senate by Caesar.

During the sojourn of the dictator in Alexandria hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei, says Cicero grudgingly, . . . voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. 4 It is certain that Caesar prescribed this, 5 and that his magister equitum Antony implemented his order. But Antony was not in charge of this sectio because he was buying the property of Pompey. Thus, the transaction was carried out voce praeconis, . . . exactione quaestoris. 4 was swallowing the fortunes of the proscribed, the three men in power were but rarely present, and still less did the Emperors take charge of such trivial matters in later days. Sub hasta vendere had, there-

trate: Varro in Gellius 13.12.4 sqq. In any case, the lex repetundarum 50 (Fontes iuris Rom. I [1941] 95 Riccobono) mentions the viatores of a praetor.

⁷⁶ Cf. in general C. H. Triepel, Delegation und Mandat im öffentlichen Recht (Stuttgart 1942).

⁷⁷ A. Alföldi, Der frührömische Reiteradel und seine Ehrenab-

zeichen (Baden-Baden 1952) 81 sqq. 78 Ed. Cuq writes in DarSag III 43 A: "Dans la procedure de l'action de la loi par serment, la hasta joue également une rôle symbolique. Les textes en signalent trois applications; 10 in iure, en matière réelle; 20 in iudicio, pour les affaires soumises au tribunal des centumvirs; 3º dans la procedure gracieuse, pour réaliser un affranchissement entre vifs." The first and the third case are to be strictly separated from the second which alone has to do with the spear of sovereignty. Though we cannot agree with R. C. Nisbet (JRS 8 [1918] 1 sqq.) that the festuca in the ceremony of manumissio was originally a stalk of sacred grass, but rather follow W. Helbig (op.cit., supra, n. 3, 87 sqq.) who considered it a "verkümmerter Ableger der alten hölzernen hasta"; this rod was never the praecipuum insigne of the imperium, but the remnant of the violent real strife of old times as well as the alapa or the vis illa civilis festucaria of the simulated ceremonial fight for landed property before the praetor

⁽Gell. 20.10.10), i.e. a private weapon; the same in the case of the right of rectam hastam ferre as assertion of the privilege of legal servitude (Paulus 1. 21 ad edictum in: Dig. 8.3.7). The confusion had already been made by Gaius, Inst. 4.16 who confused the festuca, i.e. virga with which the manumitted slave percutitur (Schol. Pers. 5.175; cf. Plut., De sera num. vind. p. 550 B) with the spear of the imperium as he says quasi hastae loco, signo quodam iusti dominii. Nevertheless, these matters could be dealt with and were dealt with in fact sub hasta, as we shall see.

⁷⁰ Liv. 2.14.1-4. Dion. Hal. 5.34.4. Val. Max. 3.2.2. Plut. *Poblicola* 19.9-10.

⁸⁰ Cic. De off. 2.8.27; 2.29.83.

⁸¹ Cic. Phil. 2.26.64.

⁸² Varro De re ruit. 2.10.4, adduced already by Ed. Cuq (supra n. 78) 42 B. Cf. Plaut. Captivi 1.2.110. Gell. 13.25 (24).29 etc.

⁸⁸ So his relative P. Sulla, Cic. De off. 2.8.29.

⁸⁴ Cic. Phil. 2.26.64. 85 Cf. ibidem 2.40.103.

⁸⁶ Tertull. Ad nat. 1.10 (CSEL 20, p. 76). Dion. Hal. 5.34.4.
Cic. In Verr. 2.1.52 and Schol. Bob. ad l.l. (p. 3 Hildebrandt).
Tac. Ann. 13.28.

⁸⁷ Sen. Suas. 6.3.

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fore, long ago ceased to be a personal duty of the men in power as it was in olden times. Still more did subaltern officials replace the magistrates when the location of the *vectigalia* for a censorial *lustrum* was awarded to the highest bidder. This, though a secondary development, also concerned state property and needed the presence of the spear for the *addictio sub hasta*.

The obligation of the hastam ponere was of course there not only when property was publicly dispersed, but also when a process concerning rights of possession was conducted. Since before the First Punic War no one but the praetor was entitled to adjudge a property and since, on the other hand, the spear survived as a badge of this function until the end of antiquity, we must confidently assume that in those early days the praetor himself fixed the hasta on the forum when deciding such matters. By a happy chance we know the very archaic forms of litigation on landed property of that early epoch. Gellius extracted the description of this solemn act from the writing of a jurisconsult89: Nam de qua [re] disceptatur in iure [in re] praesenti, sive ager sive quid aliud est, cum adversario simul manu prendere et in ea re sollemnibus verbis vindicare, id est 'vindicia'. Correptio manus in re atque in loco praesenti apud praetorem ex duodecim tabulis fiebat, in quibus ita scriptum est: 'si qui in iure manum conserunt.' Sed postquam praetores propagatis Italiae finibus datis iurisdictionibus negotiis occupati proficisci vindiciarum dicendarum causa [ad] longinquas res gravabantur, institutum est contra duodecim tabulas tacito consensu, ut litigantes non in iure apud praetorem manum consererent, sed 'ex iure manum consertum' vocarent, id est alter alterum ex iure ad conserendam manum in rem, de qua ageretur, vocaret atque profecti simul in agrum, de quo litigabatur, terrae aliquid ex eo, uti unam glebam, in ius in urbem ad praetorem deferrent et in ea gleba tamquam in toto agro vindicarent.

The demonic power of the spear of sovereignty,

which we shall discuss below, makes it certain that the *hasta posita* of the *praetor* was thought to preside over and decide this ordeal, once a bloody duel, later transformed into a ceremony symbolizing a fight between the contestants.

Around the middle of the third century B.c. the praetor acquired new aids for the formulation of the verdicts on the right of property. Pomponius on mentions the introduction of this innovation between 242 and 227 B.C.: deinde cum esset necessarius magistratus qui hastae praeesset, decemviri in litibus iudicandis sunt constituti.91 As I see it, hastae praeesse has always been interpreted in the later sense, i.e. to preside over the iudicium centumvirale, a court originated only a hundred years later, 92 and so the correctness of the statement of Pomponius has been denied. But I think the obvious meaning of this expression for the early epoch is "conduct the litigation on the property," in all probability under the supervision of a praetor; only a magistratus cum imperio was qualified to decide on legitimum dominium.

The same applies to the presidency of the iudicium centumvirale constituted in the middle of the second century B.C.⁹³ The badge of this court was the centumviralis hasta,⁹⁴ centum gravis hasta virorum, the centeni moderatrix iudicis hasta.⁹⁵ The praetors seem to have been much overburdened with the care of this court, because at the end of the Republic its direction lay in the hands of the proquaestors.⁹⁶ This fact must be compared with the imperium given to the men of the same standing in the same epoch in provinces of less importance; these latter display the spear as a sign of their power—the evidence will be given below; this convergence intra and extra pomerium is due to no chance, it seems to me.

The first princeps was constrained to lower again the rank of the presidents of the centumviral court, entrusting it to the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis⁹⁷ who were also called X vir ad hastam.⁹⁸ But at the same time, Augustus seems to have reestablished the

⁸⁸ E.g. Liv. 4.29.4.

⁸⁹ Gell. 20.10.6-10.

⁹⁰ Dig, I pt. 2. 2.29. The first epigraphical mention of the decemviri is from 139 B.C. (CIL VI 1296; Dessau 6), but the extreme scarcity of inscriptions forbids the use of this as an argument for the late origin of this magistracy.

⁹¹ Cf. Kübler, RE 4, 2260 sq.

⁹² Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. II⁷ 359. Mommsen, Staatsrecht 1⁸ 275 n. 4; II³ 231 n. 5 and 590 sq. M. Wlassak, Römische Prozessgesetze I (1888) 139 sqq. Id. RE 3,1 (1935) etc.

⁹³ Cf. Mommsen, Staatsr. II8 225, 608.

⁹⁴ Suet. Aug. 36.1.

⁹⁵ Stat. Silv. 4.4.41 sq.

⁹⁶ Suct. Aug. 36.1: auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis... ut centumviralem hastam, quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere, decemviri cogerent. For the meaning of cogere cf. M. Wlassak, RE 3, 1938.

⁹⁷ Suet. Aug., 36.1 (quoted in n. 96). Dio 54.26.6. Dessau 1911: viat[or decuria]e X viralis qui a[d iu]dic[ia centumv]iralia praesunt, etc.

⁹⁸ ILS 5051. Cf. Laus Pison. 41.

supervision of a praetor over this court. 99 Though Novellius Torquatus Atticus, the first known special praetor of this new kind, the praetor ad hastam 99 no praetor hastarius, 100 held office at the time of Tiberius, we can confidently assume that this measure is one of those about which Augustus boasted 101: legibus novis me auctore latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi.

It is essential for our problem that each of the decemviri presiding over the single chambers constituted ad hoc by the praetor hastarius had an upright spear of his own. This follows from the fact that when the centumviral judges were split into two parts, these were called duae hastae. 102 It is nowhere explicitly stated, but is obvious that in the case of a quadripartition of the centumviri, normally practised by complicated litigations on heredity, four hastae distinguished the four tribunals, though all of them had their sessions in the basilica Iulia in the imperial epoch. 108

The role of the praetor hastarius over these special judicial committees is clearly defined in a letter of the Younger Pliny¹⁰⁴: Descenderam in basilicam Iuliam auditurus, quibus proxima comperendinatione respondere debebam. Sedebant iudices, decemviri venerant, obversabantur advocati; silentium longum, tandem a praetore nuntius. Dimittuntur centum viri, eximitur dies me gaudente . . . hoc facto Nepotis (sc. praetoris qui legibus quaerit) commotus praetor, qui centumviralibus praesidet, deliberaturus an sequeretur exemplum, inopinatum

nobis otium dedit. In spite of the complete right of control by the praetor, the praecipuum insigne was delegated to his subalterns and consequently was multiplied in the same way as by public sales of property.

The mandatory role of the spear as emblem of power is still more obvious in the provinces where the government never lost its original character of conquest, the sign of which was the *hasta*.

There is a group of late Republican coins of proquaestores who display the spear with their subsellium and fiscus. 105 Helbig realized that the spear, which could not be used normally by a quaestor, who did not possess the imperium, as a badge of his office, denotes in the case of the proquaestores of the first century B.C. that they have been invested with some sort of independent governing capacity. We know three such cases:

- a) The small silver quinarius of L. SESTIus PROQuaestor (pl. 1,5) was struck in Macedonia in 43-42 B.C.¹⁰⁶ Though the obverse shows the name of Brutus as proconsul, the comprehensive character of his imperium maius allowed him to admit the hasta as sign of the restricted power of his subordinate.
- b) Bronze coins of the quaestor pro praetore A. Pupius Rufus in Cyrene¹⁰⁷ struck in the years immediately following Actium (pl. 1,10-11) display the same array of attributes. It has been observed from Longpérier on that the spear originally belonged to the praetorial *imperium*.
- c) The anonymous bronzes pl. 1,6-7¹⁰⁸ seem to be of the same age, having been issued in the mint

⁹⁹ Cp. Mommsen, Staatsrecht II3 225.

⁹⁹a ILS 950, from Tibur.

¹⁰⁰ CIL VI 1365.13; VIII 22721.5. Cagnat-Merlin, Inscr. lat. d'Afrique 44.1. Sen. De brevit. vitae 12.1.

¹⁰¹ Res gestae d.A. 8.5 (p. 86 Gagé).

¹⁰² Quintil. Inst.or. 5.2.1: Iam praeiudiciorum vis omnis tribus in generibus versatur: aut cum de eadem causa pronuntiatum est, ut . . partibus centumviralium, quae in duas hastas divisae sunt. ibid. 11.1.78: Etiam, si apud alios iudices agetur, ut . . . in centumviralibus iudiciis duplicibus parte victa, etc.

¹⁰³ Quintil. Inst. 12.5.6: Certe cum in basilica Iulia diceret primo tribunali, quattuor autem iudicia, ut moris est, cogerentur, atque omnia clamoribus fremerent: et auditum eum et intellectum et, quod agentibus ceteris contumeliosissimum fuit, laudatum quoque ex quattuor tribunalibus memini. Plin. Ep. 6.33.2-5: Est haec pro Attia Viriola . . . nam femina . . exheredata ab octogenario patre . . . , quadruplici iudicio bona paterna repetebat. Sedebant centum et octoginta iudices (tot enim quattuor consiliis colliguntur): . . . nam duobus consiliis vicimus, totidem victi sumus. Cf. Val. Max. 7.7.1.

¹⁰⁴ Plin., Ep. 5.9(21)1-2, 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ad. Longórier, "Recherches sur les insignes de la questure," RA (1868) 67 sqq. W. Helbig, op.cis. (supra n. 3) 33 sqq. M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas (Cambridge 1946)

^{12 500. 244 500}

¹⁰⁰ E. Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) II 116, no. 39. Grueber, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 473 no. 47 describes the hasta erroneously as "virga viatoris." Sydenham, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 202 no.

¹⁰⁷ L. Müller, Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique (Copenhagen 1860) 161 no. 422-423. Good reproductions also in W. Helbig, op.cit. (supra n. 3) pl. 1, 15-17. E. S. G. Robinson, BMC Cyrenaica (London 1927) CCXXII sqq. 117 sq. dates the governorship of A. Pupius Rufus between 30 and 27 B.C.

¹⁰⁸ Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands III x (Berlin 1906) 74 nos. 226-227 and plate 3, 6-7. W. Helbig, op.cit. (supra n. 3) 35 and pl. 1, 18-19. M. Grant, op.cit. (supra n. 105) 13 sqq. 244 sqq. (with references to special literature) would like to recognize Caesar in the anonymous portrait which has been, in my opinion, correctly interpreted previously as Augustus. He thinks that the coins pl. 1, 8-9 with the same head, inscribed PRINCEPS FELIX only imitate the portrait of the anonymous issue, struck in Thessalonica in his opinion, and that they were struck in Asia Minor. He reads the monogram on them as ALE(X)andria. But the smaller anonymous specimen, pl. 1, 7, shows clearly that the peculiar style of the deteriorated portrait with PRINCEPS FELIX originated in the

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of a colonia Iulia secundorum urbanorum (veteranorum?) with other types (pl. 1,8-9) calling Octavian PRINCEPS FELIX.108

So we have to do with a phenomenon of the decades of the transition between Republic and Empire. The use of the hasta by proquaestores may mirror the same aspirations of unimportant figures using the title of imperator in the provinces, as we know from the literary sources, until this depreciation of the supreme might was barred by the monopoly of the ruler.

At this time the prefects of the camps had a certain peculiar spear, stuck in the earth as the badge of their position in the field. This is attested by Livy110 for the year 11 B.C.: in Germania, in castris Drusi examen apium in tabernaculo Hostili Rufi, praefecti castrorum, consedit ita ut funem praetendentem praefixamque tentorio lanceam amplecteretur.

We are able to push our ideas on the hasta as emblem of sovereign power a step further through the inclusion of a group of decorative spearheads, discovered in the ruins of military establishments of the frontier provinces (pl. 10, figs. 1-2), classified and interpreted by E. Ritterling in an admirable paper¹¹¹ and supplemented with new material in another brilliant study by G. Behrens112 who discovered that besides the original spearheads and their representations on tombstones, there exists a rich series of miniature spears used as a device on fibulae, or as ornamental mountings on leather, as well as hanging ornaments. Sculptured tombstones enabled Ritterling to recognize that these spears belonged to certain ranks of subordinate officials, to the beneficiarii consularis,113 speculatores,114 (pl. 9,2), frumentarii,115 etc. Ritterling also perceived that the group of officials in question belonged to

the staff of the provincial governors. 116 He thought that the standard-like spears were the attributes of these staff-officials and, though this proves to be wrong, he established the important fact that these spear-ensigns were carried anywhere where orders of the governor were to be carried out outside his headquarters.117 A striking illustration of this fact is given by the tombstone of a speculator in Belgrade (pl. 9,2). He is certainly not making a tour of inspection, as has been supposed, but is acting in matters concerning the right of property, e.g. requisition of food, vehicles, etc., for the army, eventually enforcing the payment of duties. The spear-ensign of his function is carried by his servant, accompanying him on his trips, announcing thereby the state intervention. As the Roman antecedents of these spear-types were unknown to him and, on the other hand, the evident discrepancy between them and the tactical standards of the Roman army did not escape his attention, Ritterling saw in these standards derivatives of the standards of Hellenistic religious associations.118

But we know now that the big heart-shaped spearhead of Vössingen (pl. 10, fig. 7) with its greatly elongated rodlike point developed from the same type as that of Pollio (pl. 5,1-2; pl. 10, fig. 6); we know equally that the two oblique incisions on both sides of the spearheads of those staff-officials (pl. 10, figs. 13-15) are also on the imperial spearattribute of Domitian (fig. 18); furthermore we saw that large standards with two superimposed big ornamental spearheads such as that of the beneficiarius consularis from Wiesbaden (pl. 10, fig. 42) were also employed in the Dacian battles of Trajan, just behind the fighting area-as it seems to me, in the presence of the Emperor himself (pl. 7,2; pl. 10, fig. 43). In view of all this evidence

same mint as the pieces pl. 1, 6-7 with Q(uaestor): i.e. the same mint coined state and local issues. The style, as well as this double function, could very well fit a date just after the battle at Actium.

¹⁰⁹ The legio II urbana was one of the civil wars. H. Gaebler, ZfN 23 (1902) 184 sqq. places this colonia Iulia in Asia Minor. He maintains rightly, with Imhof, Froehner and v. Sallet, that the head is that of Octavian.

¹¹⁰ Jul. Obseq. (132) 72. 111 E. Ritterling, "Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficiarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden," Bonn/bb 125 (1919) 9 sqq.

¹¹² G. Behrens, "Mars-Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet," MZ 36 (1941) 8 sqq. Some fresh additions are made to the inventory of Behrens by H.-J. Hundt, Saalburg-Jahrbuch 14 (1955)

¹¹⁸ E. Espérandieu, Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues . . de la Gaule romaine III (Paris 1910) 35 no. 1785 (= CIL XIII

^{1909 =} Ritterling, op.cit. [supra n. 111] fig. 10) with the letters BF on the spearhead. CIL XIII 7731 = E. Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) fig. 3. Altar from Vinxtbach. CIL III 12895 = E. Ritterling, ibid. fig. 8 from Salonae. There are several votive arae with the simplified representation of such a spear-emblem, one from Friedberg (Ritterling, ibid. fig. 13. CIL XIII 7400 = ILS 4192 a); others were found in Stockstadt (CIL XIII 6639 a-b; 6656 b.), Jagsthausen (CIL XIII 6557 = Haug-Sixt, Steindenkmäler, 2nd ed. [1949] 649 no. 452) and Alexandria (CIL III 6601); cf. Ritterling, ibid., 21 sqq.

¹¹⁴ CIL III 1650 = ILS 2378 (Belgrade). Here reproduced on pl. 9, 2. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, RM 26 (1911) 268 sqq. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 20 n. B 1 and fig. 20 (Salona).

¹¹⁸ CIL III 5579 (Pons Aeni) = Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) fig. 5.

¹¹⁶ Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) 23 sqq.

¹¹⁸ ibid. 30 sqq. 117 ibid. 33.

it cannot be doubted that those provincial spearensigns did not denote the subordinates, but the sovereign power of the Roman state for which they were acting.

It is likely that the material and execution of the spear carried before the Emperor was more precious than those of the subordinates: the hierarchy of metals was well established in the Rome of the Republic for such a use. 119 Beside this the letters B-F on the representation of such an ensign in Lyon (pl. 10, fig. 12) prove that the rank of the officials to whom it was attributed was clearly indicated; whereas the tabulae ansatae of these standards with the names of the men indicate rather the same practice as marked the possession of the State on weapons and other military property. It seems also that some differentiation between the spear-emblem of the magistrates had developed already in the late Republic: the long spearhead of Asinius Pollio (pl. 10, fig. 4) could be perhaps the spear-standard of the praetor used intra pomerium. Nevertheless the typological congruence of the spear, borne before the monarch and the governors as well as before insignificant subaltern officials, points to a remarkable fact: it is a striking visual illustration of the idea of the global unity of the imperium amidst its manifold applications, stressed e.g. by E. Leifer and cherished by the eminent scholar and beloved friend to whom this paper is dedicated.

Later research will certainly establish an evolution in the shape and decoration of the spear as badge of power. The big heart-shaped spearheads of the Republican imperators (pl. 10, figs. 1-3) apparently had no elaborate decoration. The lateral incisions known from the first century A.D. (pl. 10, figs. 13-18) seem to be replaced by the "eyes" on the spearheads of the Middle Empire (pl. 10, figs. 19-27, 31-41). A variety of this insigne with a double

spearhead occurs under Trajan (pl. 10, figs. 42-45). But we must limit our actual survey to these few general hints at the present.

THE SPEAR OF THE TACTICAL signa

Apart from the eagle and a few other sacred animals on the top of the signa of the pre-Marian army, and besides those with the raised hand, all the military standards of the Roman army were nothing other than spears with a great variety of additional secondary features, a fact the importance of which has not yet been realized. 120 The dona militaria of the troops, such as wreaths, paterae, clipei, decorate their standards, sometimes even surround the spearhead; but they are, even then, nothing else but spears of the legions121 (pl. 10, figs. 8-9), as well as of the cohortes praetoriae.122 Very clearly also the standards of the auxilia are spears: we illustrate this only with the signum of Pintaius¹²⁸ (pl. 9,1; pl. 10, fig. 17), and mention as another example that of Oclatius.124

It may be assumed that in all those cases the spear meant power and command.¹²⁵ It was gilded¹²⁶ to catch the eyes of the soldiers who got the tactical orders through the *signa* and their movements. But at the same time, this visible expression of *imperium* was due to be split as many times as there were units. The flag-standards illustrate this perhaps best. The Roman *vexillum* is nothing other than a spear with a square piece of cloth just under the spearhead.¹²⁷ The *vexillum* was the standard of every detached troop-unit,¹²⁸ but other flags existed, too, which are not discussed in detail in the fundamental treatise of A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*.

To be sure, we must also mention with the category of the *vexilla* another kind of *signum* which also had a cloth-flag on it. This square piece of cloth

¹¹⁹ Alföldi, op.cit. (supra n. 16) 73 sqq.

¹²⁰ A. von Domaszewski, Die Fahnen im römischen Heere (Wien 1885) 50, took notice of this without drawing any conclusions.

¹²¹ E.g. C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule (Berlin 1896) pl. 17, scene 52-53; pl. 20, scene 66; pl. 96, scene 346. A. v. Domaszewski, op.cit. (supra n. 120) figs. 21, 23-24, 26, 32.

¹²² Cichorius, *op.cit*. (supra n. 121) pl. 33, scene 112; pl. 39, scene 136; pl. 54, scene 194; pl. 72, scene 258; pl. 77, scene 275-276, etc. A. v. Domaszewski, *op.cit*. (supra n. 120) figs. 5, 12, 67-68, 73 and 75.

¹²⁸ A. v. Domaszewski (supra n. 120) 73, fig. 86. Alterhümer unsrer heidnischen Vorzeit I (Heft 11) 6, 1, etc.

¹²⁴ Mus. Neuss. Cf. Museo dell' Impero Romano. Catalogo. Supplemento al Catal. della Mostra Augustea (Roma 1943) 151,

no. 3. Mostra Augustea della Romanità² (1937) pl. 44.

¹²⁶ The hasta as signum praecipuum by Festus (p. 90, 19 Linds.) has been supplemented with (belli) by C. O. Müller. But signum belli makes no good sense in this connection.

¹²⁶ Minuc. Fel. Octav. 29, 7.

¹²⁷ Cf. e.g. Cichorius, op.cit. (supra n. 121) pl. 9; pl. 65, scene 235. JOAI Beibl. 1 (1898) 85 fig. 19 (CIL V 504). E. Petersen—A. v. Domaszewski—A. Calderini, Die Marcussäule auf der Piazza Colonna in Rom (1896) pl. 86, scene 77; pl. 104 B, 105 A, 106 B, 114 B. H. P. L'Orange—A. v. Gerkan, Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens (Berlin 1939) pl. 15 a, 45 b, 46 b, 47 b, etc.

¹²⁸ Cf. e.g. Mommsen, Gesammelte Scriften 6 (Berlin 1910)

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was in this case not applied under the spearhead, but further down, under the series of globular protuberances on the pole. Such were the standards of the manipuli reproduced on the denarii of C. Valerius Flaccus and the Pompeian consuls of 49 B.C. (pl. 1,1 and pl. 10, fig. 46; cf. also pl. 5,10-11) with the abbreviated inscriptions H(astati) and P(rincipes). Similar standards appear as mint-marks on the denarii of L. Papius and C. Roscius Fabatus (pl. 4,1-4 and pl. 10, fig. 48); on denarii of 43 B.C. (pl. 5,10-11) the same flag-standard belongs to veteran colonists

There existed another sort of vexillum, bigger than the others, carried on a longer pole, with the name of the supreme commander and of the (expeditionary) army in purple letters on it.¹²⁹ Such is the banner towering over the legionary signa on a relief-scene of the column of Trajan.¹³⁰ A. v. Domaszewski¹³¹ and with him A. v. Premerstein¹³² thought that these great vexilla were not employed on the march and in the battle, but were used only in camp and decorated the tent of the commander-in-charge; but the description of such a banner of the army of Crassus¹³³ concerns the army in movement. On the other hand, the vexillum of the su-

preme commander, 184 different from these big banners, was also employed in the fighting.

As just mentioned, besides these great banners, there was also a special one belonging to the imperator himself. Examples of this must be seen in the vexillum carried before the standards of the imperial bodyguard on Trajan's column¹⁸⁵ or displayed with the Emperor on the column of Marcus Aurelius. This flag of the supreme commander was displayed in the praetorium ordering the state of readiness for battle, 136 but it was also used to give the signal for the start of the fighting,187 both on land and for the beginning of a naval action. 188 The hoisting of this belli signum was very old; the convocation of the popular assembly by the same act also signifies the same will of the sovereign power. 139 The necessity of having this purple flag always at hand for the purpose of tactical commands 140 explains why it was not deposited in the shrine of the signa, but was kept at night in the dwelling of the commander-in-chief.141 The flag of the generalissimo had a purple coat,142 and when Augustus honored Agrippa with a caeruleum vexillum after the victory of Naulochos, it was a first step towards the Byzantine hierarchy of colors, 148 in the same way as

129 Cass. Dio 40.18.3 on the prodigia before Carrhae, 53 B.C.: σημείον δέ τι τῶν μεγάλων, τῶν τοῖς Ιστίοις ἐοικότων καὶ φοινικᾶ γράμματα ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων. Cf. ibid. 4.

180 Domaszewski, op.cit. (supra n. 120) fig. 20. Cichorius, op.cit. (supra n. 121) pl. 10, scene 24.

131 op.cit. (supra n. 120) 79 n. 1.

182 A. v. Premerstein, Vom Werden und Wesen des Principates (AbhBayrAk n. F. 15, Munich 1937) 86.

188 Supra n. 129.

134 It was of purple, consequently its inscription could not be written with purple letters, but surely with golden ones, cf. Arrian., Parth. frg. 154 (FG-Hist II 156 Jac.): αῦτη (ναῦς) τά τε ἀκροστόλια ἔφαινε (χρυσᾶ), καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρψ τῷ Ιστίψ τὸ βασιλικὸν δνομα καὶ δσοις ἄλλοις βασιλεὸς γεγαίρεται χρυσῷ ἐγκεχαραγμένα. The σημεῖα βασιλικά (ibid.) were displayed in front of the tent of the imperator, and not the previously mentioned.

135 Cichorius, op.cit. (supra n. 121) pl. 31, scene 103; pl. 37, scene 127; pl. 78, scene 279. A. Caprino-A. M. Colini-G. Gatti-M. Pallottino-P. Romanelli, La colonna di Marco Aurelio (Roma 1955) pl. 7, fig. 15 (viii); pl. 8, fig. 16; pl. 24, fig. 49; pl. 49, fig. 98; pl. 53, fig. 106; pl. A, E; where Claudius Pompeianus is also present with the Emperor, there are two vexilla displayed. The three flags on pl. 33, fig. 67 are due to the presence of the crown prince besides his father and his son-in-law.

186 Caes. B. Gall. 2.20.1: Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret, ab opere revocandi milites, . . acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum (tuba) dandum. Plutarch speaks of a purple χιτών exhibited on the tent of the commander-in-chief, but we think this means nothing other than the vexillum. Cf. Plut. Fab. 15.1: άλλ'δ Τερέντιος . . . ἄμ΄

ημέρα τὸ τῆς μάχης σημείον ἐξέθηκεν—ἔστι δὲ χιτών κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηρῆς διατειρόμενος. Plut. Brut. 40.5: δια δ'ήμέρα προϋκειτο μὲν (ἐν) τῷ βρούτου χάρακι καὶ τῷ Κασσίου σύμβολον ἀγῶνος φοινικοῦς χιτών.

137 Caes. B. civ. 3.89.5; Simul tertiae aciei totique exercitui imperavit, ne iniussu suo concurrerent: se, cum id fieri vellet, vexillo signum daturum.

188 Cass. Dio 49.9.1.

189 Cf. Vergil. Aen. 8.1 with the commentary of Servius.

140 Cf. Caes. B. Gall. 2.20.1 (supra n. 136).

141 This emerges from the description of the riot on the Rhine by Tac. Ann. 1.39.1-4: . . . apud aram Ubiorum . . . duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicensima veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant . . . et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. (Cf. the note on different interpretations in the edition of H. Furneaux, The Annals of Tacitus I2 [London 1896] 232). As the veterans had no special role in the upheaval, we cannot assume with v. Domaszewski (supra n. 120) 25, that the vexillum in the house of Germanicus was theirs: I do not see why their vexillum would not have been deposited with their commander if not in the sacrarium of the signa. As there is evidence that the mutiny intended to elect a new general (Tac. Ann. 1.43.2), the transfer of the purple flag to this person must be connected with this act of the rebels.

142 Plut. Fab. 15.1 and Brut. 40.5 (quoted supra n. 136). Cf. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Gordiani, 8: sublata de vexillis purpura. Servius Aen. 8.1 seems to imply that in early times the commander of the infantry had the red flag and the cavalry a blue one.

148 Suet. Aug. 25.3. Cass. Dio 51.21.3.

the vexilla argentea as distinction of high-ranking officers under the Empire144 was second only to the golden banner-poles of the sovereign himself.

If the flag with HIS(pania) on the denarii from 54 B.c. referring to C. Coelius Caldus, proconsul in Spain ca. 98 B.C. 145 is his purple ensign, as we think, this flag also had the globular protuberances on its shaft, as the manipular standard had; in this case the mint-marks of the denarii from the seventies of the last century B.C. (pl. 4,1-4) could mean this purple vexillum. No doubt this is the flag in the hand of Victory on the coins celebrating Actium, 146 in the hand of Mars on coins commemorating the departure of Augustus with an expedition,147 or the journeys of Hadrian on the sea.148 This imperial flag was replaced by Constantine with his labarum.

The hasta was used also as standard of the manipuli. The ancient writers explain its origin as a handful of hay, bound to a pole:149 pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos, Ovid describes it.150 We see the simplest form of this ensign reproduced as mint-mark on the obverse of a denarius of C. Valerius Flaccus (pl. 1,1 and pl. 10, fig. 10); the globules on the shaft are only slight, and the tassel under them, always present on the manipular and many other standards, could preserve the form of the original bunch of hay. In view of the magicoreligious atmosphere out of which these standards emerged, we agree with L. Renel¹⁵¹ that this hay must have been something like the sacred sagmenta, taken from the Capitol for ritual purposes. In fact, the primary role of the hasta as the kernel and essence of the standards is not due to any practical consideration. It is well known that not only the eagle had its own cult (and before Marius the horse, man-headed bull, boar and wolf) but the

other standards too.152 We are reminded of two famous passages of Tertullian who testifies to this in full detail: Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa iurat, signa omnibus deis praeponit. Omnes illi imaginum suggestus in signis monilia crucum sunt; siphara illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stolae crucum sunt. 158 And again: 154 itaque in Victoriis et cruces colit castrensis religio, si signa adorat, signa deierat, signa ipsi Iovi praefert: sed ille imaginum suggestus et totius auri cultus monilia crucum sunt. Sic etiam in cantabris atque vexillis, quae non minore sanctitate militia custodit, siphara illa vestes crucum sunt.

When in the case of extreme peril the tumultus was proclaimed, the oath of the hastily assembled army was taken collectively before a vexillum as the divine witness of the coniuratio.155 The same act is often represented as the conjuration of the peoples of Italy in the Social war (pl. 6,5-6, and pl. 10, fig. 47). Here the same oath is sworn in front of a huge pole of the same type as the Roman manipular standards, with a flying ribbon on its top, exactly as on the Roman parallels (pl. 1,1 and pl. 10, fig. 46).156

THE SPEAR AS SOVEREIGN IN ROME AND THE SCEPTER AS RULING POWER AMONG THE MYCENAEAN GREEKS

The spear of sovereignty has its personality and still in imperial times it is characterized by expressions which depict it as an acting individual. When Valerius Maximus mentions the hastae iudicium¹⁵⁷ or the Laus Pisonis158 has trepidos ad iura decem citat hasta virorum et firmare iubet centeno iudice causas, or Statius159 speaks of the centeni moderatrix iudicis hasta or Juvenal100 calls this spear domina hasta, it is not a rhetorical artifice but re-

144 P. Steiner, Bonn]bb 114-115 (1906) 30, assembled the mentions of them occurring since Domitian.

145 Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 36 (1954)

pl. 19, 8-10.

146 BMCRep III pl. 60.2. J. Liegle, Idl 56 (1941) 91 sqq. The type was imitated frequently, e.g. under Sept. Severus (J. M. C. Toynbee, Roman Medallions [New York 1944] pl. 43:6) etc.

147 BMCRep III pl. 63, 14-17.

148 P. L. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Münzprägung des II. Jahrhunderts nach Christus 2 (Stuttgart 1933) pl. 16, 837, 839-840 etc. 149 E.g. Ovid. Fast. 3.113 sqq. Plut. Romul. 8.7 etc. Cf. Serv.

Aen. 11.463.

150 Ovid. Fast. 3.117 sqq.

151 Chas. Renel, Cultes militaires de Rome: les enseignes (Paris 1903) 238 sq. 248 sqq.

152 Tac. Ann. 1.39.6 (in the mutiny at the Rhine in 14 A.D.

again): Planco neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis . illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, . . legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset.

153 Tertull. Apol. 16.8.

154 Tertull. Ad nat. 1.12.14.

155 Serv. Aen. 8.1: aut certe si esset tumultus . . . qui fuerat ducturus exercitum ibat ad Capitolium et exinde proferens duo vexilla, unum russeum, quod pedites evocabat, et unum caeruleum, quod erat equitum, . . . dicebat "qui rem publicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur," et qui convenissent, simul iurabant: et dicebatur ista militia coniuratio. The source may have been Varro.

158 Cf. also Cit. 7. 167 Val. Max. 7.8.1; 7.8.4. 159 Stat. Silv. 4.4.43. 156 Cf. also CIL VI 2437 (now in the Louvre in Paris).

160 Juven. 3.30 sqq.

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flects an archaic conception. Similarly, when Martial161 writes: hunc miratur adhuc centum gravis hasta virorum, when Seneca162 mentions hastam (Caesaris) consularia spolia vendentem and Gaius168 declares that in centumviralibus iudiciis hasta praeponitur-still other examples could be added easily -all this reveals the queer notion of the spear who acts as an active supreme ruler: a personified force on a superhuman level. This cannot be separated from the ritual imprecation of the sacred spears by the holder of the imperium leaving for a war. These spears were guarded in the regia and regarded as containing the might of Mars himself. They were addressed by the leader of the State with the words: Vigilasne Mars? Vigila! In the same way, this concept cannot be isolated from the spear in the sanctuary of Jupiter Feretrius which witnessed and warranted the solemn act of the foedus from time immemorial,164 as we shall see.

The spear of the legal authority in Rome which is obeyed as an animated being, but which is at the same time the materialization of the abstract idea of power, has a striking analogy in the scepter of the Mycenaean kings, the role of which is clearly mirrored in the Iliad, but which is vanishing in the fairy-tale world of the Odyssey, 185 prolonging the epics into a period in which the kingship was dying away. To have the legal authority in public affairs, even the king is obliged to take into his hand the scepter, a sacred object, a unique gift of the gods. Agamemnon seizes the scepter of his ancestors,

"imperishable ever," when he assembles the Achaeans; 186 he holds it when haranguing his people. 187 The herald brings the scepter to King Menelaos on a similar occasion. 188 When administering an oath, the king raises the scepter towards heaven showing it to all the gods, no doubt as warrant of the honesty of his intentions. 189

When the king wants to authorize someone to act in his name, the means of authorization is to hand the scepter over to him. Agamemnon does so when he entrusts authority to Odysseus, who addresses them by holding the royal staff,¹⁷⁰ calling back the fleeing Achaeans from the ships,¹⁷¹ or when he sends the same hero to Troy.¹⁷²

It was indispensable for the administration of justice to hold the scepter upright; it was above all the symbol of justice178 already in the ancient Near East. If the king himself acted as a judge, he did it with his scepter in his right hand;174 if he delegated this power to others, the scepter was handed over to them in turn.175 This delegation of power became an empty ceremony in the Attic democracy where the judges nevertheless held a long staff as a badge of sovereign rights. 176 This Greek tradition seems to have affected the Romans of later times who imagined their old kings with the staff in the hand, as judges; such a representation appears on the denarius of T. Vettius Sabinus (pl. 2, 8) where Titus Tatius is depicted with the scipio.177 The continuity of this token of the supreme authority in the Middle Ages cannot be discussed here, of course. 178

161 Martial 7.63.7.

182 Sen. Ad Marciam de consol. 20.5.

163 Gai Inst. 4.16.

184 Serv. Aen. 12.206 (cf. 2.2 and 2.6) is a naive attempt to explain the presence of the "scepter" as a pars pro toto, i.e. as a vicegerent instead of the cult-image: this cult never had a cult-statue. Another view by H. Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism (London 1947) 55.

165 For a survey of the Homeric kingship cf. M. P. Nilsson,

Opuscula selecta 2 (1952) 871 sqq.

166 Il. 2.46.

167 Il. 2.100 sqq.

168 Il. 23.566 sqq. Cf. Od. 2.35 sqq. (Telemachos).

169 Il. 7.412 and 10.320-323. On other public occasions cf. Il. 18.556 sq. Od. 3.410-412.

170 Il. 2.198 sq. 273 sqq.

171 Il. 2.185 sqq.

172 ll. 3.218. This mandatory act was well grasped by R. Hirzel, Themis, Dike und Verwandtes (Leipzig 1907) 72 sqq. 75. Cf. also C. Fr. Hermann, Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine (Göttingen 1851) printed by invitation of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences for the solemnity of the accession to the throne of a new king. U. Wilamowitz von Moellendorf, Die Scepter der Universität (Berlin 1890) (not accessible to me at present). G. Gerland, Szepter und Zauberstab (Nord

und Süd 101 [1902] 51 sqq.). F. J. M. Waele, The magic staff or rod in graeco-italian antiquity (Nijmegen 1927) 109 sqq. (with all the modern literature).

178 Cf. e.g. R. Labat, Le charactère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne (Paris 1939) 222.

174 Od. 11.568 sqq. Apoll. Rhod. 4.1174 sqq. Cf. R. Hirzel, op.cis. (supra n. 172) 75 sqq. on ll. 1.237 sqq.

175 Against R. Hirzel who denies this cf. the valuable remarks by K. Marót, Der Eid als Tat (Acta litt. ac scient. Univ. Francisco-Josephinae, Szeged 1924) 2 sqq. Cf. the words of the Iliad (1.237 sqq.) on the scepter of Achilles: νῦν αὐτέ μεν νἶες 'Αχαιῶν ἐν παλάμης φορέουσι δικασπόλοι, οἶ τε θέμιστας πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται.

176 Demosth. De cor. 210. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1110 and Plut. 277 (p. 340. 17 Duebner). M. Schede, Die Akropolis von Athen (Berlin 1922) pl. 70. R. Hirzel, op.cit. (supra n. 172)

¹⁷⁷ As already mentioned, such a rod was displayed as the pictorial equivalent of the cognomen of a *Scipio* on early silver coins (pl. 2, 5-7); the same rod means, of course, a *scipio* here also.

178 Cf. K. v. Amira, "Der Stab in der germanischen Rechtssymbolik," AbhBayrAk, phil.-hist. Kl. XXV (1909) 84 sqq. P. E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik (Schriften der Monum. Germ. Hist. 13, 3 (Stuttgart 1956) 1148 (Index).

The scepter of the Homeric king is kept by his herald if the king does not use it, and he gives it to the king when a public function demands the sanction of his authority through it; he provides the judges with the royal staff, when in their turn they give their verdict. 179 But the king can entrust his herald with important missions, and again he authorizes his envoy by lending him the $\sigma \kappa \hat{\eta} \pi \tau \rho o \nu$. No doubt the reverence with which the angry Achilles greets the heralds of Agamemnon 180 is due only to the scepter carried by them, 181 in the same way as the heralds of the Trojans and the Achaeans supervise the duel of the mighty heroes, Hektor and Aias, with their undisputed orders, after they μέσσφ δ΄ αμφοτέρων σκήπτρα (i.e. the respective staffs of their kings) σχέθον.182

Here we must stress the fact that the long σκήπτρον in the hand of the public heralds belongs to their kings and has nothing to do with their own short rod (ράβδος), 183 though these two things are often confused.184 The herald's staff is the same as the wand of their prototype Hermes, the divine envoy of Father Zeus. 185 When Poseidon strikes both the Aiases, he does not use a scepter, but a magic rod, a σκηπάνιον; 186 Athene also has such a ράβδος in the Odyssey. 187 The ancient authors realized this difference; Polygnotos, in the Lesche of Delphi, painted Agamemnon leaning with his right arm on the long royal staff, but holding also a twig;188 in the Gorgias of Plato, Minos as king has the golden scepter, yet his fellow-judges in the nether world have only rods. It is essential to realize through this parallelism that the scepter had a different origin from the sorcerer's rod. I think we find attributes both of the ruler and the herald on a well known monument of the 16th century B.C., namely the steatite cup (pl. 8,2) from Hagia Triada in Crete.189 The king holds out his staff, extending his right arm with an emphatic gesture towards a young men. Though this latter has a helmet on his head, he does not have the main weapon of those days, the spear. The staff with a round globule at the lower end, which he has in his right hand, has been considered to be a sword. Indeed, an officer of our days, reporting to his superior, would hold his sword in this way. But this staff is not a Mycenaean sword with its broad blade, but merely a stick. And, since the man who holds it has no spear, the absence of the main weapon makes the absence of the secondary one plausible.190 The strongly emphasized importance of the upright scepter exhibited by the king191 corresponds to the role of the royal staff among the Achaeans of Homer, as does the role of the announcer with his rod who leads to his sovereign three men carrying gifts or bringing him tribute, exactly in the way the Iliad depicts it:

έν δ΄ ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται, οἴ κέ ἐ δωτίνησι θεόν ὡς τιμήσουσιν

καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρφ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας¹⁹²
The helmet of the herald could well be Mycenaean Greek¹⁹⁸ and even the Cretan features of the costume would not exclude the possibility of Greek origin. On this matter, I consulted Professor Luisa Banti who kindly gave me the following

information:194

"The cup you are interested in was found at Hagia Triada in one of the rooms of the South wing of the LM I villa, to the West of corridor 9 (see map: Pernier-Banti, Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta [Rome 1947] fig. 40; or L. Banti, 'I culti minoici e greci di H. Triada,' Annuario Scuola

194 In a letter of January 13, 1958.

¹⁷⁹ Il. 18.503-506; Il. 23.567 sqq.

^{180 11. 1.334.}

¹⁸¹ Cf. R. Hirzel, op.cit. (supra n. 172) 73 sqq. But the direct dependence of the herald on the highest god with which he explains this (*ibid*. 74, n. 2) did not exist; all the awe and the respect are due only to the staff.

¹⁸² Il. 7.277 sqq.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. already C. Fr. Hermann, op.cit. (supra n. 172) 6 sqq. R. Boetzkes, Das Kerykeion (Thesis, Münster 1913) 15 sqq.

¹⁸⁴ R. Hirzel, op.cit. (supra n. 172) 75. K. v. Amira, op.cit. (supra n. 178) 23. F. J. M. de Waele, op.cit. (supra n. 172) 70 sqq. On the herald's rod cf. Boetzkes, op.cit. (supra n. 173) and RE 11.330 sqq. J. F. Crome, AM 63/64 (1938/39) 117 sqq. (the earliest archaeological evidence).

¹⁸⁵ ll. 24.343 sqq. 24.445. Od. 5.47 sqq.; 5.87. Hom. hymn. in Merc. 531 sqq.

¹⁸⁶ Il. 13.59 sqq.

¹⁸⁷ Od. 13.429.

¹⁸⁸ Pausan. 10.30.3.

¹⁸⁹ N. Platon, A Guide to the Archeological Museum of Heraclion (1955) 85 sqq. The previous literature by Th. Bossert, The Art of Ancient Crete (London 1937) 28.

¹⁹⁰ The pommel is only slightly thicker than the stick which has no articulation at the grip as a sword would have: cf. for the latter possibility the revealing example of the sword on a cylinder from Knossos, reproduced by M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, and ed. (Lund 1950) 349 fig. 160.

¹⁹¹ Iconographical parallels to this motive are not lacking. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, op.cit. (supra n. 190) 353 fig. 162; 355 fig. 165.

¹⁹² ll. 9.154-156. Reiterated with a slight alteration in the verses 296-298: καί τοι ὑπὸ σκήπτρω λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.
193 H. L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (London 1950)
211 sqq. gives the survey of types and of the special treatises.

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archeol. ital. di Atene 1941-42, fig. 2). It was certainly used down to the destruction of the site which is contemporary to the destruction of the other Minoan towns and palaces. Being an object not easily breakable, it may have been in use for a long time. It certainly belongs to the Minoan stratification, i.e., before the LM III occupation of the site. If you read the study I wrote before Ventris' interpretation of Linear B, 'Il sentimento della natura nell arte Minoica e Micena, Γεράς 'Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου, Athens 1953, 119-127, you may read that I considered it (p. 123) to be imported from Cnossos, and belonging to the LM II trend of Cnossian art. At the time, I had no idea that LM II style belonged to a period of Greek occupation at Cnossos. You may see in this study that I had already noticed that Cnossian LM II was very near to the Greek mainland art and already showed the Greek classical spirit and characteristics. Ventris' interpretation completely confirmed my feeling. Now, knowing that Greek was written at Cnossos in LM II, my opinion on the H. Triada cup is that it was made at Cnossos during the Greek occupation and imported to H. Triada just before the LM Ib destruction of the site."

Therefore, everything speaks for the Greek character of this scene. As in Homer, also on the rhyton of H. Triada the scepter carries the supreme might; even the king cannot act legally without it, its presence is the preliminary to all political actions. It is an eternal incorporation of sovereignty, similar to the bannière de France which is only slightly lowered when a king is buried and then erected again, because "la bannière de France ne meurt pas." But whence comes this individuality, this superhuman vigor and supposed perpetual life of an inanimate object?

Epic poetry preserves the answer to this question which, no doubt, reflects the real religious sanction of Mycenaean kingship. Agamemnon's scepter in the Iliad¹⁹⁶ is a masterpiece of art wrought by Hephaistos in heaven at the command of Zeus.

Zeus sent it by Hermes to the founder of the dynasty of the Pelopides, whose rulers transmitted it to each other in their turn. So this scepter, πατρώιον ἄφθιτον αἰεί197 came down to the actual ruler "that so he might be the lord of many isles and of all Argos." It is the token of the sanction of the king by the supreme god198 and no one but the σκηπτοῦχος can be the legitimate ruler.199 The visual expression of this investiture of the king with the symbol of power is the eagle, Zeus' envoy, sitting on the scepter.200 Conceptions of Near-Eastern kingship, transmitted by the Minoans to the early Greek rulers seem to me to have engendered this argument. But all this does not explain the necessity of having the staff; it is superfluous to document the approval of Zeus in the sense of Homeric mythology where the God-father either sends personal envoys to the kings dear to his heart, or visits them in person. It is obvious that the staff already had its decisive role when the myths in question were created, a role older than the Olympian gods.

We know another long staff, the Roman hasta, as the incorporation of the sovereign power. We saw that the spear representing the ruling power is stuck in the earth²⁰¹ and sub hasta, i.e. under the sway of the spear, legal auctions are carried out.²⁰² Sub hasta, "under the upright spear" corresponds exactly to the action ὑπὸ σκήπτρφ among the early Greeks. We have already quoted the expression ὑπὸ σκήπτρφ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας from the Iliad²⁰³ in which we read also:²⁰⁴ Zeὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρφ ἐδάμασσεν. Apollonios Rhodios depicts Alkinoos administering justice in the same way:²⁰³ ἐν δ΄ ὅγε χειρὶ σκήπτρον ἔχεν χρυσοῦο δικασπόλον, & ὕπο λαοὶ ἰθείας ἀνα ἄστυ διεκρίνοντο θέμιστας.

'Υπὸ σκήπτρω is to be taken literally, as inscriptions from Western Asia Minor as late as the Roman Imperial Age attest. These contain judgments of courts on temple-estates with the statement: ἡ Ταζηνῶν κατοικία ἀδοξήσασα ἐπέστησε τὸ οκῆπτρον τοῖς κακῶς εἰς αὐτοὺς τ[ολ]μήσασιν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐξεζήτησεν, ἐκολάζετο καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς

¹⁹⁵ E. Kantorowicz, The Two Bodies of the King (Princeton 1957) 419 sqq.

¹⁹⁶ Il. 2.100 sqq.

¹⁹⁷ Il. 2.46.186.

¹⁹⁸ ll. 2.204 sqq.; 7.274; 9.37-39 and 9.96-99.

¹⁹⁹ Il. 2.86; 14.93. Od. 2.231; 4.63 sqq.; 5.9. The "Gottesgnadentum" of the Homeric king has often been discussed, of course, since C. Fr. Hermann (op.cit., supra n. 172) in 1851.

²⁰⁰ Herod. 1.195. Schol. Aristoph., Av. 510 and 512 (with a fragment of Sophocles on this topic). Pind. Pyth. 1.6. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Die antike Vasenmalerei, pl. 60:2; pl. 90;

pl. 158. CVA France, Louvre III 1 c, pl. 43.4. R. Hirzel, op.cit. (supra n. 172) 72 explains plausibly the scepter of prophets and poets, who announced the message of the gods through their mouths, and carried the scepter as proof of their mission.

²⁰¹ The technical term is hastam ponere, e.g. Cic. Phil. 2.26.64.
Quintil. Decl. 12.9 etc.

²⁰² Cf. also expressions as sub vexillo hiemare, stay in service under the compulsion of the vexillum.

²⁰⁸ ll. 9.154-156 and 296-298.

^{204 11. 6.159.}

²⁰⁵ Apoll. Rhod. 4.1175 sqq.

[ἐπι]βουλεύσαντας αὐτοῖς κτλ and the representation of the upright scepter.²⁰⁸ Similarly they announce (A.D. 115): ἐπεστάθη οὖν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ Τιάμου²⁰⁷ and again ἡ . . . Τατία ἐπέστησεν τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀρὰς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. J. Zingerle has drawn attention to the parallelism of this procedure with a disciplinary paragraph of the statutes of the Jobackhoi:²⁰⁸ εὕκοσμος δὲ κληρούσθω ἢ καθιστάσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰερέως ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἀκοσμοῦντι ἢ θορυβοῦντι τὸν θύρσον τοῦ θεοῦ. ῷ δὲ ἄν παρατεθῆ ὁ θύρσος, ἐπικρείναντος τοῦ ἰερέως ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιβάκχου ἐξερχέσθω τοῦ ἐστιατορείου, stressing also that the thyrsos represents the god himself.

Furthermore, we possess some evidence for the spear as the sign of sovereign power in Greece. The earliest proof for this would be the display of epic heroes on the fragment of a proto-Attic krater from the first half of the seventh century B.C. (pl. 8,3). 200 Though in richly embroidered long robes, Menelaos and all his companion-kings carry a long spear. The Odyssey, however, knows the use of the spear by the Achaeans also on political occasions ($\pi \alpha \lambda \acute{\alpha} \mu \eta$ $\delta' \acute{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \chi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \kappa \epsilon o \nu \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \chi o s$, Od. 2.10). The procession on this vase could represent a gathering before Troy, i.e., the spear could be meant—in spite of the peaceful attire of its bearers—as being carried on the field of battle. But there is more unimpeachable evidence, too. Euripides 210 says of Polymestor:

φίλιππον λαον ευθύνων δορί, where the spear is the *θυντήριον* instead of the scepter; as in Rome, litigation in early Greece seems to have been a mitigated form of a contest with arms. Theopompos211 states this: λόγχη δὲ παράσημον ἀρχής καὶ δυναστείας. The magistrates of the cities Meliboia and Skotussa wiped out by Alexander of Pherae are called δορυφόροι²¹² and also the Theban magistrates had the spear as attribute of their office.218 The traces of the cult of the royal spear discussed below point in the same direction. It seems therefore that though the Cretan influence replaced the sovereign spear by the sovereign scepter in Mycenaean Greece, the original conception reappeared in Hellas after the arrival of the Dorians. Trogus Pompeius writes on the beginnings of Rome:214 per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademata habebant, quas Graeci 'sceptra' dixere; he may be right in the sense hinted at.

THE OCCULT POWER OF THE RAVAGING SPEAR

The prehistoric notion that the deadly effect of a spear-thrust does not derive from the force of the men who drove it, but from the immanent "mana" which is hidden in the weapon, is manifest in Rome: 215 nam et ab origine rerum pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere. 216 Varro thought in this sense that the hastae preserved in the regia must be reduced to one, incorporating Mars. 217 The state-

discussed in the JRS 39 (1949) 19 sqq.

217 Serv., Aen. 8.3. UTQUE IMPULIT ARMA . . . est autem sacrorum: nam is qui belli susceperat curam, sacrarium Martis ingressus primo ancilia commovebat, post hastam simulacri ipsius, dicens 'Mars vigila' (Simulacri is a secondary addition). Plut. Rom. 29.1: έν δὲ τῆ 'Ρηγία δόρυ καθιδρυμένον "Apea προσαγορεύει» (the last word goes with the dicens of Servius together). Clem. Alex Protrept. 4.46 p. 35 (Stählin: έν 'Ρώμω δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν δόρν φησὶν γεγονέναι τοῦ "Αρεως τὸ ξόανον Οὐάρρων ὁ συγγραφεύς. Arnob. 6.11: pro Marte Romanos hastam (sc. coluisse) Varronis ut indicant Musae. On Varro as source of these statements cf. Ed. Norden, op.cit. (supra n. 215) 154 sqq. 173 sqq. Fr. Schwenn, ArchRW 20 (1920/21) 301 sqq. correctly stresses the point that this conception of worship goes back to Indo-European antecedents; cf. also M. Cary-A. D. Nock, CQ 21 (1927) 122 sqq. F. J. de Waele, RE 3 A, 1912. J. G. Frazer, Ovid. Fasti 2.441 sqq. H. Wagenvoort, op.cit. (supra n. 164) 182 sqq. But Schwenn, loc.cit. (n. 217) wrongly accepts the existence of only one spear in the regia which induces him to identify this spear with the one on which stood the man who vowed the self-sacrifice of the devotio. Neither is he right in confusing the spear of the fetiales with the hasta Martis; in this latter case the sympathetic magic of the spear-throwing action is essential, not the individual weapon. Schwenn thinks that the hasta Martis was taken into the field by the pontifex maximus. I find no evidence for this assumption.

 ²⁰⁶ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, AM 6 (1881) 273 no. 23.
 K. Buresch, Aus Lydien (Leipzig 1898) 113. F. S. Steinleitner, Die Beichte im Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike (Diss. Munich 1913) 33 no. 9.

²⁰⁷ J. Zingerle, JOAlBeibl 23 (1926) 5 sqq. with an excellent commentary on p. 13 sqq. and ibid. 16 no. 2.

²⁰⁸ Dittenberger, Syll.8 no. 1109 v. 136 sqq.

²⁰⁹ CVA Deutschland 2, Berlin 1, 1938 no. A. 42 pl. 31-33.
K. Kübler, Altattische Malerei (Tübingen 1950) 17 and fig. 48.
210 Eurip., Hekabe 9.

²¹¹ FrGrHist 115, frg. 331 (vol. 2.605) Jacoby = Plut. Dion. 24.10.

²¹² Plut. Pelopid. 29.7.

²¹⁸ Plut. De genio Socratis 31 (p. 597 B) adduced already by M. Cary-A. D. Nock, CQ 21 (1927) 123.

²¹⁴ Justin. Epit. Trogi Pomp. 43.3.3.

²¹⁵ C. Boetticher, Der Baumkultus der Hellenen (Berlin 1856) 233 sqq. understood the main aspects of these beliefs. The details are to be found in the following papers: Roscher, Mythol. Lex. II 2388 sq.; Marbach, RE 14 (1922); L. Deubner, ArchRW 8 (1905) Beiheft 74 sqq.; W. W. Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People (London 1911) 142; Ed. Norden, Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern (Acta Soc. hum. litt., Lund 29 [1939]) 154 sqq. 173 sq. More references infra.

²¹⁶ Justin. Epit. Trogi Pomp. 43.3.3. Cf. Paul. exc. Festi p. 64, 6 Linds.: Delubrum dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est decorticatum, quem venerabantur pro deo, and the representations I

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ment found in several authors, that the god Quirinus is so called because quiris-curis means "spear" in the Sabine tongue, is embedded in a series of inconsistent combinations which also have the flavor of the style of Varro and no doubt come from him;218 the corresponding interpretation of luno Quiritis' name has no different origin.219

Consequently, though it is obvious that the inherent magic power of the spear has in some way been brought into connection with the two warlords of early Rome, the wolf-god Mars and the boar-god Quirinus,220 the exact nature of this relation is somewhat obscured by the arbitrary reduction of the hastae Martis to one.221 Nevertheless, the broad concept of the supernatural virtues of the spear, not restricted to a unique specimen of heavenly war-lords or to a single spear of ancient fame, was most deeply rooted in Rome.

The plurality of the sacred spears in the sacrarium, a small cabinet close to the living quarters of the pontifex maximus in the regia, is exactly transmitted to us by the lists of prodigia in Livy, of highly official provenience.222 The belief in the radiating immanent power of these sacred spears has been well elucidated by H. Wagenvoort.228 He

stresses the fact²²⁴ that the careful observation of the spontaneous motion of the hastae Martis which originally, no doubt, foreboded an imminent war, reveals an archaic numen-belief, older than the personal and anthropomorphic divinity of Mars. Besides the spontaneous movement of the hastae Martis at the beginning of the war, the king and his successors respectively undertook the magic ritual to propitiate the numinous power of the spears in action. Here it becomes apparent that the "mana" was not confined to one sacred spear, nay, not even to all the sacred spears; since the ominous movement of the spears occurred and was keenly observed also with the sacred shields,225 the commander of an army moves not only the spears of Mars, but also the shields. Servius mentions this twice: . . . is qui belli susceperat curam, sacrarium Martis ingressus primo ancilia commovebat,226 post hastam—(recte: hastas!227) . . . dicens "Mars vigila"227a and again: nam moris fuerat indicto bello in Martis sacrario ancilia commovere. 228 With these expressions of the ritual language Servius rightly explains Vergil's words:229 Mos erat . . . in Latio, quem protinus urbes Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum Roma colit, cum prima movent in

Roman Coinage, presented to H. Mattingly (Oxford 1956) 69. 221 Cf. infra Mars as divine sponsor of an oath of alliance, instead of the spear or of the standard on the mosaic pl. 3, 2. 222 Liv. 40.19.2: pontifices hastas motas nuntiare. Jul. Obseq.

6 (60): hastae Martis motae (181 B.C.). ibid. 19 (78): vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolatae steterunt (148 B.C.). ibid. 36 (96): hastae Martis in regia motae (117 B.C.). ibid. 44 (104): hastae Martias in regia sua sponte motae (102 B.C.). ibid. 50 (110): hastae Martis regia motae (95 B.C.). Gell. 4.6.1-2: ut terram movisse nuntiari solet eaque res procuratur, ita in veteribus memoriis scriptum legimus nuntiatum esse senatui in sacrario in regia hastas Martis movisse. Eius rei causa senatus consultum factum est M. Antonio A. Postumio consulibus (99 B.C.), eiusque exemplum hoc est: Quod C. Iulius L. filius pontifex nuntiavit in sacrario (in) regia hastas Martias movisse, de ea re ita censuerunt, uti M. Antonius consul hostiis maioribus lovi et Marti procuraret et ceteris dis, quibus videretur, laetantibus, etc.

223 op.cit. (supra n. 164) 5 sqq. The religious veneration of the cornel-tree which made the best spear-shafts comes from this complex of ideas. Cf. Boetticher, op.cit. (supra n. 215) 130 sqq. J. Bayet, Mél. 52 (1935) 29 sqq.

224 Wagenvoort (supra n. 164) 76 sqq.

225 Jul. Obseq. 44a (104): Ancilia cum strepitu sua sponte

226 The ancilia were preserved in the curia Saliorum according to other sources. Cf. Geiger, RE 1 A 1874 sqq.

227 In the quotation we left out the erroneous simulacri

227a Serv. Aen. 8.3.

228 Serv. Aen. 7.603.

229 Aen. 7.601-603.

218 Dion. Hal. Ant. 2.48.2-4: τον δ' Έννάλιον οἱ Σαβίνοι . . . Κυρίνον δνομάζουσιν (The son of this god) κτίζει τὰς καλουμένας Κύρεις, ώς μέν τινες Ιστορούσιν έπὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, έξ οὖ γενέσθαι λόγος αὐτὸν είχε, τοὕνομα τῆ πόλει θεμένος. ώς δ' έτεροι γράφουσιν έπὶ τῆς αίχμῆς κύρεις γὰρ οί Σαβίνοι τὰς αίχμὰς καλούσιν. ταῦτα μεν οὖν Τερέντιος θύάρρων γράφει. Ovid. Fast. 2.475 sqq. (explains the origin of the Quirinalia): at tertia (lux) dicta Quirino. Qui tenet hoc nomen . . . sive quod hasta curis priscis est dicta Sabinis, bellicus a telo venit in astra deus; sive suo regi nomen posuere Quirites, seu quia Romanis iunxerat ille Cures. Plut. Romul. 29.1: Τὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ 'Ρωμύλφ τὸν Κυρίνον οι μέν Ένυάλιον προσαγορεύουσιν, οι δ' δτι και τους πολίτας Κυρίτας ώνόμαζον, οἱ δὲ τὴν αίχμὴν ἢ τὸ δόρυ τοὺς παλαιούς κυριν δνομάζειν, και Κυρίτιδος "Ηρας άγαλμα καλείν έπ' αλχμής ιδρυμένον ως ουν 'Αρήιον τινα τον 'Ρωμύλον ή αίχμητήν θεον δνομασθήναι Κυρίνον. Macrob. Sat. 1.9.16: unde et Varro libro quinto rerum divinarum scribit . . . (sc. lanum nominari) Quirinum quasi bellorum potentem ab hasta, quam Sabini curin vocant. Fasti Praen., BullComm (1904) 277. Serv. Aen. 1.292. More in the ThLL IV 1495 and ibid., Onomast. 2.763. L. Deubner op.cit. (supra n. 215) 75 sqq. accepts the etymology quiris) Quirinus against Wissowa; but this does not imply that the explanation of Varro on the origin of the god

²¹⁹ Plut. Rom. 29.1 (quoted supra n. 218). Fest. p. 43.5 Linds .: Curitim Iunonem appellabant, quia eandem ferre hastam putabant; p. 55.6: Iunonis Curitis . . . , quae ita appellabatur a ferenda hasta, quae lingua Sabinorum curis dicitur; cf. p. 56.21. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 87, p. 285 C: "Hoas &' lepor rò δόρυ νενόμισται, . . . καὶ Κυρίτις ἡ θεὸς ἐπωνόμασται, τὸ γάρ δόρυ 'Κύριν' ἐκάλουν οΙ παλαιοί, etc.

220 Cf. for the time being my short remarks in Essays in

proelia Martem. But Servius feels correctly, too, that, when Turnus starting the battle had impulit arma, this means the same magic compulsion.230 Still more obvious is this magic character of action by Turnus in Aeneid 12.93 sq.: validam vi corripit hastam, . . . quassatque trementem, vociferans: "nunc o nunquam frustrata vocatus hasta meos, nunc tempus adest." The same atmosphere is mirrored rather often by other poets. Valerius Flaccus²³¹ describes the pause for breath in a heroic contest as fixa silet Gradivus in hasta, and the raging of war as pugnas mota pater (sc. Gradivus) incitat hasta.282 The same is expressed by Statius²³⁸ with cum Odrysiam Gradivus in hastam surgeret, and by Silius Italicus with quassat per auras . . . hastam (Mayors).284 The ancilia285 and the hastae Martis stayed in their shrine in Rome, serving the defense of the city itself; they should avert evil and watch over the city.236 But, as the quotations just given show clearly, the same complex of magic ideas was at work when the might of the spear was desirable for the purpose of the offensive.

We must stress the importance of the fact, emerging from our discussion, that the occult force immanent in the spear was not bound to a single god or a single venerable weapon, but was supposed to be at work almost everywhere where the hasta was carried. This elucidates how the spear as the skeleton of the standards could have a religious touch everywhere and also how the mandatory use of the spear as summa imperii was prepared by this magic concept, paving the way for the juridical expression of sovereignty for the awe-inspiring power of the dreadful tool of slaughter.287 Not less important for our problem is the well-established fact that the kings had already watched over the sacred spears of Mars; no one will doubt that they were deposited in the regia before the rex sacrificulus took over from the real king the duty of watching their behavior.

H. Wagenvoort made it plausible that the concept of the *imperium* has something to do with the

notion of the "mana." He thinks288 that imperium meant originally "chief's mana," imperare to transfer "mana," and imperator the "chief who transfers mana." The archaic notion of the felicitas imperatoris289 proves that the general in charge was supposed to have such a magic power; but, beside this stood the hasta incorporating the imperium. The fact that the spear was carried before the king or commander, and not by him like all his other regalia, was originally due to this self-sufficient power of the spear. This custom and belief must be pre-Etruscan;240 as the hasta as attribute in the hand of the Etruscan king of Chiusi (pl. 3,1) suggests, the Etruscan kings introduced the royal spear-attribute in Rome, which must be distinguished from the sovereign spear.

THE DIVINE SPEAR PRESIDING OVER THE OATH

We return now to the oath-scene on gold coins which were struck, as is today unanimously accepted, in the second half of the Punic war (pl. 6, 1-4). A bearded old man of imposing stature, naked to the waist and clad only in a skirt, holds the sign of the imperium, a very tall spear; facing him, a younger man stands in a cuirass, with a shorter spear and a mantle on the left arm. Both point with their drawn swords to a pig held by a youth kneeling between them.241 At this period, realistic representation of a contemporary event is not yet possible; such an allusion would have been pictured only through scenes of myth and legend.242 Thus an oath taken by an actual imperator from a soldier is out of the question; and as the imitation of the types a hundred years later (pl. 6,7-8) puts the two main figures on an equal footing, we must focus our attention on federal oaths in the Rome of legendary times to which these two men certainly belonged.

But why is the old man half-naked and the young one in armor? The bearded Titus Tatius with the younger Romulus could in no case be pictured in such utterly different attire. But there is another solution easily at hand. I have proved in an earlier

²³⁰ Serv. Aen. 8.3.

²⁸¹ Val. Flacc. Argon. 4.279-281.

²³² ibid. 4.609. 283 Stat. Achill. 1.485 sqq.

²³⁴ Sil. Ital. Pun. 4.434 sqq. Cf. Livius 24.10.10: iam alia vulgata miracula erant: hastam Martis Praeneste sua sponte promotam.

²³⁵ Whether these were preserved in the regia or in the curia Saliorum is not quite certain. Cf. Deubner, op.cit. (supra n. 215) 74 sqq. Ed. Norden op.cit. (supra n. 215) 154. Marbach RE 14.1022.

²³⁶ Cf. the splendid pages of Ed. Norden, op.cit. (supra

²³⁷ Cf. already L. Deubner, op.cit. (supra n. 215) 75.

²³⁸ Wagenvoort, op.cit. (supra n. 164) 66 sqq.

²³⁹ H. Wagenvoort, *Mnemosyne* 4. ser. 7 (1955) 300 sq.

²⁴⁰ Cf. also P. de Francisci, *StEtr* 2. ser., 24 (1955/56) 38 sqq. with n. 103-104 (Lit.).

²⁴¹ H. Willers, Corolla numismatica in honour of B. V. Head (London 1906) 319 note I has shown that he must not be a camillus, but could be a noble youth, quoting Cic. De inv. 9.21.

²⁴² Cf. my remarks in the essays dedicated to H. Mattingly (supra n. 220) p. 66.

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study243 that the patricians of early Rome wore only a loin-cloth in battle; thus the old giant can only be one of them, whereas the armored young man is of course no infantryman primae classis, but can only be a stranger, with whom an alliance is sworn. The picture of this alliance is well known and often reproduced, as the occurrence of this composition on engraved gems shows.244 The preliminaries given above reduce the identification of our federal oath of ancient times to only one possibility. The mighty old representative of the autochthonous ancestors of the Romans is king Latinus, as Vergil depicts him on the ground of the myth-historical tradition in the Aeneid: he is iam senior248 or rather longaevus rex,248 maximus aevo Latinus,247 the venerable pater Latinus.248 He is of great stature, ingenti mole.240

The younger man, armed in Greek fashion, is Aeneas. We know well how Trojans and Achaean heroes were confused in Italic legend as mutual friends and founders of cities, and there was a tradition which stressed the "Greek" appearance of Aeneas, clearly preserved, e.g. by Dionysios of Halikarnassos. King Latinus recognizes the newly arrived Trojans ώπλισμένους τε ώς "Ελληνας, 250 and some divinity persuades him in a dream δέχεσθαι τους Ελληνας τῆ χώρα συνοίκους;251 nay, Aeneas himself tells him, they have come from Troy, πόλεως δε οὐ τῆς ἀφανεστάτης ἐν Ελλησιν. 252 So this is the famous foedus aequum between Latinus and Aeneas, the Romanae stirpis origo as Vergil²⁵³ calls it,254 describing the solemn promises of the Trojan leader to the Latins as follows:255

non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo, nec mihi regna peto, paribus se legibus ambae invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.

sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto, imperium sollemne socer.

The summa of this imperium sollemne, the spear, is in fact in the hands of Latinus. This definition of the old alliance could never be more actual for Rome than in 200 B.C. when the socii Latini wanted to abandon it, as Livy258 amply attests, especially since the same authority informs us that this coincided with a quite unusual drain on the gold reserve of the aerarium sanctius.257 H. Willers,258 starting from entirely different premises, dated this gold issue exactly in this year. 200 He made the fine observation that a descendant of the gens Veturia a hundred years later renewed this coin-type (pl. 6, 7-8), on the ground that in 200 B.C., when our foedus-scene reminded the Latins of their ancestral piety and duties, the praetor L. Veturius was one of the most important personalities. A coherent complement to the oath-scenes is given by the hitherto misunderstood obverse (pl. 6,1-4). The alliance with Latinus was imposed on Aeneas by the dii Penates;260 similarly a later coin-type with the sow of Lavinium shows on the obverse the heads of these D(ii) P(enates) P(ublici) with their laurel-wreath (pl. 6,9-10). In our case they are coupled as the two faces of a janiform head, a common practice of Greek iconography, combining two congenial persons or even an antithetic couple into a double unit.261 The prominent role of this youthful double head, which appears also on the silver quadrigati in the Hannibalic war, is now easy to understand; the Penates were the most venerable protectors not only of Rome, but also of the Latins.

Vergil's picture of the foedus-ceremony has still another detail which must be discussed here. Latinus does not hold a spear but a scepter, like

²⁴⁸ Cf. Alföldi, Reiteradel (supra n. 16) 49 sqq.

²⁴⁴ Ad. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium (Berna - op.cit. (supra n. 241) 323.

246 ibid. 7.166. 247 ibid. 248 ibid. 11.410 and 11.469. 249 ibid. 12.161.

1401 1.57.3, 281 ibid. 1.57.4. im Antiquarium (Berlin 1896) 74 no. 1135-1136. H. Willers,

²⁴⁷ ibid. 11.237.

²⁴⁸ ibia. 11.57.3. 200 Dion.Hal. 1.57.3. 283 Aen. 12.166.

²⁵⁴ Literature and details are to be found in: Aust, Roschers Mythol. Lex. II 1904 sqq. W. Schur, Klio 17 (1921) 45 sqq. and W. Schur, RE 12.930 sqq. who thought this foedus was a late fiction. But we know now that the legend of Trojan origin was not only very old in Latium, cf. my paper Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer (Rektoratsprogramm der Universität Basel 1956 [1957]), but it was also used as a token of nobility by the Roman State at least since the attack of Pyrrhus; thus, the possibility of this allegory at the time of the issue of our coin-type

is well established.

²⁵⁶ Liv. 29.9.1. 257 Liv. 27.10.11-13. 255 ibid. 12.189.

²⁸⁸ H. Willers, op.cit. (supra n. 241) 310 sqq.

²⁵⁹ Sydenham, op.cis. (supra n. 45) 6 nos. 69-70 and R. Thomsen, Actes du Congrès Internat. de Numismatique, Paris 1953, II (1957) 193 sqq. would place this emission rather in the beginning of the Second Punic War; cf. also R. Thomsen, Early Roman Coinage I (Copenhagen 1957) 91 sqq. But I am not convinced that the Mars-eagle series (Sydenham 25 no. 226 sqq.) is later than the oath-scene issue, and I wonder whether the first one could not be, as Willers and others supposed, the earliest Roman gold emission.

²⁶⁰ Dion. Hal. 1.57.4.

²⁶¹ I previously noted that Janus or Fontus are wrong explanations (Essays-Mattingly 68), but I overlooked the right solution given here.

Achilles in the Iliad: dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat. The ancient commentators had already connected this passage with the staff preserved in the small temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Servius noted on this passage: ut autem sceptrum adhibeatur ad foedera, haec ratio est, quia maiores semper simulacrum Iovis adhibebant: quod cum taediosum esset, praecipuo quando fiebant foedera cum longe positis gentibus, inventum est, ut sceptrum tenentes quasi imaginem simulacri redderent Iovis: sceptrum enim ipsius est proprium. unde nunc tenet sceptrum Latinus, non quasi rex, sed quasi pater patratus.202 Festus²⁶⁸ relies on the same source when he says: Feretrius Iuppiter . . . ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum, per quod iurarent, et lapidem silicem, quo foedus ferirent.

But the oath-scene of the gold coins from 200 B.C. makes it certain that Latinus, in the older and better tradition, did not swear on a scepter, but on the spear. And it was not only Latinus who did so. When a staff was preserved for this purpose in the oldest sanctuary of Jupiter on the Capitol this was certainly not a pars pro toto of the attire of Jupiter, who had no image at all in this particular cult, but it was simply an archaic hasta praeusta,284 igne durata,265 consisting only of wood. We need not follow the cheap wisdom of the antiquarians who made a scepter of it. The venerable wooden spear belonged not to Feretrius, but to the war-gods; Polybios attests266 that the Romans swore a treaty with Carthage invoking Mars and Quirinus besides Jupiter Feretrius as divine witnesses of their oath.267 Also because the ritual of the spolia opima connected with the same shrine is offered to the triad Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, 268 there can be no doubt about the antiquity of the participation of the gods of the spear in the archaic ceremony of the foedus, nor that the presence of the spear was due to their role.

The ritual object connected with Jupiter Feretrius was not the spear, but the *lapis silex*, with which the sow was killed. Servius (Aen. 8.641) explains

this as follows: a fetialibus inventum (est) ut (porca) silice feriretur ea causa quod antiqui Jovis signum lapidem silicem putaverunt esse. This is only true in a special sense; they kindled the fire through sparks struck by this sort of stone200 and thus the silex was regarded as the source of lightning.270 The foedus, on the other hand, invoked exactly the thrower of the thunderbolt: audiat haec genitor, aui foedera fulmine sancit, King Latinus pronounces in Vergil,271 and we know the old formula of selfexecration, connected with this invocation of Jupiter Feretrius:272 "Audi . . . Iuppiter, si (populus Romanus) prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu ille Diespiter populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam" . . . Id ubi dixit porcum saxo silice percussit.278

The spear watching over the oath is held by the king on the gold coins of 200 B.C.; but it could have this function also without such a human support, simply stuck in the earth. This must be the interpretation of the collective oath in front of a standard, the skeleton and essence of which was the hasta (pl. 6,5-6). Such is the ensign with flying ribbon, corresponding to the manipular signum of the Romans, under which the coniuratio of the peoples of Italy in the Social War is represented on their own coinage.274 I think we must ascribe the same role to the vexillum used when an unforeseen menace of war occurred, though Servius does not expressly mention it, when he elucidates the hoisting of the flag on the arx:276 aut certe si esset tumultus, id est bellum Italicum vel Gallicum, in quibus ex periculi vicinitate erat timor multus, quia singulos interrogare non vacabat, qui fuerat ducturus exercitum ibat ad Capitolium et exinde proferens duo vexilla, unum russeum, quod pedites evocabat, et unum caeruleum, quod erat equitum . . . dicebat "qui rem publicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur," et qui convenissent, simul iurabant: et dicebatur ista militia coniuratio. We have already established the fact that the divine nature of the standards was due to the spear on which the piece of cloth of the

²⁶² Cf. also Serv. Aen. 12.565.

²⁶⁸ Pauli exc. Fest. 81.16 Linds. 264 Liv. 1.32.12.

²⁸⁵ Curt. 3.2.16. Cf. Herod. 7.71.

²⁸⁶ Polyb. 3.25.6.

²⁶⁷ We must identify the *deos alios* of Serv. Aen. 12.565, whom he knows *interfuisse foederi* besides Jupiter, with the same two divine war-lords.

²⁶⁸ G. Wissowa, RE 12.780 sqq.

²⁶⁹ Verg. Aen. 1.174-176: ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates, succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam. ibid. 6.6-7: quaerit

semina flammae, abstrusa in venis silicis.

²⁷⁰ E. Thulin RE 10. 1128.

²⁷¹ Aen. 12.200. 272 Liv. 1.24.7-8.

²⁷³ Cf. K. Marót, op.cit. (supra n. 175) 49 n. 50. G. Wissowa, RE 12.779 sqq. Wagenvoort, op.cit. (supra n. 164) 50 sqq. 55 (where he would like to reduce the original oath to the silex) and 57. E. Taubler, Imperium Romanum I (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 351 sqq.

²⁷⁴ Sydenham, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 90 sqq. nos. 619-621 a, 626, 629, 634, 637, 640-640 a.

²⁷⁸ Aen. 8.1.

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vexillum was fixed; the spear was in this case the superhuman witness and warrant of the sacramentum militiae. We also know that the "mana" of the spear was linked with the war-gods in historical times: pro Marte Romanos hastam coluisse.²⁷⁶

We possess, I think, a third variety of the divine spear, watching over the sanctity of the oath: this is the mosaic of the Villa Borghese, pl. 3,2, hitherto explained in another way.277 Three men278 stand around a boar, holding it with their left hands, and pointing to its body with an arrow in their right hands in the same way as do the patres patrati of the foedus with their swords on the oath-scenes we have discussed (pl. 6,1-10). The arrows are to be stuck into the animal. The men wear a pilleus and a tunica with a narrow clavus; the latter does not denote a low rank, but rather the prisca simplicitas of the nobles, whereas Mars, whose figure is very well characterized by R. Herbig, watches behind them with the spear. Here the predominance of the anthropomorphic divinity conceals the original role of the awful weapon, filled with power.

DIVINE SPEARS IN EARLY GREECE

Traces of the belief in the supernatural power of the spear in Greece have been assembled many times since the days of C. Boetticher. But our leading authority in matters of Greek religion, Martin Nilsson, denies them any significance. He is of course right when he says that such a fetish had but very restricted importance in the classical epoch. But to contest the religious awe for a spear invoked by an oath, to suppose that an incidental cultual veneration of such a weapon in Hellenistic times is to be taken only as a late aberration without bearing on the whole problem, or to impute the cult of a spear in Chaironeia solely to the superstitious feelings raised by the incidental discovery of an old

tomb—all these assumptions are not well enough established and above all they disregard the evidence for pre-classical times. This evidence alone concerns us here; it reveals common roots with those of Rome for the occult force of the spear.

A testimony worthy of most serious consideration escaped the notice of Nilsson, whose brilliant achievements no one holds in higher esteem than the writer of this study.250 The story about the spear-cult of Kaineus, known hitherto only from troubled sources in the scholia of the Iliad281 and Apollonios Rhodios, 282 is now attested by a papyrusfragment of Akusilaos of Argos, an authority of the sixth century B.C.:288 Λέγει γὰρ περί Καινέα ούτως: Καινή δὲ τή Ἐλάτου μίσγεται Ποσειδών. ἔπειτα . . ποιεί αὐτὸν Ποσειδέων ἄνδρα ἄτρωτον, ίσχυν έχοντα μεγίστην των ανθρώπων των τότε, καὶ ὅτε τις αὐτὸν κεντοίη σιδήρω ή χαλκώ, ήλίσκετο μάλιστα χρημάτων. καὶ γίγνεται βασιλεύς ούτος Λαπιθέων καὶ τοῖς Κενταύροις πολεμέεσκε. ἔπειτα στήσας ἀκόν[τιον ἐν ἀγορῷ θεον εκέλευεν άριθμείν. Θεοί]σι δ΄ ούκ ήεν [άρεστόν καὶ Ζεὺς ίδων αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀπειλεῖ καὶ έφορμᾶ τοὺς Κενταῦρους, κάκεῖνοι αῦτὸν κατακόπτουσιν ὄρθιον κατά γής καὶ ἄνωθεν πέτρην ἐπιτιθεῖσιν σῆμα, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. This story is a moralizing tale condemning an archaic ritual and admonishing the people to restrict their veneration to the Olympian gods. This struggle of the classical Greek religion against ancient beliefs in fetishes, attested as early as the sixth century B.C. through Akusilaos, is a peremptory proof of the previous existence of the spear-cult; the struggle continues in later centuries. It must be stressed that not only the ritual veneration but also the oath by the spear was regarded in the classical epoch as UBpis, contempt of the gods. Aischylos says of the Arcadian Parthenopaios:284 ὅμνυσι δ΄ αἰχμὴν ἥν ἔχει, μᾶλλον

²⁷⁶ Varro by Arnob. 6.11; cf. Trogus by Justin. 43.3.3 and our remarks above; cf. Friedr. Schwenn, *ArchRW* 20 (1920/21)

299 sqq. 217 R. Herbig, RM 40 (1925) 289 sqq. (with the previous literature) following a suggestion of W. F. Otto, takes the scene as the ceremonial goat-skin-beating by the Salii. He writes on p. 300: "zwischen sich . . . halten sie . . . ein dunkelbraunes Fell mit schwarzen Zotteln. Die herabhängenden Füsse mit gespaltenen Hufen zeigen, dass es ein Ziegenfell sein muss, wenn sie auch etwas wildschweinartig kurz geraten sind." But the boar also has split hoofs and the skin is surely that of a boar. I think it is not a skin at all, but a boar, the sacrificial animal of the Latins (cf. the reverse of a denarius pl. 6, 9-10), held by three men. The men, on the other hand, do not move their hands as if about to beat the animal, but they are preparing to pierce it with the arrows which they hold. As E. Q. Visconti stated

(Sculture del palazzo della Villa Borghese 2 [Roma 1796] 74) they "stanno percotendo . . . una pelle di animale."

278 Only the head of that on the left is distorted through modern restoration, cf. Herbig, op.cit. (supra n. 277) 297 sqq. 279 M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion 12 (München 1955) 209.

280 I must admit that I missed this point, too, until my eminent colleague, Harold Cherniss, reminded me of the papyrus quoted infra (n. 283).

281 Schol. in Il. 1.264 (1 p. 40.11-12 Dind.).

282 Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. 1.57.

288 Pap. Oxy. 13.1611. fragm. 1. col. III 51: FrGrHist I (1923) 53 Jac. Fr. 22. Cf. Jacoby, op.cis. 379 v. 10 sqq. L. Deubner (n. 215) 72 sqq. relied on the passages of the scholia.

284 Aisch. Sept. 516 sqq.

θεοῦ σέβειν πεποιθώς ὀμμάτων θ'ὑπέρτερον, ἢ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βία Διός. Eteokles' answer gives the verdict of Greek morality on such behavior:285 εί γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν, and also the choir: 286 ίκνειται λόγος διά στηθέων τριχός δ΄ όρθίας πλόκαμος ἵσταται, μεγάλ΄ἄ μεγαληγόρων κλύω (τῶ)ν ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν, εἰ θεοὶ θεοί, τούσδ΄ ολέσειαν έν δậ. The agitation against cruel and impious tyrants also animates Plutarch's tale on the horrors wrought by Alexandros of Pherai:287 την δέ λόγχην, ή Πολύφρονα τὸν θεῖον ἀπέκτεινε, καθιέρωσας καὶ καταστέψας, ἔθυεν ὥσπερ θεῷ, καὶ Τύχωνα προσηγόρευε. 288 Many other such pious stories must have existed in Greek literature which were imitated by the Romans. Vergil depicts the contemptor divum, 289 Mezzentius, the antagonist of his hero, as boasting: "dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro, nunc adsint";290 no wonder that his opponent, the pius Aeneas, vanquishes him. The other enemy of Aeneas to be wiped out on similar grounds, Turnus, appeals to his spear instead of to the gods before the decisive struggle:201 quassatque trementem (hastam) vociferans: "nunc o nusquam frustrata vocatus hasta meos, nunc tempus adest. . . ."

In spite of all this pious agitation, the belief in the supernatural force of the spear and even the ritual obeisance to some famous spears could not be suppressed completely. The principal object of cult veneration in the city of Chaironeia was the scepter of Agamemnon which was in fact a $\delta \delta \rho \nu$, as the inhabitants called it; if Pausanias²⁹² calls it a $\sigma \kappa \hat{\eta} \pi \tau \rho o \nu$, the expression must have been coined under the influence of the epics. The daily cult and daily offerings of fresh food to this $\delta \delta \rho \nu$ was administered by a specially appointed official in whose house the spear was sheltered.

285 ibid. 537 sqq.

286 ibid. 550 sqq.

287 Plut. Pelop. 29.8 (II. 2.107. Ziegler).

288 Cf. Schwenn (supra n. 276) and Deubner (supra n. 215).

289 Verg. Aen. 7.648, cf. ibid. 8.7.

290 ibid. 10.772 sqq.

291 ibid. 12.93. sqq.

292 Pausan. 9.40.1 sqq. Cf. Deubner, op.cit. (supra n. 215)
73. J. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece V (1898) 210
sqq. (with ethnological parallels). M. W. de Visser, Die nicht
menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen (Leiden 1903) 112
sqq. S. Wide, Lakonische Kulte (Leipzig 1893) 333. Wernicke,
RE 1.721. St. Weinstock, RE 19.438 sqq. A. B. Cook, Zeus 2
(Cambridge 1914-1940) 1132 n. 6. Fr. Pfister, Der Reliquienkult im Altertum (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 5) 336 sqq.

The oath by the spear must have been a common practice in early Greece. Apollo, whose attributes are the bow and lyre, but not the spear, and who has nothing to do with the spear, swears on the κρανέιον ἀκόντιον in the Homeric hymn to Hermes;298 this can only be interpreted as a generally accepted procedure. It is essential to realize that this oath was regarded as a strictly religious endeavor, and therefore a sacrilege from the standpoint of piety toward the gods. We have already seen how the outrage of Parthenopaios is commented upon by Aischylos; in another version of the story of Kaineus, not the worship, but the oath on the spear is the outrage which inflamed the wrath of Zeus.294 The wantonness of Idas by Apollonios Rhodios295 belongs to the same category: ζστω νθν δόρυ θοθρον, ότω περιώσιον άλλων κθδος ένι πτολέμοισιν ἀείρομαι, οὐ δέ μ'οφέλλει Ζεύς τόσον, ὀσσάτιόν περ΄ έμον δόρυ, μή νύ τι πημα λοίγιον ἔσσεσθαι, μὴ δ΄ ἀκράαντον ἄεθλον Ίδεω έσπομένοιο, καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιόωτο. Idmon²⁹⁶ reproaches him: σὺ δ΄ ἀτάσθαλα πάμπαν ἔξιπας. 297

One word must also be said about the oath on the scepter in Homer.²⁹⁸ Achilles certainly does not handle his scepter with awe when he swears on it,²⁹⁹ and when he dashes it down to earth it is not apparent whether this is caused only by his raging passion, as in the case of Telemachos in the Odyssey,³⁰⁰ or whether this, too, belonged originally to the ritual as in the oath on the *lapis silex*, dramatizing self-condemnation in the case of a perjury. Vergil's paraphrase (Aen. 12.206) interprets this oath thus, the loss of life in his staff representing the fate which should strike him if he violates the oath. But Achilles' swearing is deadly serious: καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι.... ὁ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὅρκος. And the scepter is a venerable object for

294 Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.57: δ Καινεύς . . . ἐκέλευσε τοὺς

παριόντας όμνύναι els τὸ δόρυ αὐτοῦ.

295 Apoll. Rhod. 1.466.

296 ibid. 1.480.

²⁰⁷ Cf. also Val. Flacc. Argon. 3.708 and R. M. Meyer, ArchRW 15 (1912) 435 sqq.

²⁹⁸ Cf. R. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (Leipzig 1902) 25. K. Marót, *Der Eid als Tat* (Acta litt. ac scient. r. univ. Francisco-Josephinae, Szeged 1924) 2 sqq. F. J. M. de Waele, *op.cit.* (supra n. 172) 110 etc.

299 Il. 1.233, 237 sq., 239.

800 Od. 2.35 sqq.

²⁹³ Hymn. Herm. 460. Cf. L. Radermacher, Der homerische Hermeshymnus (SBWien 213 I 1931) 153 sqq. with more modern literature. His attempt to explain away the spear as the stick of a whip is not successful.

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him, too; νῦν αὖτέ μιν υίες 'Αχαιῶν ἐν παλάμης φορέουσιν δικασπόλοι οι τε θέμιστας πρός Διός εἰρύαται. No doubt, the oath would not be possible without this implement, as is also obvious in the case of Hector, who must raise his sacred scepter to Zeus as witness of his solemn obligation. The contemptuous behavior of Achilles does not touch the fact that the oath's validity depended on the employment of the sacred staff, and its presence was necessary for all other solemn public governmental transactions. Even if the scepter became an implement of ceremony in the Iliad, in which the emotional drunkenness of magical operations gave place to the beauty of poetic imagery, behind its conception-even if far behind-it suggests the same clumsy atmosphere of "mana"-belief, as in the ceremony of the Roman federal oath.

It would be very attractive to pursue the role of the hasta in Byzantium too; that this continuation really existed has been recently underlined by J. Deér.802 Such a new study could also decide the problem, whether the "Vortragslanze" of the medieval German kings and emperors was an independent phenomenon, as has been supposed, or was influenced-as I think it was-by the Roman hasta, the significance of which has not hitherto been realized. For such an analysis there is now an excellent new basis in the broadly conceived work of my dear friend Percy E. Schramm. 808 A comparison of our results with the staff as symbol of royalty in the Near East would also not be without interest. But this task must be an enterprise of others who are better equipped for it than the writer of this modest sketch.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES OF hasta AS EMBLEM OF POWER (pl. 10, figs. 1-48)

Our pictorial survey of types needs only a few remarks with indication of provenience.

Fig. 1: The divine spear in the hand of king Latinus on the gold coins struck during the Second Punic War (pl. 6,1-4) and the spearhead on early denarii.⁸⁰⁴

Fig. 2: Spearhead as monetary mark on an early denarius (pl. 2,1-4).

Fig. 3: The spear as summa imperii, a mark of control on the obverse, with the securis on the reverse of a denarius of L. Papius, dated by H. A. Grueber³⁰⁵ to the year 80 B.C., by Babelon³⁰⁶ to 79 B.C. and by E. A. Sydenham³⁰⁷ to 78-77 B.C.

Fig. 4: The spear as badge of power with the rudder as symbol of *felicitas* on an engraved gem with the head of Asinius Pollio, ca. 42 B.c.⁸⁰⁸

Fig. 5: The same as control mark (pl. 5,2) on the obverse of a denarius of M. Volteius M. f. aedilis in 82 B.C.⁸⁰⁹ Another spear of the same shape is on the denarius of L. Papius (pl. 4,7), also as control mark, with a phalera on the reverse.

Fig. 6: The spear as badge of imperium with the lituus on both sides of the head of DIVOS IVLIVS on the concave reverse of a projected coin-issue in Bologna, with the head of the

³⁰¹ Hom. Il. 10.319 sqq. 328 sqq. Arist. Polit. 3.9.7 (1285 B) had in mind this passage mentioning that δ δ δρκος ήν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις in the case of the ancient kings.

802 BZ 50 (1957) 427 sqq.

303 P. E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik (Schriften der Mon. Germ. Hist. 13 II, Stuttgart 1955) 492 sqq.

804 Sydenham, op.cit. (supra n. 45) nos. 152-153 and 222-224.

BMCRep I 370 no. 2977 sqq.
 Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) II 279 no. 1.

307 Sydenham, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 127 no. 773.

308 Cf. pl. 5.1.

309 Grueber, op.cit. (supra n. 305) 1 300 agg. places this series in the year 78 n.c., Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) 11 582 in 88 n.c., Sydenham, ibid. (supra n. 45) 127 no. 774 sqq.

DIVI FILIVS on the concave obverse. This type certainly existed, as the next drawing shows; however, the representation on a coin-die which we intended to reproduce proved to be not only different, but also fictitious. Cf. n. 46.

Fig. 7: Iron spearhead found in Wössingen (Baden, Germany), preserved in the Museum of Karlsruhe; more than 35 cm. long.⁸¹⁰

Fig. 8: Similar spearhead on the top of a legionary standard on the column of Trajan in Rome.³¹¹

Fig. 9: Standard with spearhead on the same column.812

Fig. 10: Military standard applied as control mark on a denarius of C. Valerius Flaccus (pl. 1,1) in Paris, in the form of a spear which has two lateral protuberances under the spearhead and perhaps a series of thin plastic rings below it; beneath them there is a tassel, as on many other sorts of signa. This coin has been dated in the latter half of the eighties of the first century B.C.²¹⁸

Fig. 11: Engraved spear on a so-called contorniate-medallion from the end of the fourth century A.D. Under the spearhead the same circular protuberances on both sides as the type just described. 314

around 76 B.C. But I have shown in my paper Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer, Rektoratsprogramm der Univ. Basel 1956 (1957) pl. 9,1-9, that their issue strictly coincides with that of the gold triumphal issue of Sulla from 82 B.C.

810 E. Ritterling, Bonn/bb 125 (1919) 9 sqq.

311 C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule (Berlin 1896-1900) Bild no. 346.

812 ibid. Bild no. 66.

⁸¹⁸ Grueber, op.cit. (supra n. 305) II 388 sqq. Babelon, op.cit. (supra n. 45) II 513 no. 4. Sydenham, ibid. (supra n. 45) 120 no. 747 sqq. I wish to return to the chronology of this rich series.

314 A. Alföldi, Die Kontorniaten (Budapest 1942/43) pl. 42, 10.

Fig. 12: Similar spear on the conical top of a grave-monument in Lyons.⁸¹⁵ The spearhead was, we think, only painted and not cut in low relief like the other parts of the object, but could not be absent, being the most essential part of the emblem.⁸¹⁶ The two circular discs under the spearpoint of figs. 10-11 reveal themselves as containing the two letters B(ene)f(iciarius) (consularis), or a similar abbreviated rendering of the rank of the official to whom it belonged.

Fig. 13: Ovoid spearhead with an oblique incision on both sides, diagonally opposed to each other and with a little round hole on their inner ends. Original length ca. 60 cm. It was found in a sanctuary with two other still bigger spearheads and with a huge tuba in Kleinwinterheim with the inscription of A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento, consul the third time under Domitian. This colossal spear was not intended for practical purposes, but was a votive offering. Its type with the incisions is the same as that of the imperial spear-attribute of Domitian himself, fig. 18. Thus this votive spear imitates the praecipuum insigne of power, in this case that of the governor.

Fig. 14: Bronze fibula with silver coat, found in Mainz,818 with the same lateral incisions on the spearhead.

Fig. 15: Big iron spearhead with a prolongated rod-like point and the same incisions, from Noricum; found in St. Peter in Holz, preserved in the Museum of Klagenfurt. 310

Fig. 16: Spearhead in miniature, in which two broader lateral incisions are cut, on leather. It was found in Vindonissa and is preserved in the Vindonissa-Museum at Brugg, Switzerland.⁸²⁰

Fig. 17: Spearhead with oblique incisions on the top of the standard of an auxiliary troop represented on the tombstone of Pintaius in Bonn (pl. 9,1), first century A.D.⁸²¹

Fig. 18: The spear-attribute of Domitian departing on a northern campaign, pl. 7,1. Relief found in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome.³²²

Fig. 19: Silver fibula from Weisenau, Germany. ³²⁸ Under an anchor—a nice allusion to advancement in the army—a spear is represented between two swords. The spear has a horizontal rod over the point, two round holes in the middle of the laurelleaf-shaped spearhead and a small tabula ansata. The type of the swords indicates (in the sense of the argument of J. Hundt) a date around 200 A.D., ³²⁴ the more important because details of the type just described occur on a number of the varieties known (figs. 23-24, figs. 31-36, 45 show the horizontal strokes

315 E. Espérandieu, Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine III (Paris 1910) 35 no. 1785 (with literature). Cf. Ritterling (supra n. 310) 17 sqq.

816 This against the opinion of Espérandieu who mentions the visible "bâtonnet" of the shaft and of Ritterling who describes the "Stange."

317 Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 8 sqq.; fig. 18, 1; cf. fig. 16 (the inscription just mentioned).

818 ibid. 19 no. 2 and fig. 18,4. 819 ibid. 19 no. 1 and fig. 18,2.

820 ibid. no. 5 and fig. 18,6.

321 ibid. 19 no. 3 and fig. 18,2 (with literature). CIL XIII 8098. C. Cichorius RE 4, 247 ("etwa Mitte des I. Jahrhunderts"). W. Wagner, Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen. Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Bd. 203 (Berlin 1938).

322 Cf. supra. Further literature by Behrens (supra n. 112) 19 no. 4 who wrongly describes it as "die Lanze eines Centurionen."

323 Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 10 (1891) 399 with pl. 5,13. Behrens (supra n. 112) 20 no. C. 1. who takes the anchor as "dachförmige Spitze, die dem Aufbau Halt gibt."

824 H.-J. Hundt, Saalburg-Jahrbuch 14 (Berlin 1955) 50 sqq. 825 Cf. fig. 2,39 and CIL VII 517: Behrens (supra n. 112)

above the point. Fig. 24 and figs. 28-36 have the tabula ansata. Figs. 21-24 and figs. 24-45 have the two holes). The small tablet below the spearhead was regarded by Behrens as bearing the name or rank of the official to whom it belonged, an attractive hypothesis indeed. The two holes occur also on the spearheads of standards. This type generally belongs to the middle Empire.

Fig. 20: Fragment of a decorative spearhead of iron, found in the Roman fortress of Niederbieber; the exact form is unknown. §25a

Fig. 21: Spear-ensign of a *speculator* pl. 9,2⁸²⁶ from Belgrade. The execution of the relief makes it unlikely that the spear would be an exact typological reproduction.

Fig. 22: Big iron spearhead from the limes-fortress of Pfünz in Germany. 327

Fig. 23: Reproduction of the decorative spear-emblem of the speculator L. Valerius Augustalis on his tombstone, from Salona. Salona. Salona. Salona stroke above the point, two short thorns directed obliquely upwards on both sides.

Fig. 24: Decorative spear of a similar type, carved on one of the lateral slabs of the grave-aediculum of an unknown official (likely of the legio Il adiutrix). 329

Fig. 25: Spearhead, engraved on the left side of the altar of Clod(ius) Marianus, frumentarius of the legion VII Gemina, from Pons Aeni (Pfaffenhofen).880

Fig. 26: Official with spear-ensign from Perinthus, 331 first half of the third century A.D.

Fig. 27: Miniature spearhead, Museum in Olten, Switzerland.⁸³² It shows "wings" under the laurel-shaped point and besides the two round holes, triangular and round openworkdecoration (imitated).

Fig. 28: Miniature spearhead from Cannstadt, likely to have been an ornament fixed on leather. I doubt that the two scrolls under the socket belonged to it; I suspect this is an irresponsible addition which has nothing to do with the spear-type.⁸³⁸

Fig. 29: Miniature bronze spear-emblem, with abnormally elongated point. The horizontal rod above the laurel-leaf-shaped blade has a lateral volute on both sides; below the blade is a tabula ansata.⁸³⁴

Fig. 30: Similar spearhead of the same provenience, 835 without the tabula ansata, but with a crescent on the top.

Fig. 31: Miniature spearhead from Versec-Vršac in Yugo-

B 3. Cf. E. Ritterling RE 12. 1373 and 1462 sqq.

325a E. Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) 14 sqq. with fig. 6-6a. 320 CIL III 1651: ILS 2378. Ritterling, Bonn|bb 125 (1919)

23.

827 Der obergerm.-rätische Limes no. 73 Pfünz pl. 15,31.
Ritterling, Bonnlbb 125 (1919) 33 and 34 fig. 20. Behrens, ibid. (supra n. 112) fig. 19,4.

³²⁸ Catalogo dell' Museo dell' Impero Romano. Supplemento al Catalogo della Mostra Augustea della romanità (Rome 1943) 95 no. 15. F. Magi, op.cit. 88, with the inexact drawing fig. 63. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 20 no. B. 1 and fig. 20.

Behrens, ibid. (supra n. 112) 20 no. B.2 and fig. 21.
B30 CIL III 5579; the special literature is to be found in Ritterling (supra n. 111) 13 with fig. 5.

881 JOAIBeibl I (1899) 117 fig. 28; Ritterling (supra n. 111) 13 fig. 4.

832 Historisches Museum in Olten. Published by Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 21 no. 14.

888 ORL 59, p. 27 and pl. 8,23. G. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 21 no. 10 and fig. 22,15.

334 Behrens, ibid. (supra n. 112) 21 no. 13 and fig. 22:18; Museum in Portogruaro.

885 ibid. fig. 22,19.

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slavia, 886 found in Palánka (Banat). We find a small lanceolate point above the blade; besides the horizontal rods above and below the blade, there is one more stroke under the latter. The two "eyes" are also to be mentioned. The same general type is represented also by our types nos. 32, 33 and 35.

Fig. 32: Miniature spearhead, found in Wallstadt (Museum Mannheim), originally suspended on a ring as a hanging ornament.³⁸⁷ Similar pieces were noticed by G. Behrens from the fortress Zugmantel,³⁸⁸ from the Saalburg,³⁸⁹ from Stockstadt³⁴⁰ and from Osterburken.³⁴¹

Fig. 33: Similar miniature hanging ornament from Heddernheim.³⁴²

Fig. 34: Similar miniature spearhead, without the second blade on the top, from the fortress of Kösching.⁸⁴⁸

Fig. 35: Similar miniature spear-ornament from Osterburken.³⁴⁴

Fig. 36: Similar piece ending in a pelta-shaped ornament on the top, known from the Wetterau-limes⁸⁴⁵ and Osterburken.⁸⁴⁶

The following types have a broader, circular contour instead of a laurel-leaf-shaped blade. They seem to represent a secondary development.

Fig. 37: Open-work bronze ornament, once applied on leather, from Zugmantel.³⁴⁷

Fig. 38: Spear-ensign of a beneficiarius consularis from Vinxtbach.848

Fig. 39: Top of a vexillum of similar shape from Zugmantel, wrought of iron, with an iron cross-bar. Ritterling may be right that it did not belong to a military formation but to a collegium.³⁴⁹

Fig. 40: Standard of a collegium, based on the same round ornamental spear-type with two eyes as above, from the Musée Calvet, Avignon.³⁵⁰ Fig. 41: Similar standard from Alcudio, Mallorca, 851

The following drawings exemplify another shape of these spear-ensigns with two superimposed blades.

Fig. 42: Spear-emblem found in Ehl an der Ill and preserved in Wiesbaden. It is of iron and bronze, 252 91 cm. high.

Fig. 43: Spear-ensign of same type as fig. 42, on a relief illustrating Trajan's Dacian victories built into the triumphal arch of Constantine in Rome, pl. 7,2. The spear-ensign is engraved in outline in the background of the battle scene, i.e. it is not employed in the actual fighting and it does not follow the Emperor himself, but is carried some distance from the battle. There is another corresponding spear engraved in outline on the other slab of the same battle relief, mentioned by Magi, but not visible in the photographs. 2020.

Fig. 44: Original iron spear-ensign from the Roman fortress of Weissenburg a.S.; length 44 cm.884

Fig. 45: Similar spear with two superimposed heart-shaped blades, reproduced on the grave-altar of a beneficiarius consularis from Salona. ⁸⁵⁵ The type with the horizontal rod on the top of the upper blades reminds us of the types nos. 31-35; it could mark the transition from these shapes to the rounder doubled ones in nos. 42-44.

Fig. 46: Manipular standard represented on the coins of C. Valerius Flaccus (pl. 1,1) and on those of the two Pompeian consuls of 49 B.C.

Fig. 47: Similar standard used by the Italians in the Social War (pl. 6,5-6).

Fig. 48: Vexillum with spearhead on its top; mint-mark on the denarii of L. Papius and L. Roscius Fabatus (pl. 4,1-4).

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336 ibid. fig. 22,17.

387 ibid. 21 and fig. 22,14.

838 ORL 8 pl. 10,68 and 82. Saalburg-Jahrbuch (1910) 51 pl. 8,3. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 20, no. C 4 and fig. 22,4-6.

³³⁹ F. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg* (1897) pl. 56,11-12. Behrens (supra n. 112) 21, no. C 5 and fig. 22,7-8.

840 ORL 33, p. 50 and pl. 7,21. Behrens (supra n. 112) no. C 7 and fig. 22,10.

⁸⁴¹ ORL 40, pl. 6,40 and 43; ORL Abteilung A 6, 235 and pl. 24,49. G. Behrens, *ibid*. (supra n. 112) no. C. 8 and fig. 22,12.

³⁴² H.-J. Hundt, Saalburg-Jahrbuch 14 (1955) 50, Abb. 1,5. ³⁴⁸ ORL 74, p. 22 and pl. 4,13. Behrens, ibid. (supra n. 112) 21 no. 11 and fig. 22,16. Cf. also H.-J. Hundt, op.cit. (supra n. 342) fig. 1,4.

844 Behrens, *ibid*. (supra n. 112) 20 no. 8 and fig. 22,13.
845 ORL Abteilung A II 200 and pl. 17,12. Behrens, *ibid*.

(supra n. 112) fig. 22,9. 846 Behrens, ibid. fig. 22,11.

347 Saalburg-lahrbuch 7 (1930) 50 and pl. 12,13. Behrens, ibid. (supra n. 112) 20 no. C. 2 and fig. 22,2.

848 CIL XIII 7731. Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) 12 and fig. 3. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 20, no. 2 and fig. 19,2. 849 ORL no. 8, p. 98 and pl. 21,55. Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) 32 n. 3. Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 19 no. 1 and fig. 19,3.

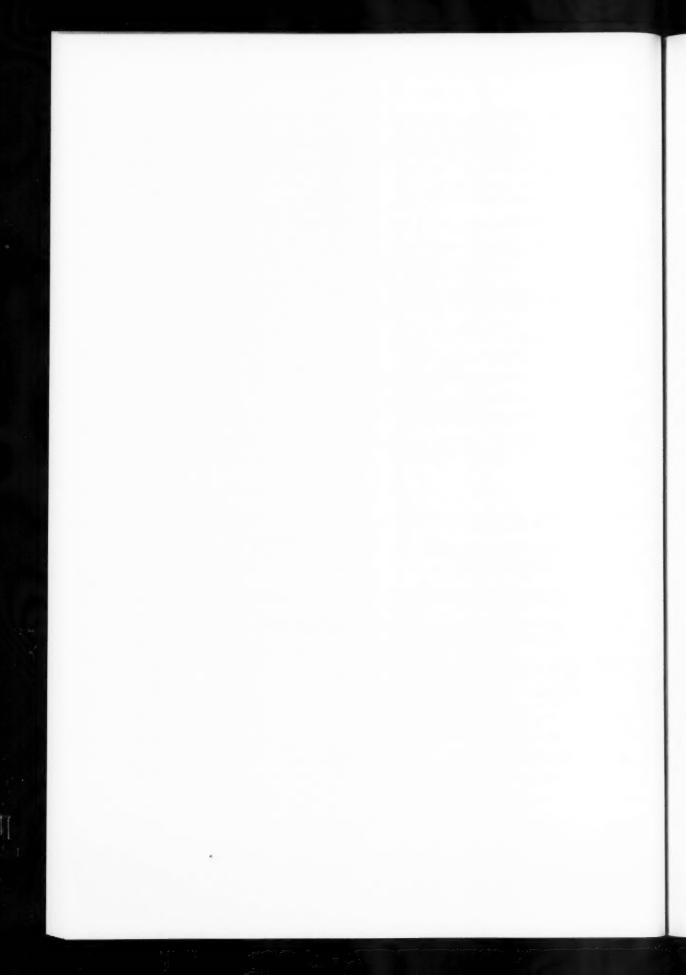
Ritterling, ibid. (supra n. 111) 31 sqq., fig. 18.
 Behrens, op.cit. (supra n. 112) 21 no. 2 and fig. 23,2.

⁸⁵² Ritterling, op.cit. (supra n. 111) 9 sqq. and fig. 1 where details are thoroughly discussed.

858 F. Magi, op.cit. 88 sqq.

354 ORL no. 72, pl. 8, fig. 53. E. Ritterling, ibid. (supra n. 111) 15 sqq. with fig. 7.

355 CIL III 12895. Ritterling, ibid. (supra n. 111) 15 sqq. with fig. 8.



The Vessels with Engraved Designs and the Repoussé Bowl from the Tell Basta Treasure

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

PLATES 11-14

"The Tell Basta Treasure" is the generally used designation for the gold and silver vessels and jewelry discovered in 1906 at Tell Basta, the ancient Bubastis, in the eastern section of the Egyptian Delta. The site lies on the outskirts of the modern town of Zaqaziq, an important center in Sharqiyeh province.1 Aside from the intrinsic interest of the treasure, it has aroused considerable discussion among non-Egyptologists because of the possible Asiatic origin of some of the objects² and among Egyptologists because of the general uncertainty which prevails as to the date of the treasure. Since the decorated patera from the find is a forerunner of the "Phoenician" paterae of a later date, the treasure has long been familiar to the classical archaeologist.

The contemporary accounts cited below indicate that the initial find was made accidentally on Sep-

¹ For the bibliography of the site up to 1934, see B. Porter and R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography, IV. Lower and Middle Egypt, 27-35, and for the treasure, 34-35. The abbreviations used are those cited in AJA 62 (1958) 1-8, to which should be added Wb. for A. Erman and H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, and Urk. for G. Steindorff (ed.), Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. The writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge the kind assistance of his former colleagues at the Metropolitan Museum, Mr. Ambrose Lansing, Dr. William C. Hayes, Miss Charlotte Clark, and Miss Nora E. Scott, in many aspects of the preparation of this paper, as well as to the Museum's photographic and photostat departments and the department of conservation, where the joins suggested by the writer were executed. Permission to study the objects in Cairo was generously accorded by Mr. Abbas Bayoumi, then Director of the Egyptian Museum. The late Professor Alexander Scharff provided several helpful suggestions in a letter dated 7.12.49, and Mr. Bernard V. Bothmer kindly supplied the inventory numbers of the objects in Berlin from his notes. The illustrations of the objects in New York are used by the courtesy of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. Lastly, the writer is indebted to the past members of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum who entered the bibliographical data in the files, for it was initially through these indications that it was possible to join several fragments in New York to pieces in Berlin and Cairo.

The spellings Tell Basta and Seti have been adopted for convenience instead of Tell Basta and Sethy. Diacritical marks have been restricted to actual transcriptions and to cases in which there might be ambiguity. Dr. William S. Smith's book in the Pelican Series on art and archaeology and Dr. William C. Hayes'

tember 22, 1906, during the removal of earth for the Egyptian Railways Administration. The treasure was immediately appropriated by the workmen, but several of the major objects were recovered by seizure for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. These have now become familiar to students of Egyptian archaeology through the publication by C. C. Edgar in Le musée égyptien, the articles by Maspero in Le Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, Vernier's catalogue of the gold and silver in the museum, and numerous illustrations in handbooks on Egyptian art.8 Other objects from this find found their way through the antiquities market to the Berlin Museum and the then newly inaugurated Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, where they were subsequently published in the bulletins of the respective museums by the late Alexander Scharff and the present writer.4

second volume of *The Scepter of Egypt* have not appeared at the time of writing, but I understand that the Tell Basta treasure will be discussed by both authors.

² For example, F. Poulsen, Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) 5, 9, with references; R. Dussaud, L'art phénicien du lle millénaire (Paris 1949) 19. Poulsen recognizes their probable Egyptian origin, while Dussaud apparently considers them as Syrian.

⁸ C. C. Edgar, in Maspero, Le musée égyptien II (1907) 93-108, pls. 43-55 (hereafter Muség); G. Maspero, "Le trésor de Zagazig," RevArtAnc 23 (1908) 401-12, and 24 (1908) 929-38; C. C. Edgar, "Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta," ASAE 25 (1925) 256-58, with two plates; É. Vernier, Bijoux et orjèvreries (Cat.gen., Cairo) pls. 104-06. Several of the objects have been illustrated so frequently in handbooks on Egyptian art that no useful purpose would be served by attempting a complete bibliography (see n. 1 above for a partial list).

⁴ A. Scharff, "Altes und Neues von der Goldschmiedearbeiten der ägyptischen Abteilung," BerlMus 51 (1930) 114-21; W. K. Simpson, "The Tell Basta Treasure," BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 61-65. A general view of some of the objects in New York is included in Nora E. Scott, The Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians (New York 1947) fig. 19 (not paginated). An announcement of the acquisition of the objects in New York was made by A. M. Lythgoe in BMMA 2 (1907) 195-96; Lythgoe's statement that several of the pieces were inscribed with the name of Ramesses II is not borne out by an examination of the treasure, and it seems clear that the rim piece with the name of Tawosret was thus incorrectly interpreted at that time.

Several objects in the private collection of the American archaeologist and collector, Theodore M. Davis, also entered the Metropolitan on loan at this time. They later were bequeathed to the museum by Davis and were included in the second of the bulletin articles cited above.

A second hoard was uncovered on October 17, 1906, in the same vicinity. As a result of the vigilance of the inspectorate of the Antiquities Service, this entire group was preserved intact for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.⁵

The location of the second hoard has been described as "west of the temple, 160 meters from the west corner of the ruins and 100 meters from the more northwesterly of the two circular chambers in the Roman building."6 The first hoard was apparently found a few meters from the second, although slightly nearer the temple.7 The level at which the finds were made is described as twenty meters below the Roman stratum and was considered by Edgar as not later than Ramesside; the only datable material was of New Kingdom type.8 These data, admittedly incomplete and insufficiently precise, have too frequently been disregarded by subsequent authorities. Edgar was present shortly after the discovery of the first find. He conducted a limited excavation at the site to determine its archaeological context, and this trial yielded various fragments, including a necklace.9 He was present at the discovery of the second find. There is thus every reason to credit his evaluation of the circumstances and stratigraphy of the discoveries.

In view of the confusion that exists as to the date of the objects from the treasure, it is essential to record those which are precisely dated by means of royal cartouches. The evidence has not been completely assembled before. From the first find these objects are: 1) the gold lotus cup with the name of Tawosret on the stem (Cairo, Cat. gen.

53260; Journal d'entrée 30708=39872), 2) the gold vessel in Berlin with the cartouches of Tawosret (Inventar 19736), and 3) a fragment of the rim of a silver strainer or bowl with the beginning of the cartouches of Tawosret (New York, MMA acc. no. 07.228.212, to which the rim fragments 07.228. 196, 202, and 233 can be joined). The cartouches of Tawosret on the gold vessels are written vertically and surmounted by the double plume. On the silver fragment in New York the cartouches of Tawosret are preceded by the titles, "lord of the two lands," and "lord of diadems" (pl. 12, fig. 11), and the fragment is thus a valuable addition to those documents which indicate that the queen assumed the titles of the kingship and ruled Egypt in her own right.

Tawosret is generally considered to have been the last ruler of Dynasty XIX.¹⁰ The last ruler of the dynasty in the extracts of Manetho is a Θούωρις (var. Thuoris), a king equated by him with the Homeric Polybus, husband of Alcandra, and in whose reign he states that Troy was taken.¹¹ The correspondence of Θούωρις and Tawosret is likely, since there may have been a confusion between t3wsrt ("the powerful one") and t3wrt ("the great one"); or there may be metathesis. If the correspondence is admitted, Manetho was mistaken as to the ruler's sex and perhaps as to her correct date, since the reign of Tawosret probably ended before the Fall of Troy.

The uninscribed vessels from the first hoard are similar for the most part to those dated by royal names, and thus a number of objects in Cairo, Berlin, and New York can be assigned to the end of Dynasty XIX without cavil. It seems likely to the writer that the series of vessels inscribed for Atumemtoneb and the repoussé bowl in New York, both from the same hoard, should be similarly dated to the end of Dynasty XIX.

The evidence for the date of the objects from the

Dynasty XIX are: J. von Beckerath, "Die Reihenfolge der letzten Könige der 19. Dynastie," ZDMG 106 (1956) 241-51; L. A. Christophe, "La fin de la XIXe dynastie égyptienne," BibO 14 (1957) 10-13; H. W. Helck, "Zwei thebanische Urkunden aus der Zeit Sethos II," ZAES 81 (1956) 82-87, and "Zur Geschichte der 19. und 20. Dynastie," ZDMG 105 (1955) 27-52; R. A. Caminos, "Two Stelae in the Kurneh Temple of Sethos I," Äg. Studien, ed. O. Firchow, 17-29; and A. Malamat, "Cushan Rishathaim and the Decline of the Near East around 1200 B.C.," INES 13 (1954) 231-42, especially p. 233. For the references to the articles by von Beckerath and Helck I am indebted to

Dr. Walter Federn.

11 Manetho (Loeb Classical Library), ed. by W. G. Waddell,

⁵ For the distinction between the two finds, see Edgar in *MusEg II*, 93-108, from which much of the information given above has been derived.

⁶ op.cit. 96. The site of the hoards is marked on the plan of the area in the end-papers of L. Habachi's *Tell Basta*, *Cahiers ASAE* No. 22 (1957), in which the treasure is discussed on pp. 6-7.

⁷ Edgar, op.cit. 95.

⁸ idem, 94-95; 96-97.

⁹ idem, 94, pl. 55.

¹⁰ For the most recent literature on Tawosret, see A. H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of Queen Twosre," *JEA* 40 (1954) 40-44, and G. Lefebvre, "À propos de la reine Taousert," *Muséon* 59 (1946) 215-21. The most recent discussions of the end of

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similar second hoard is restricted. A magnificent pair of bracelets is inscribed with the name of Ramesses II (Cairo, Cat. gen. 52575; Journal d'entrée 38720=39873), and a badly preserved fragment of silver is said to have been inscribed with the name of Ramesses.12 Since several objects from this second find are clearly of the same workmanship as several from the first, it is probable that the pair of bracelets should be considered as an heirloom, in the archaeological sense of the term. The writer has not been able to locate the fragment with the cartouche in the Egyptian Museum, but it seems quite possible to him that the badly preserved fragment might have been erroneously read as Ramesses II for Tawosret. The Tawosret fragment in New York was catalogued originally under Ramesses II, the wsr being common to Wsr-m3't-R' and T3-wsrt. Whether or not such an error was committed in reading the Cairo fragment, it is clear from an examination of the published objects and of the unpublished material in New York and Cairo that the only vessels and items of jewelry with royal names are datable in Dynasty XIX. The objects from the first find with royal names can be assigned specifically to the end of the dynasty.

A silver patera with gold elements from the second find bears an inscription for the Chantress of Neith, Amy (possibly [T]amy[t]).¹³ As an inscribed object, it has a bearing upon the date of the find. It is decorated with scenes similar to those of the engraved and repoussé objects from the first find, and the formula of the text is similar to those of the Atumemtoneb vessels from the earlier find.

A study of the decorative elements of the treasure would not only be useful, but it might settle the question once and for all as to the possibility of its origin in Western Asia and that of the date of those objects not precisely dated. The most recent exposition of the hypothesis of a foreign origin is that of Pierre Montet in Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du nouvel empire (hereafter Montet, Reliques), the methodology of which has been criticized by N. de Garis Davies and Jean Capart. My own serious reservations to the hypothesis, which dates as far back as the discovery of the vessels, have been briefly expressed elsewhere. Unfortunately,

a full discussion of its merits and shortcomings cannot be attempted here. It seems likely, however, that the repertory of exotic details used in the decoration was part of an international style current at the end of the second millennium B.C., and that it is unnecessary to postulate a foreign origin for the vessels themselves on the basis of these details.

Since a complete stylistic analysis of the treasure likewise cannot be undertaken within the limited scope of this article, its contribution must rest on two aspects of the finds.

First, a brief description of the three vessels inscribed for the official Atumemtoneb will be attempted, for it has been found possible to reconstruct the elements of the damaged vessel in Cairo by supplying fragments from the Berlin and New York museums, two of the New York fragments actually joining two in Berlin, and a small fragment in New York completing the presentation scene on the body of the vessel in Cairo. A section of the engraved register from a vessel represented only by fragments in New York is also made available for study for the first time.

Second, a description of the silver bowl in the New York museum will be attempted. This bowl must be ranked as one of the main documents for the study of Egyptian silver work. Prior to the present study it has been known only through illustrations in which several registers have been omitted.

In introducing these descriptions and in the course of the examination of the problems connected with the treasure certain observations are made concerning the circumstances of its discovery, its probable date, and the question of its origin. Although some of this material is not new, it seems justifiable to reopen the discussion of the treasure on the basis of the new material presented here and the related material which has come to light since Edgar's publication fifty years ago.

I. THE VESSELS INSCRIBED FOR ATUMEMTONEB

Three pitchers or jugs from the first find form a group in themselves, since they are inscribed with the name, titles, and epithets of an official called Atum-em-to-neb, "the god Atum is in every land." They are of roughly the same size and shape and

¹² Edgar in MusEg II, 96.

¹⁸ op.cit. 102-03, pl. 48; Cat. gen. 53263, Journal d'entrée 38709=39869. For the name Tamyt, see H. Ranke in Die ägyptischen Personennamen II, 185, and in ZAeS 60 (1925) 81; it frequently appears without the feminine ending.

¹⁴ Strasbourg 1937, pp. 138-39. Reviewed by N. de G. Davies in *JEA* 24 (1938) 253-54, and by J. Capart in *Cd'E* 13 (1938) 88-90.

¹⁵ BMMA, New Series 8 (1949) 64-65.

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share many stylistic details. The bodies of two of these jugs exhibit an identical pattern, and the necks of all three bear a series of scenes incised with an engraving implement. In two cases the text occurs on the body and in the third just below the rim; the texts will be considered together in a separate section. For the sake of convenience, these jugs will be referred to as Atumemtoneb Vessels A, B, and C.

Vessel A is the well known pitcher in Cairo with a handle in the shape of a goat (Cat. gen. 53262, Journal d'entrée 38705=39867) illustrated in pl. 11, figs. 1, 3 and pl. 12, fig 9. As it is generally known. only a brief description will be necessary. Although it was published by Edgar in MusEg II (1907) and was subsequently included in Vernier's catalogue, the most useful publication remains that of Edgar in ASAE 25 (1925) 256-58, in which the drawings made by Ahmed Effendi Soliman after the cleaning of the vessel were utilized (our figs. 3, 9). The vessel has been illustrated frequently in handbooks on Egyptian art, and a reproduction of the vessel is in the study collection of the Metropolitan Museum in New York.16 The height is 17.5 cm., about 7 inches, which corresponds to that of the companion pieces cited below. Vernier records the weight as 620 grams. The metal is silver except for the goat handle, the handle attachment, and a strip beaten over the rim, all of which are of gold with an admixture of silver. The strip on the rim is paralleled in a pitcher of similar size and shape from the treasure in New York (07.228.15).17 Strips of gold are likewise occasionally used with stone vessels. The pattern on the body also occurs on a gold vessel from the treasure in Berlin (Inventar 21134) as well as on the companion Vessel B.18 It has been articulated with an engraving implement after having been beaten against a core.

The handle in the shape of a species of goat is hollow and was cast with the details hammered in later. The two halves were soldered lengthwise. The horns, the ears, and the suspension ring through the animal's nose were inserted at a later stage. Several years after the discovery of the hoards, von Bissing called attention to a terracotta goat in his collection (height 8 cm.) which was said to have derived from the same find. He suggested that it

may have been a model for casting a handle similar to that of the vessel under discussion. If the model actually derives from the find, as seems likely, Edgar's conjecture that the objects derive from a goldsmith's workshop is strengthened. Maspero's fine description of the handle will be quoted in extenso at the end of this paper.

The identification of the goddess in the presentation scene (pl. 12, fig. 9) as 'Astarte has been suggested by Montet, but this is quite uncertain.²⁰ The wavy lines on the dress of the goddess are paralleled in an offering scene with the goddess Bastet on a silver vessel from the first find illustrated by the writer.²¹

Aside from the magnificent handle, the main interest of the vessel lies in the engraved registers on the neck (pl. 11, fig. 3). The upper register consists of six scenes, each separated from the next by an elaborate palmette. The first is a winged griffin, and the following five are animal combat scenes with one animal attacking another. Attached to the palmettes and interspersed in the field are the simplified dot rosettes, circles of dots with a single dot in the center, which are characteristic of the treasure as a whole. In earlier versions of the pal mette the rosettes are recognizable as such, and thus there can be little question that the dots were conceived as rosettes. The animal combat scenes are one of the many motives that serve to relate various objects from the treasure; they are found on Vessel B (fragment made up of Metropolitan 07.228.219 and Berlin Inv. 20105[?], see pl. 11, fig. 4), on Vessel C (Fragment a, see pl. 12, fig. 8), and in the Amy patera (outer register) in Cairo.

Quite different in character from the upper register is the one immediately below with scenes in the marshes: a man poling a boat, a fowler catching birds, a man carrying a basket and fish, and three men engaged in manipulating a clap-net to trap the marsh birds. Clumps of papyrus serve not only to set the scene but to separate the several elements, much as the palmettes are used in the scene above. The dot rosette, used in the register above sixteen times as a space filler and fourteen times attached to the palmettes, is completely absent. The contrast between the two registers, one

¹⁶ For a partial list of references, see notes 1 and 3 supra.

¹⁷ BMM.4, New Series 8 (1949) 62, fig. at lower right. Another example from the treasure is museum accession no. 07.228.21, which is illustrated by Nora E. Scott, op.cit., fig. 19, lower left. For the Egyptian word for this strip (?), see Urk. IV, 22, line 16.

¹⁸ BerlMus 51 (1930) 115, fig. 3.

¹⁹ W. Fr. von Bissing, "Two Silversmith's Models from Egypt," AncEg (1914) 112-14.

²⁰ Reliques, 141.

²¹ BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 62, lower left (no. 07.228.19).

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with exotic scenes and several imaginary animals, the other with traditional subjects from tomb paintings, is remarkable and certainly intentional. Their juxtaposition is a successful artistic device. The men operating the clap-net and the fish porters occur again on the repoussé bowl in New York; like Vessel A the bowl shares a slightly exotic register, although the fantastic animals are absent in the preserved fragments (pl. 13, fig. 13).

Vessel B is represented by a large fragment in Cairo and several smaller fragments in Berlin and New York (pl. 11, figs. 2, 4 and pl. 12, fig. 10). There may be other fragments in public or private collections, but the writer has not been able to locate the missing sections. It seems likely that they may never come to light in view of their small size and corrosion. The body of the vessel and the section of the neck in Cairo bear the Egyptian Museum Journal d'entrée no. 38710=39868.

Edgar states that the handle for the vessel was not recovered for the Antiquities Department but that it later appeared on the antiquities market. This is certainly the handle in the Berlin Museum (Inventar 20106)22 which Scharff describes as representing an aurochs. Perhaps the reader can judge if the identification is just or not. The possibility that the handle might belong to the vessel was recognized by Scharff, and there can no longer be any question that this join is exact. The height of the vessel, adjusted to take into consideration the fragments in New York and Berlin, is approximately 19 cm. and that of the handle 11 cm. Since the head of the animal would project above the rim, the height of the handle is not as excessive as it might seem. In the illustration (pl. 11, fig. 2) the handle is reproduced on a different scale from that of the jug.

Edgar records also that several fragments of the neck of the vessel were not recovered by the police. These are quite certainly the fragments in Berlin and New York for which it is now possible, for the first time, to suggest a reconstruction (pl. 11, fig. 4). Fragment a (left) preserves the rim of the vessel and part of a scene of a goat at the side of a palmette (Metropolitan Museum 07.228.242).²³ Fragment b

(second from left) is the only section of the neck that has remained in Cairo with the vessel itself; the scene includes a bird flying in a papyrus clump and a group of young horses in the flying gallop.24 Fragment c (second from right) has been reconstructed by the writer from two pieces in the Metropolitan (07.228.222 and 241), the upper portion, and one in Berlin (Inventar 20105?), the lower portion.25 Fragment d (right) has similarly been reconstructed from the left portion in Berlin (Inventar 20105?) and the right portion in New York (07.-228.219).26 In these fragments a goat by a palmette and an animal combat are represented. The arrangement adopted in pl. 11, fig. 4 is not unintentional. At the left of Fragment b there appear to be traces of the ears of a goat, which is thus very likely the antithetical partner of the goat on Fragment a. On the left edge of Fragment c is the tail of a horse, thus linking the piece to Fragment b. Since it would be difficult to fit Fragment d between Fragments a-b or b-c, it is logical to place it between Fragments c and a. Arranged in this manner, the scene with the horses and the animal combat scene are each framed by the palmettes with the heraldic goats. If the pieces are ever assembled again in the same place, as they were on the day of their discovery, it might even be possible to fill in the missing sections with the handle, or a cast of it, in its correct position.

The presentation scene on the body of the vessel in Cairo can now be completed by supplying the missing upper portion with a fragment in New York (07.228.220). This proposed reconstruction supplies the rest of the headdress of the goddess, the fan in the dedicant's left hand, and the dedicant's chief title (pl. 12, fig. 10). The Montet's identification of the goddess as 'Anat is plausible, in view of her warlike equipment, but this hardly would indicate that the vessel was made in Syria. 'Anat was already a part of the Egyptian pantheon by Ramesside times, as Montet's own excavations at Tanis have served to underline.

For the sake of completeness a small fragment of the body of the vessel in the Metropolitan should be mentioned (07,228,221).

²² BerlMus 51 (1930) 114, fig. 2.

²⁸ BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 63, lower left.

²⁴ MusEg II, pl. 54, no. 2; Montet, Reliques, 148, fig. 187; W. Fr. von Bissing, "Ägyptisch oder Phoinikisch?" Jdl 25 (1910) 195, fig. 1.

²⁵ BerlMus 51 (1930) 114, fig. 1 (left). The fragments in the Metropolitan are noted here for the first time. Scharff had

already assigned the Berlin fragment to Vessel B.

²⁶ BerlMus 51 (1930) 114, fig. 1 (center). The piece in New York had not been previously published. Scharff had already assigned the Berlin fragment to this vessel.

²⁷ The drawing of the scene (Cairo portion) is based on that in Montet, Reliques, 141, fig. 179.

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Vessel C is represented to the writer's knowledge only by the pieces in New York (07.228.187).28 For the purposes of exhibition the missing portions have been dubbed in with blank silver (pl. 12, figs. 5-8). The height is 15.3 cm. There are several points in which this pitcher differs from Vessels A and B, notably in the design on the body, the silver handle terminating in a lion's head,20 and the position of the inscription just below the rim. A single register with scenes takes the place of the two registers of Vessel A and the single register with decorative bands above and below of Vessel B. Regardless of the relative artistic merit of Vessel C, it is quite evident that its cost to its original owner was considerably less than that of his pitchers with the gold animal handles.

The greater part of the engraved register on the neck is lacking, and one can only hope that other fragments will come to light in a museum or private collection. Possibly some of the more corroded sections were discarded by the dealers or melted down by the villagers who acquired the treasure. The larger piece, Fragment a, is engraved with a scene of two horses leaping in front of a papyrus thicket (pl. 12, fig. 8). The draughtsmanship of the original is competent where the writer's copy is not, but the position of the front legs of the second horse cannot have satisfied even the most lenient critic. The shading by means of short incised lines is characteristic of the treasure, and the horses may be compared in this respect with the wall paintings of the New Kingdom tombs at Thebes. To the right of the scene is the antlered head of a stag with the traces of an animal attacking it. A stag appears in the desert scene of a recently acquired faience dish in the Louvre. 80 The skin of the attacking animal is treated in the silversmith's version of the painter's stippling, as often in the treasure. Fragment a is correctly placed in relation to the handle and body of the vessel. Fragment b cannot be located in its correct position except through a definitive reconstruction of the text or the scene. The restorer has placed it near the handle for exhibition purposes, in which position the feet of the missing gazelle on the right of the palmette unfortunately seem to be-

long to the first horse on Fragment a. On the left of Fragment b is a bull with crescent shaped horns vaulting a thicket of papyrus. In front of the bull the empty space has been filled with a clump of papyrus arranged conveniently as in the hieroglyphic determinative for Delta. On the right is a gazelle (or goat) gazing at its now missing partner through the symmetrical foliage of their shared palmette. Perhaps the register alternated scenes in the Delta with scenes in the Desert.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VESSELS

The texts incised on the vessels are variants of a formula which was apparently standard for this use. Since those of Vessels A and B have been published on several occasions and since that of Vessel C is legible in the drawing (pl. 12, fig. 8) if not the photographs (pl. 12, figs. 5-7), it will suffice to attempt a rough translation with a limited commentary. The text of Vessel A begins on either side of the presentation scene. Opposite the scene is the hieroglyph for life flanked on either side by the scepter hieroglyph. To the right of the scene is the text: May thy Ka be before thee in life and beauty. and mayest [thou] pass eternity in life and wellbeing.31 To the Ka of the King's Butler, Atumemtoneb, the justified. To the left is the text: May thy Ka be before thee in life and well-being, and mayest thou pass a million years. To the Ka of the King's Butler, Atumemtoneb, the justified, at rest.

The text of Vessel B is similar. In the presentation scene (pl. 12, fig. 10) the title, King's Butler, occurs above the official's head and the title or epithet, he who is concerned with the foreign country, in front of him. The foreign country is perhaps to be read as "the 'Amu land," but the writing is clearly defective. The formula begins on either side of the scene. To the right is the text: May thy Ka live before thee in life and well being; mayest thou pass the million of years. [To the Ka of the King's] Butler, the one praised of the lord of the two lands, Atumemtoneb. To the left is the text: To the Ka of the one uniquely excellent, [the witness true of heart, 33. . .] the King's Messenger to

²⁸ Included in the group illustration in Nora E. Scott, op.cit. fig. 19. Fragment a is illustrated in BMMA, New Series 8 (1949) 64, lower left.

²⁰ See the rather similar handle of a vessel of later date (Dynasty XXVII) in [J. D. Cooney et al.] Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-1956, The Brooklyn Museum (New York 1956) pl. 74 (right).

⁸⁰ Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un 'lac de turquoise' . . . ," MonPiot 47 (1953) pl. 1 b, pp. 20-23.

⁸¹ In this and similar phrases the words are probably to be taken as substantives, "in life and beauty," not as in Montet's rendering, "en bonne vie."

⁸² Montet, Reliques, 140.

⁸⁸ Thus and not as in Montet, loc.cit.: Au Ka de l'unique,

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Every Foreign Land, he who pacifies every [land, Atumemtoneb, the justified (?)].

Only a small portion of the text of Vessel C is extant. On both fragments the writing runs from right to left. The text on the larger fragment begins with a phrase which is too fragmentary to be translated without a good parallel; it continues: To the Ka of the one uniquely excellent, the witness true of heart, the King's Butler clean of hands, Atumemtoneb, the justified. The smaller fragment likewise begins with the end of a word and continues with the phrase, in life and beauty.

The formula represented seems to have been a conventional one for an inscription on a vessel of metal, stone, or wood, to judge from a number of examples. The text on the lotiform alabaster cup from the tomb of Tut'ankhamun reads in part: May thy Ka live, and mayest thou pass a million years, O thou lover of Thebes.34 A cylindrical wooden vase in the Brooklyn Museum has a band of text which begins: To the Ka of the one uniquely excellent 35 As Dr. Miriam Lichtheim has recognized, these are to be understood as the speech of the cup-bearer. 36 The frequency of the expression, "to the Ka of ...," suggests that these may be Kavessels. Included in a list of temple offerings on a stela of the first part of Dynasty XVIII are "a drinking vessel for the Ka, of gold, and its support of silver," and "a drinking vessel for the Ka, of silver, the rim-strip (?) of gold, and its support of silver."87 For the expression, "drinking vessel for the Ka," the cuneiform equivalent zabnaku has been cited.88

Aside from the interest of the formula, to which that of the Amy patera in Cairo may be added, the texts provide a series of titles and epithets which suggest a date for the objects.

The chief title of Atumemtoneb is one which is generally considered to be a variant writing of the well-attested wb3 ny-swt, Royal Butler, eleven occurrences of which are listed in Wb. I, 292.3. The title has been discussed most recently by Gardiner, who adds a number of references to those already indexed in the Wörterbuch.³⁰ He points out that the frequent occurrence of the epithet, "clean of

hands," after the title originally indicated a close connection with the serving of royal meals, and perhaps especially with the wine or beer that was served with these. The variant writing represented in the vessel texts is attested in a number of cases from Dynasties XIX and XX:40 for example, in a stela dated in year 1 of Merneptah (Louvre 3629= Pierret, Inscriptions . . . I, p. 66) and in Wadi Hammāmāt Graffito No. 12, dated in year 3 of Ramesses IV, in the latter of which two bearers of the title head a list of men sent on the expedition. The title wb3 ny-swt written in its more usual forms is characteristic of the New Kingdom and especially the Ramesside period, no certain later occurrences being recorded in the selective, but presumably representative list in the Wörterbuch and Gardiner's Onomastica.

From the instances in which details of the career of these officials are known, it is apparent that the bearers of the title were frequently high officials entrusted with secondary commands in foreign expeditions who served as well in various capacities at home. Gardiner notes that these officials become very numerous and important toward the end of Dynasty XX, and that such close attendance on the king was likely to breed favorites; a number of them were apparently of foreign origin.⁴¹

The other title of interest borne by Atumemtoneb is King's Messenger to Every Foreign Land.42 It is present only in the text of Vessel B, and thus probably not as important to the official's status as the title King's Butler, which occurs in the presentation scene of the same vessel as well as on Vessels A and B in the formula. The title (Wb. I, 304.9) has been discussed profitably by Steindorff in IEA 25, pp. 31-32, and is included briefly by Gardiner in Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, pp. 26*-27*. Although it has a wider range in time than the title discussed above, the majority of the instances listed in the Wörterbuch stems from the New Kingdom and Ramesside periods, and the three additional examples cited by Gardiner are all Ramesside. Additional references are cited by R. Caminos in Late Egyptian Miscellanies, p. 104, to which may be added

excellent de témoignage Montet is probably right, however, in emending tpy to hsy in the phrase, "one praised of the lord of the two lands."

A H. Carter and A. C. Mace, The Tomb of Tut ankh amen,
 vol. I, pl. 46; P. Fox, Tutankhamun's Treasure, pl. 3, p. 15.
 Brooklyn Museum No. 37.600 E, illustrated in [E. Rief-

stahl] Toilet Articles from Ancient Egypt, fig. 11 (lower).

38 [NES 4 (1945) 182f, 184-85, 189, for parallels and

comments.

⁸⁷ Urk. IV, 23, lines 13-17.

⁸⁸ Wb. V, 354.8-9.

³⁹ A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, 43*-44*.

⁴⁰ ibid.

⁴¹ ibid.

 $^{^{42}}$ The preposition π in the title of Atumemtoneb is an unusual variant for the standard r.

inter alia that of the Megiddo ivory (temp. Ramesses III) published by John A. Wilson.48 Reisner has described the duties of these officials in the following terms: "The king's messenger was a direct agent of the king, responsible to some royal office in Thebes, not to the local Egyptian authorities in Palestine or Kush. On the other hand, the local authorities were bound to support and assist the messenger, and in Kush it seems to have been the head bowman whose services were most usually needed by the messenger. From the nature of the functions of the two offices, that of king's messenger must have been in fact a higher and more important office than that of head bowman."44 Since many of the instances of the title are to be found near the Nubian border or in the eastern Delta, it seems likely to the writer that these officials reported to offices in these areas. In the Ramesside period the officials returning from duty in Palestine and Syria would presumably not have reported to Thebes but to the Ramesside capital in the Delta. Although there is a single occurrence of a messenger whose duties presumably took him to both Palestine and Nubia,45 the majority evidently served in only one of these territories.

At the end of Dynasty XIX the title is especially well attested. One might speculate whether the deteriorating foreign relations at this time necessitated an increase of the personnel of the Foreign Office. Several bearers of the title are well-known. In year 1 of Ramesses-Siptah, a Rekhpehtuf, who bears the title, installed Seti as viceroy of Nubia, and a Nefer-Hor in year 1 of Siptah accompanied the same Seti on his first inspection trip to Nubia.46 The title is also borne by Hory (no. 17 in Reisner's list of viceroys) in year 3 of Merneptah-Siptah, and in year 6 of the same reign another official bears the title.47 Earlier in the reign of Siptah the head bowman Piay included the office in his titulary.48 Although these officials are known from their activities in Nubia, there is no doubt that a comparable activity existed at the time in Palestine and Syria. The use of the title by high officials perhaps indicates that they once served in this capacity, and that they retained the title long after their promotion to higher office.49 In at least one case the position was

held by an individual who later attained the kingship (Ramesses [I] under Horemheb).50 Another indication that the title was borne by individuals who saw their service in Palestine and Syria rather than Nubia is its occurrence in the titulary of one Neb-nekhtuf, an official who held the post of governor of foreigners in the northland together with those of King's Charioteer and Chief of the Medjay.51 Unlike the title of Royal Butler, that of King's Messenger to Every Foreign Land is known to have a wider range in time. For example, it occurs in the titulary of Iby, a well-known personality of the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, in which, however, it may be an archaism.52 The evidence points, in the main, to the highest frequency of the title in Ramesside times.

The foregoing brief examination of the chief titles of Atumemtoneb indicates that he was an official of some standing whose duties took him to at least one of the foreign spheres of Egyptian influence. The discovery of the vessels in the eastern Delta and several elements of their decoration suggest that Palestine and Syria rather than Nubia was the scene of his service. This locale would be made virtually certain if Montet's identification of the goddesses as 'Anat and 'Astarte is accepted, as well as his less certain translation of a title or epithet as "préposé à l'Asie."

Atumemtoneb does not seem to be attested by other documents, to the best of my present knowledge, and thus it would be advisable to regard any discussion of the time in which he lived as an open question. Nevertheless, the above examination of his titles tends to restrict the range of probability to to the Ramesside period. From the examples available to me, the particular writing of the title usually identified with that of Royal Butler seems to be confined to Dynasties XIX and XX. Mr. Edward F. Wente has kindly shown me his list of the officials with the title from the index to the Medinet Habu texts, thus raising the number considerably. Even if later examples come to light, the percentage from the Ramesside period will probably remain high. The circumstance of the frequency of the two titles discussed in the Ramesside period, together with the presence of the cartouches of

⁴³ In Gordon Loud, The Megiddo Ivories, 11-12, pl. 62 (ivory no. 377). The reference to Cramer apud Caminos should read ZAS 72 (not ZAS 79).

⁴⁴ JEA 6 (1920) 77.

⁴⁵ L. Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver, Buhen, Text, 32 (King's Messenger to Syria and Kush).

⁴⁶ Steindorff in JEA 25 (1939) 32.

⁴⁷ Reisner in JEA 6 (1920) 48-50.

⁴⁸ idem, 76. 49 idem, 77.

⁶⁰ ASAE 14 (1914) 30-38.

⁸¹ W. M. F. Petrie, Koptos, pl. 19, 1.

⁸² Cited Wb. I, 304.9.

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Tawosret on vessels from the same find, would seem to suggest that Atumemtoneb lived at the end of Dynasty XIX or the period immediately following. In the section below on the date of the treasure this hypothesis will be tested against archaeological and stylistic criteria.

2. THE REPOUSSÉ BOWL IN NEW YORK

The silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum must rank as one of the foremost objects from the treasure and as a major document for the study of the work of the Egyptian silversmith (pls. 13-14, figs. 12-18). It bears the museum number 07.228.20, 223. The diameter is approximately 20.5 cm., and it is about 6.5 cm. deep. Large sections are missing as a result of the circumstances of the find, and these have been dubbed in with blank silver in order to indicate the shape of the bowl and to hold the remaining sections in place. Other sections, notably the lion hunt and wine-pressing scenes, are considerably damaged. The fragments were acquired in 1907 in an advanced state of corrosion. In 1920 they were cleaned and joined by a well-known Paris restorer. In 1930 several additional pieces entered the museum collection, where they had previously been on loan, as part of the Theodore M. Davis bequest, and were added to the bowl. In 1948 the writer succeeded in identifying a minor fragment in the collection (07.228.223) as part of the base of the bowl, and this was also added in its proper place. Aside from the brief announcement of the acquisition of the objects from the treasure by Lythgoe (without illustrations) and the group photograph of the objects in Nora E. Scott's informative booklet on the home life of the ancient Egyptians, the writer's illustrated article in 1949 remains the only published account to date of this extraordinary achievement of the ancient silversmith. It is to be hoped that the following description and the accompanying plates will serve to make the bowl better known to the student of Egyptian decorative arts. Unfortunately, it has not been found possible to supplement these plates with the much needed line drawings which the interest of the scenes, in the writer's opinion, deserves.

It seems unlikely that any of the numerous fragments of the treasure in the Metropolitan belongs to the bowl, but there remains the possibility that sections of it may eventually come to light in museums or private collections abroad.⁵⁸

The bowl has been designed with three registers of scenes on the outer surface and a single register around a lotus petal design on the base (pls. 13-14, figs. 12-18). These scenes are executed in repoussé work, or more correctly, repoussé and chasing, 4 and they differ in this respect from the engraved designs on the series of vessels described above. The repoussé and chasing technique, if it can be so termed, was popular in the New Kingdom. Notable examples from the end of Dynasty XIX were found by the Theodore M. Davis expedition in a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, among which the silver bracelet of Queen Tawosret may be singled out. 55

With a few exceptions, the scenes have to do with the general topic of procuring food and drink, a subject which is obviously appropriate for a bowl, and animal husbandry. They are more or less arranged in registers according to the area in which the activity takes place. Many of the scenes form part of the repertory of paintings in tombs of the New Kingdom and earlier, and they thus have an allusive religious content. Many of the groups and individual figures have exact parallels in these tomb paintings. Others are not otherwise represented, as for example, the group of the lion hunt and the scene of the tending of ostriches and fowl.

First Register: "scenes in the marshes" (pl. 13, fig. 12; pl. 14, figs. 15-18). There are three main topics represented. The first is a scene of two confronting files of cattle in a papyrus swamp. On the left are five calves, the last with its head turned back to look at a missing herder, whose stick is at least preserved. On the right are four cattle with recurved horns led by a bull with crescent shaped horns, the last similar to the bull on Vessel C. A herder follows them brandishing a stick. The next group to the right is a figure carrying a pole from which hang several fair-sized fish. Adjoining the fish handler is a figure approaching a papyrus thicket with a net. The second main scene of the register lies directly to the right of the thicket and is separated from the cattle scene by the inconsequential figures of the fish handler and fisherman, which thus serve as space fillers and dividers. A group of five colts in a papyrus swamp is being lassoed by a groom standing, but not concealed, in

⁸⁸ The writer would be indebted for any information as to the present location of any of the missing pieces.

⁸⁴ See Herbert Maryon, "Metal Working in the Ancient

World," AJA 53 (1949) 120-21.

⁶⁸ G. Daressy, in Theodore M. Davis et al., The Tomb of Siptah . . . , 39-40, and unnumbered plates thereto.

front of a windbreak. The last colt has been caught and has the loop of the rope around his neck (pl. 14, fig. 17). The groom holds the rope and grasps in his other hand a stick curved much like the harpé. The horses are similar to those of Vessel C. The third main scene, immediately to the right of the windbreak, represents a group of ten figures variously employed in the catching, gutting, drying, and carrying of fish. The three figures on the extreme right are evidently in a skiff travelling through reeds. The center man is poling the boat along while his companion behind him is steering. The group to the left of the boat is also probably in a boat, but even less of it is preserved.

Second Register: "scenes by the river" (pl. 14, figs. 15-16). Most of the register is missing, although portions of two scenes are represented. The first is apparently the traditional battle between the crews of two skiffs. The second is a group of figures operating a clap-net to trap birds. The stakes for the net terminate in ducks' heads. The first fowler is kneeling with his arms raised in the position for signaling to his mates to close the net. Between these scenes the only preserved fragment shows the base of a skiff.

Third Register: "scenes on the desert margin" (pl. 13, fig. 13). The locale is specified by two palmettes and two palm trees which, with one exception, serve as scene dividers. Again most of the register has not been preserved. The main scene is one of the finest in the treasure. In the center a palm tree stands in an artificial depression made to hold water. On the left are two ostriches and a fledgeling.57 They are tended by a keeper who proffers a leaf to one of his charges. On the other side of the tree stands a magnificent fowl with two offspring. Perhaps a red jungle fowl and two chicks are represented.58 The next scene is badly damaged, but a lion can be made out facing a hunter with a spear and shield on the left. To the rear of the lion a second hunter brandishes a curved sword or stick and plunges a dagger(?) into the

lion's flank. The composition of the scene is strikingly similar to that on the gold bowl from Ugarit, which is earlier than the Tell Basta bowl.⁵⁹ Next to the lion hunt a palmette separates the scene from a seated figure. The occupation of this figure is unclear. The remaining fragment of the register represents two animals foraging in front of a palmette.

Fourth Register: "scenes in the vineyard and on the farm" (pl. 13, fig. 14). On the left of the first fragment is a trace of a figure trampling on the grapes in a press. Next to the platform are a few hanging wine jars and a figure bending over to fill a jar with wine. Three other figures are carrying baskets of grapes to the press. The space in front of the last two is filled by schematized vines bearing grapes. A design consisting of several upright leaves serves as a separator between the scene and the other figures: a man with a basket gathering grapes, a man kneeling and tending a goat with a kid, a man gathering papyrus, and another vineyard hand picking grapes and filling his basket. The "vines" are represented as standing and thus might be considered as bearing figs rather than grapes, but this manner of representing them occurs occasionally in tomb paintings. The juxtaposition of the gathering scenes and the grape trampling scene obviously favors the assumption that the plants are

The center of the base on the outside is decorated with an elaborate rosette of lotus petals, a design similar in many respects to that on the base of Vessel A and the Tawosret cup in Cairo. Vessel B is also said to have such a design on its base, but the writer has not been able to check whether this is so. The interior of the Amy patera in Cairo is provided with a conical gold boss with appliqué of gold wire braids etc. A similar boss in the Metropolitan Museum (30.8.369) has been published.⁶⁰ Conceivably it may have belonged to the bowl under discussion, but it is more likely that it served as a boss for a lower bowl (patera) decorated on the inside.

66 Examples in Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un 'lac de turquoise' . . . ," MonPiot 47 (1953) pl. 11 b, and 31, fig. 23.

ure, pls. 24-25. The sides of the fan are of gold and the technique is similar although not identical. The feathers are treated in the same way.

⁸⁷ For an illustration of this depression, see N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes, I, 71, fig. 9, which is also used as an illustration by J. Laesspe in JCS 7 (1953) 13, fig. 4, in an article entitled "Reflections on Modern and Ancient Oriental Waterworks." Compare the birds with the ostriches on the sides of the fan in H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut ankh amen, vol. 2, pl. 62, also illustrated in P. Fox, Tutankhamun's Treas-

⁵⁸ The identification of the fowl is uncertain, but see, however, H. Carter, "An Ostracon Depicting a Red Jungle-Fowl," JEA 9 (1923) 1-4; pl. 20, 1.

⁵⁹ For a good drawing, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, pl. 8.

⁶⁰ BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 63 (lower left).

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3. THE DATE OF THE OBJECTS

The reader of the above account by now will be quite aware that the writer feels that there are compelling reasons for assigning the vessels, the patera, and the bowl in New York to the end of Dynasty XIX or slightly later. In this, as far as the vessels and the patera are concerned, he agrees with the conclusions of Edgar, Maspero, Montet, Scharff, and von Bissing. The bowl in New York was not known to them. The opposing view, favoring a later date, is nowhere fully developed, and consequently it is difficult to evaluate. It is implied by Porter and Moss in connection with the Amy patera and by the compilers of the recent catalogue of an exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in connection with a silver treasure from Pithom of Dynasty XXVII (see notes 1 and 83).

Edgar's discussion of the problem, on two occasions, may be cited profitably, since it will serve to pave the way for our own. "The better pieces in the collection are by no means unconnected works of different styles gathered from far and wide. There is a close bond of kinship between them all. Thus the gold vase [subsequently Cat. gen. 53261] has an embossed pattern on its body much the same as that of the two silver jugs [our Vessels A and B] and has the base engraved in exactly the same manner as they, while the calf which forms the handle is very similar to the goat [of our Vessel A]. Or compare again the decoration of the gold centrepiece in the silver bowl [the Amy patera in Cairo] with the similar work on the bracelets of Ramses, and the details of the bracelets with those of the gold earrings. All the fine pieces in fact might very well have come from the same atelier, and they at least belong to the same school of art. And the more one studies the minor objects from the find, the less, it seems to me, will one be inclined to separate them from the show pieces and assign to them a different date and origin."61 Eighteen years later, Edgar, then primarily a Graeco-Roman authority, returned to the problem: "The treasure of Tell Basta has been described as a heterogeneous collection of objects dating partly from the Rames-

side period and partly from Byzantine times (Maspero, Guide, p. 445), while M. Vernier, in his catalogue of our jewelry, calls many of the silver pieces Graeco-Roman. But it seems to me that a difference in quality has been mistaken for a difference in age, and that the above distinction will not bear examination."

Maspero, with whom Edgar takes issue, divided the find into two groups, the first "des bijoux et des vases en argent ou en or d'une facture très habile, remontait à la XIXe dynastie" and the second "d'argenterie dont la grossièreté trahissait une époque beaucoup plus récente." The vessels and the Amy patera he included in the first group, not specifying any objects which he deemed to fall into his second group.

Since 1907 and 1908 the evidence on which the consideration of the problem must be based has increased in view of the publication of the pieces in Berlin by Scharff and those in New York by the writer, including those now communicated for the first time in this article. The intervening years have also resulted in a considerable addition to the corpus of related material through the discovery of the tomb of Tut'ankhamun, the royal necropolis at Tanis, and the Pithom treasure.⁶⁴

Edgar's view that the treasure consisted entirely of objects of Dynasty XIX receives limited corroboration. There are very few objects for which it would still be possible to argue a later date. 65 Since the objects from the first hoard in Cairo were acquired by seizure, under the terms of Egyptian law, and since the objects from the same find in New York evidently passed through several dealers' hands, it is certainly possible that some of these "later" pieces are intrusive and were not part of the treasure. Since Edgar's day the number of objects from the treasure which can be assigned to Dynasty XIX has increased. There is the situla-like vessel with the cartouches of Tawosret in Berlin (Inventar 19736), to which can be added three similar vessels in New York (07.228.22 of gold, and 07.228.17 and 18, both of silver).66 Then there is the rim fragment in New York with the cartouches of Tawos-

⁶¹ MusEg II, 107. 62 ASAE 25 (1925) 258.

⁶⁸ RevArtAnc 23 (1908) 402.

⁶⁴ See the references cited below for these treasures.

⁶⁵ The writer considers a silver flask in New York, bought with the rest of the Tell Basta objects, as of later date (unpublished, no. 07.228.192), as well as an inscribed fragment of gilded silver (unpublished, without number). The statuette-amulet of Horus the Child, published by the writer in BMMA

New Series 8 (1949) 63, might also be later, although the details, such as the form of the crown, are entirely within keeping for a late New Kingdom date. One would be definitely inclined to date the statuette later, if it were not for the indications of the associated pieces with royal names. Of the published pieces in Cairo and Berlin there are none to which the writer would assign a later date.

⁸⁶ BerlMus 51 (1930) 115, fig. 4 (right). The New York

ret (pl. 12, fig. 11), which is almost certainly from a strainer, to which three published by Edgar and two published by the writer are similar.⁶⁷ A number of handles from such strainers, either with or without lotus petal designs, are included in the New York lot of fragments.⁶⁸ The presence of the cartouches on the strainer fragment in New York and the situla-like vessel in Berlin thus serves to date the strainers and situlae of like workmanship from the treasure and raises the number of datable objects to a considerable degree.

Leaving aside for the moment these objects which can be assigned to the end of Dynasty XIX without cavil, we come to a group of six vessels which are contemporary with each other, and to which a seventh and eighth are clearly to be added. The vessels and the basis for their contemporaneity are as follows. Vessels A, B, and the gold jug in Berlin (Inventar 21134)69 share an identical pattern on the body, the same shape, and the same technique in the embossing of the pattern and the engraving of the decorative scenes or friezes. The two gold jugs in Cairo of the same shape (Cat. gen. 53259 and 53261) exhibit a different pattern on the body, but are in all other respects mates to the vessel in Berlin and clearly from the same workshop.70 The sixth vessel in the group is Vessel C, which is certainly of the same date as Vessels A and B, by virtue of the

To this group of six vessels should be added the Amy patera in Cairo. The handle attachments in the form of a palmette are almost identical with those of the Cairo gold jugs. The inscription begins with the same formula as those of the inscribed Atumemtoneb series, and the writing of individual signs, especially the reed-leaf, is similar. The palmettes in the outer register are designed like those of fragment a of Vessel A and fragment b of Vessel C. Finally, the animal combats and the antithetical groups of the outer register find points of contact with those of the Atumemtoneb series.

The bowl in New York discussed above is the

eighth and last of the group. Several points of contact between it and the Atumemtoneb series have been mentioned in the course of the description of the bowl. One might add the use of the dot rosette as a space filler in the second and third registers and on the central lotus design of the base, which is similarly used in Vessels A and B, as a frieze in the gold jugs in Berlin and Cairo, and both as a filler and as a frieze on the Tawosret silver bracelet from Thebes (Cat. gen. 52577).

At this point the possible relation between the group of eight vessels of unspecified date and the larger group of well dated objects and fragments can be discussed. Should the group of eight be assigned to a later period, and, if so, on what basis? Or should it be likewise assigned to late Dynasty XIX? At first glance the Tawosret cup in Cairo, the simple "situla" of Tawosret, and the fragment of the Tawosret strainer in New York seem to suggest no connection.

There are, however, two points of contact between the elaborate group of unspecified date and the simpler dated group. The single decorative frieze just below the rim of the Tawosret "situla" occurs in this very form as the uppermost band, just below the rim, of the two gold jugs in Cairo (Cat. gen. 53259 and 53261). Secondly, the lotus petal arrangement on the Tawosret cup in Cairo, and of the base of the Tawosret situla, is found on the base of Vessel A (and possibly Vessel B), as well as on the base of the bowl in New York. Thus the only decorative elements in the dated group (they occur also on the gold "situla" in New York) are found several times in the group of unspecified date.

Since these connections are too slight in themselves to justify a Ramesside dating of the elaborate group, as is the evidence of the stratigraphy, the problem must be solved on the basis of external evidence. This, I believe, is virtually conclusive in supporting the Ramesside date suggested by the stratigraphy and the only datable objects from the

vessels are illustrated, respectively, in BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 65 (upper left), and 64 (top row, first and second from left).

⁶⁷ MusEg II, pl. 49 (three strainers entered under the Journal d'entrée no. 38716); BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 65, top center (acc. no. 30.8.169, of gold) and lower left (07.228.185, of silver).

⁶⁸ Not published, acc. nos. 07.228.189 and .190 + 203 (two handles with lotus design), and 07.228.237 and .201 + 206 (two plain handles). There are also a fragment of a strainer

rim with part of the perforated base (07.228.194) and rim fragments, which almost certainly derive from some of these strainers (07.228.198 and .195 + 197).

⁶⁹ BerlMus 51 (1930) 115, fig. 3.

⁷⁰ Aside from the publication of these jugs under their respective numbers in Vernier's catalogue, they are illustrated in MusEg II, pls. 45-46, and by drawings in Montet, Reliques, 142 (figs. 181-82), and 145 (figs. 184-85). See also the bibliography mentioned in note I supra.

⁷¹ The references are cited by Porter and Moss (see note 1).

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treasure. The points discussed below, taken individually and collectively, make a later dating untenable on the basis of the available material.

Two arguments have already been presented: the similarity of workmanship and the use of the same patterns in both the dated and undated groups, and the Ramesside range of the titles of Atumemtoneb, particularly that of the writing of his chief title. In addition, the garment of Atumemtoneb on the presentation scenes (pl. 12, figs. 9-10) should be cited, as it is characteristic of the Ramesside era. In the composition of the scenes little space is left between the figures, and this space is frequently filled by the dot rosette. Although this concept of space is too frequent in Egyptian art of many periods to be a criterion for dating, it has already been noted in the work of the silversmiths of the end of Dynasty XIX (in the silver bracelet of Oueen Tawosret found at Thebes).72

Silver and gold vessels of the New Kingdom are unusually rare, although one could cite the paterae of General Djehuty (temp. Tuthmose III), the table service of the princesses of Tuthmose III), and the silver vessels from the tomb of Tut'ankhamun.⁷³ These and other isolated examples can be supplemented by the generous corpus provided in the tomb paintings, in which vessels of precious metals figure largely in tribute scenes.⁷⁴ Some of these vessels are clearly of foreign origin and design, but it is evident that the artist resorted to imaginary forms and even common Egyptian shapes when his knowledge of the exotic forms was exhausted.⁷⁵

The scarcity of vases in silver and gold is partly compensated for by a number of bronze and copper vessels in various museums. Several of those published by von Bissing in his catalogue of the metal vases in the Egyptian Museum (Metalgefässe) can be cited in support of the Dynasty XIX date proposed for the Tell Basta pieces. The bronze vessel,

Cat. gen. 3442, exhibits the same form as one of the vessels from the treasure in New York (07.228.16)76 but with the body decorated with the same embossed pattern as Vessel C. The copper jug, Cat. gen. 3524, is similar in outline to the Atumemtoneb vessels, the related gold jugs in Cairo and Berlin, and the plain silver jug with gold rim strip in New York (07.228.15).77 The neck of the copper jug is proportionally shorter, but its lotus petal handle is similar in shape to that of the New York silver jug just cited and in design to the strainer handles. Finally, the paterae, Cat. gen. 3533, 3553, and 3539, can be compared to the Amy patera. The date of the bronze and copper vessels mentioned above is generally acknowledged as New Kingdom, several of them having been assigned to Dynasty XIX.

Another line of approach is suggested by a comparison of the Tell Basta pieces with the faience vessels, the latter often decorated with similar scenes. Although these faience pieces are notoriously difficult to date with any degree of certainty, the most recent attempt to analyze the problem, that of von Bissing in 1941, specifically favors the Dynasty XIX date for the Tell Basta silver vessels. The reader is referred to von Bissing's discussion of the stylistic grounds on which he assigns the Tell Basta vessels and several faience pieces to the New Kingdom.⁷⁸

Perhaps the most profitable approach, however, lies in the comparison of the individual scenes represented in the decorated registers of the treasure with scenes of the same subject on other vases, objects in the decorative arts categories, and tomb paintings and reliefs. Although such an undertaking lies beyond the scope of this paper, the writer believes that it would also support the date proposed. For example, the "late" reliefs representing the subject of the grape harvest have recently been studied and their development traced.⁷⁰ A comparison of the scene on the bowl in New York with

⁷² A useful list and an excellent discussion of jewelry and silver and gold work are to be found in C. R. Williams, Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects (The New York Historical Society: Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities Numbers 1-160) 240-42 for Dynasties XIX-XXI.

⁷³ The better preserved patera of Djehuty is illustrated by É. Vernier in La bijouterie et la joaillerie égyptiennes, pl. 20, and more recently by Walther Wolf in Die Welt der Ägypter, pl. 88 (lower). The Tuthmosid vessels are published in H. E. Winlock, The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses. The silver vessel from the tomb of Tut'ankhamun is illustrated in H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut ankh amen, vol. 3, pl. 73 A, and P. Fox, Tutankhamun's Treasure, pl. 68.

⁷⁴ The best treatment of this subject remains that so frequently

cited in this paper, Montet, Reliques, 51-69.

⁷⁵ See the references cited by Montet, op.cit.

⁷⁶ BMMA New Series 8 (1949) 64, upper right.

⁷⁷ idem, 62, lower right.

⁷⁸ "Die zeitliche Bestimmung der mit Reliefs geschmückten ägyptischen Kelchgefässe," *NAKG* phil.-hist. Kl. 1941 (nr. 7) 249-81. Also issued separately as Fachg. 1, N.F. Bd. 4 (Nr. 4) 119-54. See especially 278-79 (148-49), 275-76 (145-46), and 281-83 (151-53).

⁷⁰ Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, "La cueillette du raisin dans la tombe d'une musicienne de Neith à Sais," *Arts asiatiques* I (1954) 40-60. Compare the Ramesside scene of fig. 22 with the scenes on the Tell Basta bowl in New York.

the examples cited in this study tends to show that the bowl scenes follow the composition and details of the New Kingdom examples, and that the Saite innovations and composition are absent. Particularly notable is the absence of any specifically Saite garments and the absence of women as the laborers. It is true that the eclecticism characteristic of the tomb scenes of Dynasties XXV and XXVI is apparent in the wide choice of subject matter on the bowl (for example, the use of the Old Kingdom bird netting and boat battle scenes). Even in the New Kingdom, however, some of these scenes are used in the decorative arts.80 Possibly the decorative arts can be considered to have led the way for the subsequent development of the extensive use of archaic material, but this is a matter that would have to be investigated more fully before the hypothesis can be considered valid.

At the time of the discovery of the treasure in 1906 and the first publications of the vessels in 1907 by Edgar and 1908 by Maspero there were few silver vessels represented which could be assigned to the period between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic era. This situation has substantially changed in the intervening years, mainly as the result of the discovery of two well dated groups of material at Tanis and Pithom.

The silver and gold vessels from the excavations in the royal necropolis at Tanis are quite instructive for the dating of the Bubastis treasure. These vessels are largely undecorated: more attention has been paid to the design and shape and the larger, less intricate patterns of the body. Several objects have direct points of contact with the Amy patera from Tell Basta. Tanis patera no. 775, dated in the reign of Psusennes, a king of the first part of Dynasty XXI, has a single concentric register of swimming ladies, which is paralleled by the inner register of the Amy patera.⁸¹ In the absence of other indications one might be tempted to assign the Amy patera to this very reign, a period immediately following the Ramesside era. This is a distinct possi-

bility, but the Tanis patera does not exhibit the same overcharged composition and the full utilization of the intervening spaces. Hence the Tell Basta patera may well be earlier. The Tanis vessels share other details with the Amy patera and the gold jugs in Cairo from Tell Basta. For example, the suspension device of the Tanis patera no. 405 is similar to that of the Tell Basta patera.⁸²

With the temple service from Tell el Maskhūta (ancient Pithom) the situation is radically different.83 The date of the treasure has been established as late Dynasty XXVII. With one exception there are no real points of contact with the Tell Basta treasure. This exception is the occurrence of a handle from the Pithom treasure which terminates in a lion's head,84 a feature we have already noted in Vessel C of the Tell Basta treasure (pl. 12, figs. 5-7). This single feature is not significant for dating purposes, especially since the heads are not remarkably similar. A companion handle in the Pithom treasure with a terminal in the form of an ibex bears this out, 85 for the ibex has obvious points of contact with Achaemenian art and has been conceived in quite a different style from the animals of the Tell Basta treasure, the goat of Vessel A, the aurochs (?) of Vessel B, and the calf of a gold jug in Cairo (Cat. gen. 53261). In fact, the Egypto-Persian style of the Pithom treasure, with its Achaemenian affinities, is entirely absent in the Tell Basta treasure. All the exotic elements in the Tell Basta treasure can be paralleled in the series of objects of earlier date discussed recently by Miss Kantor in her monograph, The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C. 86 There are points of contact between the Tell Basta and Tanis vessels, and also several between the Tanis and Pithom vessels, but the gap between the Tell Basta and Pithom material is considerable.

The popularity of several motives, notably the heraldic goats at the sides of a palmette and the dot rosettes, is possibly connected with their vogue in Mitannian glyptic and pottery, and the Mitan-

⁸⁰ See, for example, the object cited in notes 30 and 56 above.
81 P. Montet et al., Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis (La nécropole royale de Tanis II) 83-84, fig. 31, pl. 55.

⁸² idem, 101, fig. 42, pl. 71.

^{88 [}J. D. Cooney et al.] Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-1956, 43-44, pls. 69-74, 75 (?); I. Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.E. from a North-Arab Shrine in Egypt," JNES 15 (1956) 1-9, pls. 1-7.

^{84 [}J. D. Cooney et al.] op.cit. pl. 74 (right). For similar lion-headed handles in bronze, see G. Roeder, Agyptische Bronze-

figuren (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, Bd. VI) 360, figs. 498-99, pl. 52 g, h. The same device is used in a gold jug in the British Museum from the Oxus treasure (H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, pl. 189 [B]; O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, 2nd edition, 8, pl. 7).

^{85 [}J. D. Cooney et al.] op.cit. pl. 74 (left).

⁸⁶ A]A 51 (1947) 1-103, pls. 1-26 (also issued separately at Bloomington, Indiana); W. S. Smith, "An Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Toilet Box," BMFA 50 (1952) 74-79, esp. 75.

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nian influence as a force can hardly have survived Dynasty XIX or XX,⁸⁷ since the Mitanni state did not survive the end of Dynasty XVIII.

In view of the matters discussed above, it seems to be virtually certain that the two hoards from Tell Basta are to be dated at the end of Dynasty XIX or a period slightly later. The anarchy which is said to have prevailed just before the advent of Dynasty XX may in fact have been the cause for the hiding of the jewelry and vessels. Until an official with the titles and name of Atumemtoneb is noted in a dated document, the treasure should be provisionally assigned to this period. In any case, the few items said to come from the treasure which may be of later date can hardly lower the date for the other objects, especially since several of them are precisely dated by the cartouches of Ramesses II and Tawosret.

4. THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE TREASURE

The circumstances of the discovery of the two hoards which form the Tell Basta treasure have been outlined at the beginning of this paper. Although it is not possible to reconstruct the events that led to their clandestine burial, it is likely that the objects belonged to the temple near which they were concealed, and that they were hidden either by their custodian or by a thief. The bracelet with the name of Ramesses II may have been worn by a priest while performing a ceremony, and the other vessels may have been used in the serving of the ceremonial meals which were presented to the god in his shrine. Since there are several reworked scraps and ingots in the treasure, the hypothesis has been advanced that the objects derive from a goldsmith's shop and that they represent his stock in trade. In support of this the models in terracotta from the von Bissing collection may be cited.88 The proximity of the hoards to the temple, however, suggest that the goldsmith in this case would have been an official of the temple, and that his workshop was situated within the temple precinct.

Just as it is possible to assign different dates to different objects from the treasure, it is conceivable that the various vessels were fashioned in different

lands. Nevertheless, there are no compelling reasons for assuming that the objects were made outside Bubastis, where they were found. Bubastis was an important cult center in the later New Kingdom, and it is likely that its situation in the eastern Delta attracted a sizable foreign colony. Manetho records that it was the seat of Dynasty XXII, and in the following dynasty the great festival hall of Osorkon II was built.

Of the three individuals whose names appear on vessels from the treasure, only Atumemtoneb lacks any title which would connect him with the priesthood. Amy was a Chantress of Neith, and Meryt-Ptah was a Chantress. On the vessel of Meryt-Ptah, the dedicant appears before a seated lion-headed goddess, who is identified as Bastet, the mistress of Bubastis, by the accompanying label. One can conclude that the vessels formed part of the ritual table service of the temple, and that these individuals donated the objects on which their names were inscribed. The possibility that the objects belonged to a private table service, however, cannot be excluded.

In view of this evidence and the fact that Egyptian art in the New Kingdom is known to have been influenced by foreign sources, it is surprising that P. Montet has classified a number of the vessels from the treasure as "objets syriens trouvés en Égypte" as recently as 1937, and that a Western Asiatic origin for several of the objects was accepted by H. Ranke as late as 1941.90 Montet has recognized that various elements of the scenes probably have a foreign origin. His discussion is essential to the student of the treasure, and many of his observations are just. He errs, in the writer's opinion, only in his assumption that the exotic motives indicate a foreign craftsman. In virtually every case it is possible to trace the history of each of the stylistic details he cites in Egyptian objects of Dynasty XVIII.

Montet makes a claim for the Syrian origin of five of the vessels in the treasure (the two gold jugs in Cairo, our Vessels A and B, and the Amy patera) as well as several bracelets and earrings.⁹¹ His arguments can be listed as follows: 1) the suitability of the name Atumemtoneb (Atum is in every land)

)

⁸⁷ Mitannian seals and pottery illustrating this point are conveniently collected by R. T. O'Callaghan in *Aram Naharaim* (*Analecta Orientalia* 26) pls. 20 (fig. 25) and 22-23 (figs. 27-29).

⁸⁸ See note 19 supra.

⁸⁹ BMMA, New Series 8 (1949) 62 (lower left). The other

side of the vessel, not illustrated, bears a similar scene.

⁹⁰ According to Dussaud (see note 2 above). Copies of the last number of *OLZ* for 1941 seem to be missing from libraries in the United States as a result of the war.

⁹¹ Reliques, 133, 139.

for a traveler in foreign countries, 2) the titles of this official which indicate his foreign service, 3) the carelessness in the forms of the hieroglyphs and the omission of signs, 4) the profile and headdress of the goddesses in the presentation scenes of Vessels A and B, 5) the proposed identification of these goddesses as 'Astarte and 'Anat, 6) the use of hatching, 7) the use of the palmette in the handle attachments of the two gold jugs, Vessel A, and the Amy patera, 8) the animal handles, which are found in Egyptian representations of vases in tribute scenes. 9) the use of decorative friezes noted on vases in tribute scenes (the geometric and plant designs), 10) the fluting and grooving of the bodies of the vessels, 11) the use of the antithetic, heraldic group, 12) the use of hatching on the bodies of birds and animals, 13) the horizontal strokes between the petals of the lotus, 14) the elongation of the duck's wings, 15) the treatment of the pinfeathers of the ducks as the feet of insects (sic), 16) the addition of a tuft at the end of the tails of the cats on one of the Cairo gold jugs, 17) the use of the palmette, the female griffin and the female sphinx in the desert registers of Vessel A and the Amy patera, 18) the griffin with a medallion attached to a necklace around its neck, 19) the animal combats, including that of the griffin with the lion, 20) the animals running, 21) the use of suns (described in this paper as dot rosettes) in the Ras Shamra bowl and Vessel A, 22) the use of badly designed plant elements either growing from the ground or seemingly suspended from the sky in the patera of Amy, 23) the use of dots and hatching on the bodies of the animals to indicate shading, 24) the use of the papyrus clump as a scene separator in contrast to the usual lack of such separation of scenes in Egyptian art, 25) the lack of a definite shape for the bodies of water represented in contrast to the usual Egyptian rendering, 26) the composition of the aquatic scene in the Amy patera, in which the fish are used as space fillers and are not placed in the water as in Egyptian representations, 27) the use of the horse outside a battle, hunting, or ceremonial scene, and finally, 28) the use of a scene on a vase with floral and geometric bands employed as a frame.92

Many of these points embody worthwhile observations on the decorative elements of the treasure, Unfortunately, for M. Monter's thesis, they

do not either individually or collectively constitute an argument in favor of a non-Egyptian origin. Several of the points stress the foreign origin of the decorative element in question, but this is no argument for assigning the object itself to a foreign workshop. The material now available is so extensive that it would be possible to discuss many of the points at length. Although this is not possible, or even desirable, within the scope of this paper, the writer believes that the result would not support the hypothesis of a Syrian origin. Of the parallels cited by Montet most are vessels represented in tribute scenes on the walls of Theban tombs. Only three objects found in the Syro-Palestinian area are cited in particular: two bowls from Ras Shamra and a bronze plaque found at Tyre and now in the Louvre.93 The other objects cited were all discovered in Egypt, although they are classified as "objets syriens trouvés en Égypte." No mention is made, however, of the largest collection of these objects with exotic elements, the burial equipment of Tut'ankhamun, in which many of Montet's points find exact parallels. To the Tut'ankhamun corpus may be added several of the objects from the tomb of Yuya and Tuya. Although Montet's presentation of the hypothesis is excellent, it is much as if one were to argue for a Chinese origin of all the objects of chinoiserie.

5. AN APPRECIATION OF THE TREASURE

The circumstances of the discovery of the hoards at Tell Basta, the groups into which the vessels may be classified, the material hitherto unpublished, the indications as to the date of the finds, and the probable place of their origin have all been discussed. It remains to evaluate, insofar as practicable, the contribution of the find to our knowledge and appreciation of Egyptian art, and to assess the merit of the artisan. Seen in the perspective of the history of the Egyptian silversmith's work, the treasure is chiefly notable in providing examples of Ramesside workmanship. As in the major arts of sculpture and relief, the period is one of uneven craftsmanship. The bracelets with the name of Ramesses II are ornate, overcharged with detail, and yet well fashioned. To our taste they cannot compare with the best work of the Middle Kingdom or even the better pieces from the treasure of Tut'ankhamun.

⁹² idem, 140-49.

⁹⁸ idem, 131, fig. 172; 80, fig. 100.

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pards may l, the probed. It conreciaof the ry of ire is esside e and aship. II are fashh the n the mun. Of the vessels, the cup with the name of Tawosret can hardly be ranked with the major objects in the gold and silver cases of our great museums. The gold jugs in Cairo and Berlin have a better claim to this distinction, but they too are to be reckoned more as fine examples than as singular pieces. The Amy patera is too slovenly in workmanship to deserve much attention in this respect. The bowl in New York, however, has several extraordinary passages. It is impressive for the scheme of the composition as well as for the handling of detail. With the gold goat and wild bull which serve as handles for Atumemtoneb Vessels A and B a high standard is set which is not quite maintained in the scenic registers of these same jugs.

Maspero's description of the goat handle may be profitably quoted since, with his characteristic en-

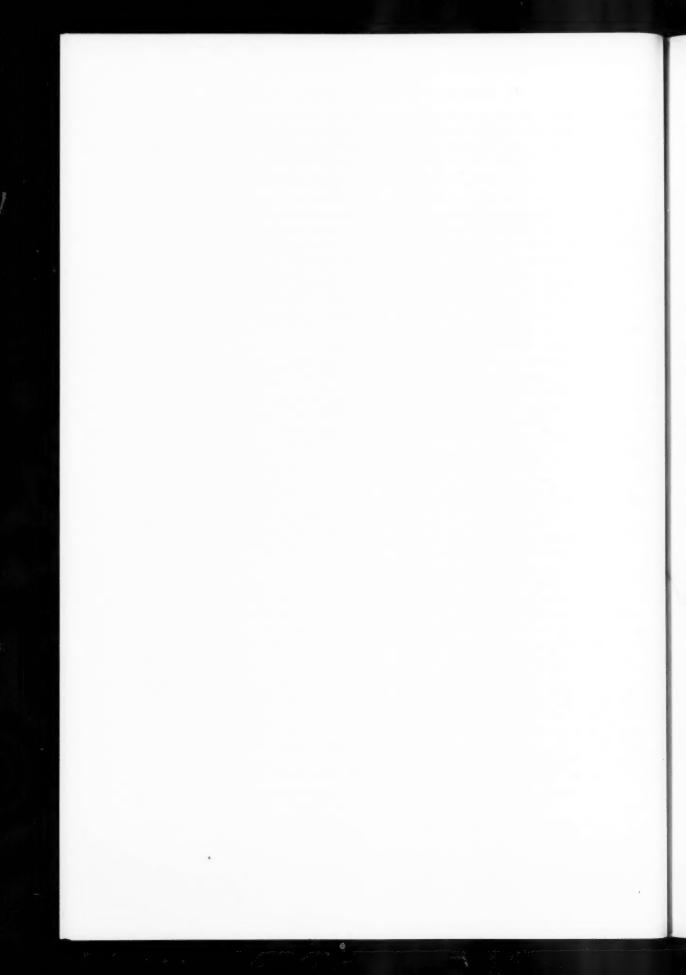
94 RevArtAnc 24 (1908) 30. 95 Through the good offices of Professor Siegfried Morenz of the University of Leipzig, I have recently been able to secure photographs of several of the Tell Basta objects from the administration of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. An examination of these calls for the following observations. The situla-like vessel (Inv. 19736) does not bear the cartouches of Seti II, to judge by the photograph, and thus Scharff's identification of them as those of Seti II in BerlMus 51 (1930) 116, must be rejected. On the basis of the photograph the cartouches are certainly those of Tawosret, as indicated in the text of this article. The reader who examines the illustration in BerlMus 51, 115, fig. 4 right, can compare the cartouches with those of Tawosret in H. Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte, III, 146, text C, cartouches on far right. The name of Seti II is consequently not represented in the treasure, but that of Tawosret is now seen to be represented by objects in Cairo (the lotus cup, CCG 53260), in New York (the strainer rim, MMA acc. no. 07.228.212), and in Berlin (the situla-like vase, Inv. 19736).

thusiasm, he sums up the interest which the Tell Basta find has aroused in the past and will probably continue to hold for future generations of scholars. "Un chevreau, affriandé par l'odeur du vin que la cruche renferme, a escaladé la panse, el là, dressé hardiment sur les pattes de derrière, les jarrets tendus, l'échine raide, les genoux appuyés contre deux calices de fleur en or qui jaillissent horizontalement de la paroi d'argent, le museau pressé au filet, il regarde avidement par dessus le bord. . . . La technique matérielle est excellente, mais la conception est encore supérieure à la technique: rien n'est plus juste que le mouvement qui entraîne la petite bête, ni plus spirituel que l'expression de convoitise gourmande répandue sur tout son corps."94 95

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On the back of the drawing of the fragments of the neck of Vessel B in Berlin the Inventar no. 20105 is written. It is not clear whether this number applies to both fragments and a third piece from still another vessel, or whether the Vessel B fragments are registered under Inv. 20107.

A bibliographical note of interest, which should be added to the discussion of the Tell Basta bowl in New York, is L. Keimer's "Chanticleer in Ancient Egypt," in Egypt Travel Magazine, No. 27, October 1956, pp. 6-11; on page 7, figure 2, he reproduces the scene with the birds from my article in BMMA. His mention of Seti II in connection with the date of the bowl is to be modified in view of the above discussion. With reference to the title of Atumemtoneb transcribed above as wb3 ny-swt, following Gardiner, it might be pointed out that J. Černý in The Inscriptions of Sinai, Part II, p. 230, transcribed the initial element as wdpw; the date of the Sinai examples is restricted to Dynasties XIX and XX, a further confirmation of the view expressed in our discussion of the range of this writing.



The Residential Quarter of the Minoan Palace*

J. WALTER GRAHAM

PLATES 15-18

The complex, multi-roomed Minoan palaces, seats of the administration of the Minoan realms, were surely also the residence of their rulers.1 It was reasonable therefore for Sir Arthur Evans to identify as the "Domestic Quarter" a suite of rooms whose spaciousness and careful decoration proclaimed them to be quite different from the multitude of small cult-rooms, storage-rooms, and workrooms throughout the rest of the ground floor of the palace, vet which were located so far from the principal entrances of the building and were so insulated and self-contained as clearly not to be intended for important public reception rooms. The latter, indeed, Evans located in the "Piano Nobile," i.e. the first storey above the ground floor in the area west of the Central Court; and surely that is where we are to look for similar state apartments in the other palaces at Phaistos, Mallia, and probably at Gournia.2

The two lower storeys of the Knossos Domestic Quarter—or, as I prefer to term it in order to avoid any implication that it was intended for the "domestics," the "Residential Quarter"—were set in a great artificial cutting made to the southeast of the Central Court.³ The lower of these two storeys, whose floor-level lay some eight to nine meters below that of the Central Court, was remarkably well preserved, thanks to the slow settlement of the upper storeys, and has been restored to a semblance of its original condition (pl. 16, fig. 2). It is reached today, as in antiquity, by the "Grand Staircase" so

ingeniously rebuilt by Evans. At the foot of these stairs a corridor passes east along the north side of the light-well, and from this a door opens south into the "Hall of the Double Axes." On the right, i.e. west, of this great hall a two-columned portico opens on a light-well. Halfway down the room is a "pier-and-door partition" of four bays, followed by another at the east end of the room, and one of three bays along the eastern half of the south side: beyond, to the east and south, an L-shaped portico or veranda with six columns and a square pier at the angle provides a view over the valley and hills beyond. The floors throughout the Hall were paved with slabs of gypsum, and a high gypsum dado faced the lower part of the walls; above this ran a painted spiral band to which was attached, Evans suggests, a series of figure-of-eight shields,6 a scheme imitated with painted shields on the walls of the Grand Staircase. Against the north wall of the western section of the Hall traces of a formal wooden chair or thronos were found, surmounted by a canopy.7

Near the southwest corner of the Hall a narrow corridor, with a door at both ends, leads by two right-angled turns into a smaller but similar chamber called the "Queen's Megaron" by Evans but which, to avoid the term "megaron" in a Cretan context, we shall refer to as the "Queen's Hall." A series of bays on the west, south, and east sides of the room open on a bath and two light-wells; between the east light-well and the room runs a nar-

• The author wishes to thank the American Philosophical Society and the University of Toronto for grants in aid of research.

¹ The Palace at Mari on the Euphrates, occupied from about 2000 to about 1700 B.C., is a similar complex of "quarters" used for storage, artisans' workrooms, administrative offices, cult-rooms, and state reception rooms, as well as for the royal living-quarters which have been identified in the northwest corner of the vast palace. Parrot, *Une ville perdue* (1936); *Mari* (1953).

² Cf. "The Phaistos 'Piano Nobile," AJA 60 (1956) 151-157;

and "Windows, Recesses, and the Piano Nobile," forthcoming.

^a Evans has published the "Domestic Quarter" in detail in the *Palace of Minos* III, 282-390. A storey at the level of the Central Court, and at least one above this, may also have formed part of the royal residential quarters.

By "pier-and-door partitions" we mean the series of piers

with double-doors in each opening or bay, such as we find very commonly in Minoan palace and house architecture; by closing the doors the apartment could be subdivided into smaller rooms, or a room could be closed off from an open portico or area beyond; cf. Palace of Minos III, 340. In a previous article (A]A 60 [1956] 151, note 4) I used the term "semi-partition" for this purpose, but the term proposed here, though slightly more cumbrous, is certainly less ambiguous.

⁶ The existence of doors in the north and south walls east of the east row of columns does not prove that the east, or even the south, terrace walls were high enough to obstruct the view; they may have formed a parapet two or three feet high, or have been higher but pierced by broad openings.

6 See the color restoration of the Hall of the Double Axes, PM III, pl. xxiv.

7 PM III, 333-338.

⁸ The scheme on the east and south sides somewhat resembles

row corridor whose winding route to the terrace and verandas at the east of the Hall of the Double Axes was guaranteed against intrusion by no less than four doors. The Queen's Hall was also floored with gypsum slabs, and Evans has restored paintings of dancing girls and of dolphins in a seascape as mural decoration, from the evidence of fragments found in the fill.

On the west side of the Queen's Hall a narrow door leads to the familiar Minoan bathroom. This was lighted by "borrowed" light from the hall and decorated with painted spirals above a gypsum dado. Remains of a painted terracotta bathtub were found just outside the door of the room. On the south side of the bathroom a long corridor connects with even more private apartments which include a well-devised toilet.

One last point of importance. Two sets of narrow stairways, one leading from the northeast corner of the Queen's Hall and the other in the northwest part of the Domestic Quarter and reached both by way of the room of the Queen's toilet and by a door from the "Hall of the Colonnades" at the foot of the Grand Staircase, connect with the storey above. This storey, as restored by Evans, was similar in plan to the one below it, and no doubt formed part of the living quarters of the royal family.

The remarkable similarity of the various Minoan palaces in general plan and in many individual features, such as the Central Court, the Piano Nobile, and the details of the west façade, 10 would lead one to expect analogous Residential Quarters in the other palaces, but it is not, I think, adequately realized that these do in fact exist, and that the mutual resemblance in detail is rather extraordinary. This paper will describe four such sets of apartments other than the familiar one at Knossos, and will attempt to generalize the features which they exhibit in common.

Let us look first at Phaistos (pl. 15, fig. 1). The entire series of rooms along the west façade on the ground floor seems to have served, as at Knossos, for storage and for cult purposes, with the Piano Nobile

above and reached by a broad stairway north of the Grand Propylon, the main entrance of the palace.¹¹ From a lower landing of this stairway a corridor leads into a rather large square peristyle-court, and from its northeast corner a flight of steps descends to a landing from which it continues in a longer flight (76) to the east.

The complex of rooms served by this stairway (pl. 17, fig. 5; pl. 18, fig. 7), rooms 50 and 77-86, was set on a great artificial terrace cut along the north edge of the hill on which the palace was built, and seems to have been accessible from no other direction. Certainly there is no entrance to it from court 48, south of 50, nor from the long passage 87 leading north from this court to a northeast entrance to the palace. Its isolation is therefore comparable to that of the Knossos Residential Quarter and in the official Italian publication these rooms are described as the quartiere signorile; Is indeed an examination of these apartments will reveal many analogies with those at Knossos.

From a corridor at the foot of the "grand stairway," 76, a door opens north into one end of a spacious hall, 77-79. At the right a two-columned portico opens on a light-well, 78. Across the middle of the room extends a pier-and-door partition of four bays, while along the whole north side of 79 and 77 another of six bays opens on a columned portico, possibly originally L-shaped, with a magnificent view across the plain toward the range of Ida on the north. Both floors and walls were covered with gypsum slabs.

At the southwest corner of the Men's Hall, 79, a narrow corridor leads by two right-angled turns, with a door at both ends, into a smaller chamber, 81. This clearly formed the main room of a suite of rooms secondary to 79-77. Its floor was laid in a regular pattern of gypsum slabs (like 79) and its walls were faced partly with gypsum, partly with stucco painted with designs among which vegetable motifs can be recognized. From 81 a few steps led down to the usual Minoan type of bathroom, 83, no doubt illuming ed by borrowed light from 81; its

the pier-and-door partition, but only at the north end of the east side is there a door; the other pillars are set on a low parapet which forms a series of seats in the bays; PM III, 367-369 and frontispiece.

⁹ PM III, 290ff, 354.

¹⁰ See "Windows, Recesses, and the Piano Nobile," forth-coming, and "The Central Court as the Minoan Bull-ring," A/A 61 (1957) 255-62.

^{11 &}quot;The Phaistos 'Piano Nobile,' " AJA 60 (1956) 151-157.

¹² In arguing that this complex of rooms did not form "il gineceo," as it was at first termed in the preliminary reports, Miss Banti says that the north portico was easily accessible from the north, but this is far from clear to me from the remains; enclosing porticoes may have extended northward on one or both sides, Festòs II, 255.

¹⁸ ibid. 479. And so recognized by Dinsmoor, Architecture of Ancient Greece (1950) 15.

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walls were faced partly with gypsum, partly with colored stucco. A door in the west wall of 81 opened into still more private quarters beyond. Of these 82 had a floor of painted plaster; while the west side of the unnumbered room to the north of this, unfortunately incomplete on the north, was paved with slabs of gypsum at the northwest corner of which another gypsum slab, a few centimeters higher than the general floor-level, is pierced with a rectangular hole connecting with a drain running northward, clearly the remains of a latrine (Festòs II, fig. 184). Another door in the northeast corner of the main room, 81, would communicate with the porticoes north of the Men's Hall. Surely this suite of rooms can, on the analogy of the similar suite in the Residential Quarter at Knossos, be identified as the Queen's Apartments.

The suite of rooms numbered 50 on the Italian plan, and also entered from stairway 76, clearly formed part of the residential quarter. Its lightwell, in the center, opened to east and west through two-columned porticoes, and the room to the west had a gypsum-flagged floor and veneered walls around the base of which is a low gypsum bench. A further analogy with the Knossos plan is the flight of stairs leading from the northwest corner of 50 directly to the rooms above, which may have been bedrooms.

The northern, instead of eastern, orientation of the Phaistos Residential Quarter is quite understandable, either because of the superior view from this direction—the Minoan love of natural beauty is obvious from their wall-paintings; ¹⁶ or because of the heat, for the summer sun at Phaistos, as I can say from experience, is something to be avoided!

But what of the cooler winter months? The rulers of Phaistos had taken that into their calculations too and provided themselves with a secondary, less sumptuous, Residential Quarter in the same position as at Knossos, the southeastern part of the

palace (pl. 15, fig. 1).17 Entered only through a small door off the east portico of the Central Court, a few steps lead up to the level of the rooms. Again we note the same general scheme (pl. 16, fig. 4). The main room, 63, with perhaps a light-well, marked by a cement floor provided with a drain, in its southeast corner; and a pier-and-door partition of three bays running across the middle of the room, while another, also of three bays, opens to the east on a columned, L-shaped portico or veranda with a fine view to east and south. The higher level of the native rock surface beyond the cementfloored area between the two porticoes, makes it perfectly clear that this was not a peristyle.18 The remains of three stone steps beyond the southeast corner of the court suggests a smaller terrace at a lower level; we might well think of a terraced

At the northwest corner of the main room, 63, a door opens into a narrow space which would be of very little use as a closet; rather it suggests a small flight of steps to rooms above, and the analogy of the stairs leading from 50 in the north Residential Quarter is so close as to make this interpretation almost a certainty.¹⁹

Another door from the southeast corner of 63 opens into 63b, whose position relative to the main room, combined with the presence of a bathroom reached by a few steps down from it, and a couple of more private rooms beyond (one with a toilet?—note drain in southeast corner), completes the Residential Quarter, as we have come to know it from the two preceding examples, with the "Queen's Apartments."

The nearby "summer-palace" or "villa" of Hagia Triada differs from the standard plan of the three great palaces in many respects, but most of the characteristics of the Residential Quarter appear in a suite of rooms at the northwest corner of the palace (pl. 16, fig. 3).²⁰ A broad flight of fourteen

¹⁴ This is certainly a long, narrow light-well of the normal type, though it supplies light in two directions like the one in the Residential Quarters at Hagia Triada (pl. 16, fig. 3), and not a square peristyle-court anticipating the scheme of the Tuscan Atrium, as stated in Pernier and Banti, Guida degli Scavi Italiani in Creta (1947) 61, and hesitatingly reaffirmed in Festòs II, 471; this is indicated by the fact that the stylobates on both the east and west sides continue through to the north and south walls where there are pilasters to receive the ends of the beams of the epistyle.

¹⁵ Gypsum was used in abundance at Phaistos thanks to the nearby quarries at Hagia Triada which are again being used by the Italians in their restoration work at both Phaistos and Hagia

¹⁶ Snijder's contention that the Minoans had no feeling for beauty of landscape and did not construct their palaces with reference to it is rightly denied in Festòs II, 478.

¹⁷ This is also recognized in Festàs II, 478.

¹⁸ Although so stated by Dinsmoor, loc.cit.

¹⁹ Festòs II, 169 suggests, on the basis of a not very compelling analogy, that the space was used as a sleeping-room, and that the original idea that a flight of steps was located here ought to be abandoned; however no reasons are given why the original view is impossible.

²⁰ See Pernier and Banti, Guida 30-32.

steps leads down from a higher level to the east to a point opposite a door opening, as before, into one of the long sides of the main room 3, 12. Again we have the light-well to the right with two-columned porticoes to east and west, resembling the arrangement of 50 of the north Residential Quarter of Phaistos (pl. 17, fig. 5), and like that too there is a room beyond (4) with gypsum-flagged floor, gypsum-veneered walls, and a continuous gypsum bench around the walls. The room to the north of 4 has a large flat slab of gypsum in one corner and the suggestion is made in the *Guida* that this was a bedroom.²¹

Returning to the main room we find the usual pier-and-door partition with four bays dividing it into an eastern and larger western section (12 and 3). Another with six bays along the north side of 3 opens on an L-shaped veranda with a corner pillar (compare Knossos) and two columns preserved (pl. 18, fig. 9). The terrace, on which the verandas face and which has been artificially extended and supported by a retaining wall, affords the finest view from the site: north to the range of Ida, and west over the fertile plain of the Geropotamos to the blue waters of the Gulf of Mesara beyond (fig. 9).

A door at the northeast corner of 12 opens into a corridor, at the west end of which another door turns north into 13.22 By analogy, then, room 13 should be the Queen's Hall. Can 14, to the east and entered from 13 by a door, be an unrecognized bathroom? A pier-and-door partition leads into a destroyed room to the north, and at the northeast corner a half dozen steps descend to a door into a tiny open court and to a stairway leading to an upper storey.

The main rooms and the porticoes of the court all seem to have had gypsum-paved floors, and some rooms, such as 4, had gypsum dadoes on the walls, while in 14 were found the fragments of the well-known "Cat-and-Bird" mural.

Last we turn to Mallia where we are somewhat handicapped, as at Hagia Triada, by the fact that the palace has not yet received its final publication. In general plan the palace is strikingly like Knossos and Phaistos, but since it was built on a nearly level site we have no terrace at a lower level to mark the position of the Residential Ouarter.

In the northwest corner of the palace, however, we find a suite of rooms accessible from the rest of the building only by one or two doors reached in round-about ways (pl. 17, fig. 6; pl. 18, fig. 10).24 One of these, via IV 6, opens into a long side of the familiar "main room," III 7, on the left (south) of which is the usual two-columned light-well, Again the room is divided transversely by a pierand-door partition with four bays.25 Beyond this the section of the room to the north has, like the Hall of the Double Axes, pier-and-door partitions in front (north) and on one side (east). The east partition with three bays opens into a room with a central pillar. The north partition, with three bays, opens into the usual columned portico facing north. Other columns were found for a portico facing west, and although the French thought that these belonged to some earlier constructions because they are at a slightly lower level, their regular relationship to the other portico, and the analogy of the L-shaped porticoes at Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada, suggest that they form part of the same ensemble.26 The French searched diligently for some sign of rooms in the area north of this and were surprised to find nothing but a few low straggling walls of uncertain period.27 And surely for good reason: for again we have royal residential verandas facing the view over the sea and the cooling breezes blowing from it.

Nor are the "Queen's Apartments" missing. A door near the southwest corner of the main room opens into a paved corridor at the north end of which another door opens into a smaller paved room, III I, with a door at its northeast corner on

²¹ ibid. 31; cf. Festòs II, 169.

²² The corridor was probably not open at its east end as it appears on the plan, but for this and other details we must wait for Miss Banti's promised publication of the site.

²³ Preliminary accounts have appeared in Chapouthier and Charbonneaux, Fouilles exécutées à Mallia, premier rapport (1928); Chapouthier and Joly, Fouilles . . . Mallia, deuxième rapport (1936); Chapouthier and Demargne, Mallia, troisième rapport (1942); also numerous reports in the BCH and an article by Charbonneaux, BCH 52 (1928) 347-363.

²⁴ A group of rooms labeled "VI" is described as a probable domestic quarter in Mallia I, 19-26, but it is certainly not a

royal residential quarter.

²⁵ The existence of this pier-and-door partition, and of those noted below, has not been recognized in the French publications, yet is perfectly clear at the site (fig. 10). The position of the piers is marked by rectangular gaps in the stone stylobate, for there are no remains of the dressed-stone bases regular elsewhere—even at Mallia in several of the private houses. This was first recognized by Platon as a result of some repairs, Κρητικά Χρονικά Ι (1947) 635f; cf. Demargne and Santerre, Études Crétoises IX, 105, and further references there.

²⁶ Mallia III, figs. 6f.

²⁷ ibid. 26-31.

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the north portico, and one at its southwest corner which by a few steps down leads to the usual bathroom, III 4; still another door opens into a room on the west. The whole arrangement of the Queen's Apartments is astonishingly similar to that of the north Residential Quarter at Phaistos (pl. 17, fig. 5).

Finally, the private stairway to the floor above has been recognized by the French excavators to the south of the bathroom at III b. It could have been reached either from the south end of the corridor leading to the Queen's Hall, or through the light-well at the south end of the main room.

Thus virtually all the typical elements of the Residential Quarter are to be seen in this complex of rooms. If the stone bases for the piers of the pier-and-door partitions are lacking; if the floors are more irregularly paved with slabs of limestone; and if the walls are covered only with stucco or thin slabs of slate (?), this only reflects the more modest quality of the palace as a whole.

We may sum up then by simply giving a generic description of the Residential Quarter of the Minoan palace, a description which, with the specified exceptions, applies to all five known examples.

The Royal Residential Quarters in the Minoan palaces consisted of a suite of rooms located along the north or east exterior side of the building in a position selected on the basis of view and climatic conditions. Since it therefore normally occupied a position along one edge of the hill on which most palaces were built (except Mallia), it was usually set in a terrace in whole or in part artificially created by scarping, excavating, and extending. The complex was well segregated from the rest of the palace and normally reached only by a single entrance. The main room ("Men's Hall" or "General Livingroom") was an oblong room entered by a door placed near one end of one of its long sides, with a light-well, flanked by two columns, at one end; it was divided into two usually unequal sections, the smaller containing the entrance, by a pier-and-door partition of four bays;28 one or two of the other sides of the larger section29 have similar partitions which open on columned porticoes. These columned porticoes are L-shaped ** with the corner support, except at Phaistos, a square pier, and they face out on an open terrace. A secondary and more private suite of rooms, presumably the queen's, is reached by a narrow corridor with doors at both ends. Off this room one door leads down a few steps to a bathroom, another to more private rooms beyond, and a third connects with the terrace and its porticoes. Narrow stairways lead directly to the rooms above, which presumably form part of the same system. The Men's Hall, the Queen's Hall, and the bathroom have the lower parts of the walls and the floor covered with stone, which with the exception of Mallia is gypsum; the upper walls are sometimes plastered and painted with designs, particularly at Knossos and Hagia Triada, but also at Phaistos. 31 The general quality of the principal rooms both in regard to size and decoration distinguishes them from the ordinary rooms of the palace.

One more question would seem worth attempting to answer. The ceremonial rooms or state reception rooms were located-for reasons we have tried to suggest elsewhere32-well above the ground floor (in the "Piano Nobile"). Why then was the lowest-and this was probably the principal-storey of the Residential Quarter placed at the ground level, in fact often considerably below the general ground level of the palace? And this in spite of the fact that most of the area at this level was given over to "service" uses: workrooms, storage-rooms, and small cult rooms! The explanation will, I think, be plain to many a man who today prefers his little house in the suburbs where he can step out into his small back garden to being immured in a lofty modern apartment-house. The halls of the Minoan Residential Quarter could be opened wide, as we have seen, on to spacious and well-shaded porticoes, and from these one could pass into a pleasant open court or garden, sometimes provided, it may be, with descending terraces, and commanding a fine panorama over the sea and the mountains. The garden with its pools of water and formal plantings of flowers, shrubs, and trees was a familiar feature of the home of the Egyptian noble of the second millennium B.C. Appreciation of the delights of nature is not a discovery of modern man!88

²⁸ Only 3 bays in the east Residential Quarter at Phaistos.

²⁹ One side at Hagia Triada and both examples at Phaistos; two at Mallia and Knossos.

³⁰ This is uncertain for the north Phaistos example.

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ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

⁸¹ Festòs II, 295, pl. XL.

⁸² A]A 60 (1956) 151ff.

³⁸ Suites of rooms similar to those studied in this article are also to be found in several Minoan houses. Perhaps the clearest

instance is House $\Delta \alpha$ at Mallia (Demargne and Santerre, Études Crétoises IX, pls. 63, 66). It includes a large "Men's Hall" (3) paved with irregular flagstones, which has a transverse four-bayed pier-and-door partition and a single-columned light-well. Reached from it by a narrow corridor (5) is a "Women's Hall" (6) with a similar floor; the usual sunken bathroom (7) opens off one side, while at the far end is a space enclosed with a thin adobe-brick wall, probably a latrine. House Z a at Mallia (ibid. pls. 65, 66) is similar in its arrangement: a Men's Hall (12) and a Women's Hall (5)—both with trans-

verse partitions—with a latrine at the far end; a bathroom (11) opens off a corridor (14) serving both halls. Other probable examples may be seen in the Royal Villa, Rooms E, F, G, H (Palace of Minos II, fig. 227); the House of the Chancel Screen, Rooms 4, 5, 6 (ibid. fig. 224); Nirou Khani, Rooms 2-10 (ibid. fig. 167); House B at Palaikastro, Rooms 2, 3, 6 (ibid. fig. 354); Houses A and C at Tylissos (Hazzidakis, Tylissos, pl. 33); and perhaps in the Little Palace at Knossos (Palace of Minos II, fig. 318).

The Oldest Representations of Wheeled Vehicles in Central and Southeastern Europe

STEPHEN FOLTINY

PLATE 19

Since 1952, the Museum of Szentendre, Hungary, has been conducting excavations in Budakalász, 15 km. north of Budapest, near the bank of the Danube. In the course of this successful field work,1 the largest known cemetery of the Late Neolithic Baden-Pécel culture was discovered. The site vielded 332 graves of that culture up to the beginning of 1956, and the excavations are not yet finished. In September, 1953, an important find was unearthed in the grave Nr. 177: a clay model of a wagon with four solid wheels which represents the earliest explicit evidence for wheeled vehicles in Central and Southeastern Europe (pl. 19, fig. 6). The chariot was published in preliminary reports,2 and referred to⁸ several times, but its significance concerning the economic and social life, as well as some religious rites, of the Baden-Pécel culture was not sufficiently emphasized. Therefore it is desirable to attempt a new analysis and a comprehensive review of the Budakalász wagon and, at the same time, to deal with the problem of the earliest wheeled vehicles in Central and Southeastern Europe.

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The grave Nr. 177 in which our wagon model was found was a symbolic grave, a so-called kenotaphion. It contained no skeleton and no ashes. The chariot, in the shape of a scoop with four wheels, was evidently buried under a wide-mouthed clay bowl (pl. 19, fig. 1; diameter of mouth 28.3, height 10.8 cm.). Close to the wagon, a pedestalled

clay bowl (which was likewise covered by the widemouthed bowl) lay on its side (pl. 19, fig. 2; diameter of mouth 9.2 and 9.4, height 8.3 cm.). A flake and a core of jasper were also found with the two vessels under the same bowl. Both the interior and the exterior of the wagon and the pedestalled bowl were painted red.

The wagon itself was standing on its wheels when it was discovered. It has four solid wheels, height 3.9, width 3.4 cm. They represent the clay model of wheels which were carved of a single piece of wood, with a central hub. On the Budakalász wheels the hub is indicated by a round, flat protrusion (pl. 19, figs. 4, 6; diameter 0.65 cm.). There were no tires on these wheels, but their edges were simply rounded off. Judging from this construction, the wheels may have revolved on axles fixed to the bottom of the car. Each pair of wheels was joined by a single solid axle which is indicated by two parallel lines on the bottom of the model (pl. 19, fig. 3). Between the two axles, four pairs of parallel vertical lines represent the planks of the platform.

The handle of the wagon-shaped vessel served as a pole. Soproni⁶ assumed that the sides of the car body were woven of wicker. (The height of the whole clay model is 8.1, the width of mouth 8.9 and the length of mouth 9.2 cm.)

As far as grave Nr. 177 is concerned, it can be taken for granted that it belonged to the Baden-Pécel culture. As the excavator convincingly pointed out, all three ceramic types found in it are

2 "Prehistoric cart excavated in Hungary," Hungarian Bulletin, Budapest, Nov. 5, 1953. S. Soproni, "A budakalászi kocsi" ("Un char cultuel de Budakalász") Folia Archaeologica Budapest 6 (1954) 29-36 in Hungarian, 198-99 French summary

(quoted infra as Soproni 1954).

412, 441, 553. V. G. Childe, "The Diffusion of Wheeled Vehicles," Ethnographisch-Archäologische Forschungen, Berlin 2 (1954) 14. F. Fülep, in Vestnik Drevnei Istorii (Moscow 1955) I, 155-56. M. Gimbutas, "The Prehistory of Eastern Europe," Part I, BASPR 20 (Cambridge 1956) (quoted infra as Gimbutas 1956) 123. Banner 1956, 126-28. F. Hančar, "Kulturelement Pferd. Wertung und Einbau," Saeculum 7 (Freiburg-München 1956) 445.

4 Soproni 1954, 29-30. Banner 1956, 128, 209.

¹ S. Soproni, "Négyezer éves rézkori temető Budakalászon" (Four thousand years old Copper Age cemetery at Budakalász) Élet és Tudomány (Budapest 1953) 1416-20. J. Banner, "Die Péceler Kultur," Archaeologia Hungarica 35 (1956) (quoted infra as Banner 1956) 111-28. Cf. S. Soproni, A négyezeréves agyagszekér (Budapest 1956).

³ Franz Hančar, "Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit," Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik 11 (1955) (quoted infra as Hančar 1955) 38, 41,

⁸ M. Ebert, Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte 6 (1926) 326. Cf. RE 9, pt. 1 (1921) 171-72.

⁶ Soproni 1954, 32.

⁷ ibidem 30.

characteristic of that culture. The red-painted scoop discovered in grave 158 of the same cemetery (pl. 19, fig. 5) offers the best analogy to our model. Instead of wheels, it has four knob-like feet.

It is interesting to note that, independently of Soproni, E. Beninger⁸ also stressed the relationship between the shaping of our wagon and the Ossarn pottery,9 and thus the native character of this wagon-shaped vessel within the Baden-Pécel culture.

As to the chronology of this Late Neolithic culture, opinions vary. Soproni¹⁰ and Banner¹¹ placed its beginning in the 24th or 23rd century B.C., and they assigned a span of at least 250-300 years to its duration. According to Pittioni12 and Grbić,13 it started around 2200 B.C. Menghin14 dated Early Baden-Pécel in the area of the Sudeten lands to 2100. Milojčić18 and Hančar16 are of the same opinion, but they prefer a dating closer to 2000 B.C. Childe17 dated the cultural stage to which the chariot of Budakalász can be assigned between 2200 and 1800. Ehrich18 did not discuss the problems of absolute chronology but, on his chronological table, he seems to advocate an early date for the beginning of the Baden-Pécel culture (before 2000 B.C.), because this group runs partly parallel with Early Helladic III. Gimbutas¹⁹ claims the contemporaneity of the Early Baden, First Northern²⁰ and Jordansmühl cultures. According to her, these cultural groups appeared at about the beginning of the second millennium B.C., but she emphasizes the relationship of the Late

Baden assemblage with the Middle Helladic and with the Catacomb grave culture21 north of the Black Sea. In considering all this evidence, I believe that we may place the Budakalász wagon at the beginning of the 20th century B.C.

Concerning the construction of our chariot, Hančar²² pointed to the wagons of the Royal Cemetery at Ur. In what is called the "King's grave"28 two four-wheeled chariots came to light and another similar car was found in grave PG 1232.24 All the wheels were of solid wood, and those in the "King's grave" had tires; there were no tires on the wheels in grave PG 1232, but the edges were simply rounded off as in Budakalász. However, in Ur the wheels were made of three pieces of wood clamped together by transverse struts. The body of the car was fixed directly to the axle-tree itself. From the front of each wagon projected a pole. The axle-holes were circular, but the central part of the axle-tree was in all probability square (implying that the wheels must have revolved freely on the axle). No evidence was available about the arrangements for turning. The diameter of the wheels varied between 60 and 100 cm., the length of the axles between 70 and 100 cm.

As to the dimensions, they seem to correspond to those of other early wagons in the Near East.28

Soproni²⁶ compared the wagon of Budakalász with the cart of Storeževaja Mogila27 in the lower Dnieper area and with the wooden wheel of Beck-

continuation during the Early Bronze Age. Cf. Banner 1956, 236-37.

20 In German this culture is called "Funnel-necked-beaker culture." Cf. V. G. Childe, "The Origin of Neolithic Culture in Northern Europe," Antiquity 23 (1949) 129-35, and Gimbutas 1956, 124 sqq.

21 This hypothesis has recently been criticized by Banner 1956, 142-43, but according to Hančar 1955, 97, the beginning of the Catacomb grave culture is around 2100 B.C.

22 Hančar 1955, 38 (note 102 a) and 420 sq.

28 C. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations, Vol. II: The Royal Cemetery, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia (1934) 64. Cf. V. Christian, Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes (Leipzig 1940) 227-28.

24 Woolley, op.cit. (supra n. 23) 108-09.

25 Cf. L.Ch. Watelin-S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish, Oxford University-Field Museum Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia, vol. IV, 1925-1930 (Paris 1934) 30-34, plate 23:1-2. For details see V. G. Childe, "The First Waggons and Carts-from the Tigris to the Severn," ProcPS for 1951 (quoted infra as Childe 1951) 177-94. Childe 1954, and Hančar 1955, 420 sq. 26 Soproni 1954, 31.

27 Childe 1954, 10 (dated between 2400-2000 B.C.). Hančar 1955, 118, 412 (assigned to 2200 ± 100 B.C.). Gimbutas 1956, 78, 92.

8 Hančar 1955, 38 n. 102 a.

11 Banner 1956, 242-47. 10 Soproni 1954, 30.

12 Pittioni 1954, 274.

18 M. Grbić, "Preclassical Pottery in the Central Balkans,"

A]A 61 (1957) 138.

14 Oswald Menghin, "Europa und einige angrenzende Gebiete ausser dem ägäischen und italischen Kulturkreis," Handbuch der Archäologie, II Textbd. (München 1954) (quoted infra as Menghin 1954) 158.

15 Vladimir Milojčić, Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit Mittel- und Südosteuropas (Berlin 1949) 94.

16 Hančar 1955, 38, 412.

17 Childe 1954, 10, 14.

18 R. W. Ehrich, "The Relative Chronology of Southeastern and Central Europe in the Neolithic Period," in Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, edited by R. W. Ehrich (Chicago 1954) 108-29, chronological table 126. However, Ehrich places the Baden site of Homolka in Bohemia to a period which is only "slightly earlier" than 1800 B.C. ("Homolka: A Fortified Village in Bohemia," Archaeology 9 [1956] 240).

19 Gimbutas 1956, 122-23. The dating of the Baden-Pécel

complex on p. 211, fig. 126, seems to be somewhat late. This may be valid for the very late Baden assemblage or for its

⁹ The Ossarn type is a sub-group of the Baden-Pécel culture in Austria. Cf. R. Pittioni, Urgeschichte des österreichischen Raumes (Wien 1954) (quoted infra as Pittioni 1954) 202-08.

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dorf;²⁸ each of them are made of a single solid piece of wood. The diameter of the wheels of Storeževaja Mogila is about 50 cm., that of the Beckdorf wheel 65.5 and 67 cm. The latter's edges were rounded off, and the wheel had a round hub.

According to Childe29 and Hančar,30 representations of chariots from the following sites can be considered as approximately contemporary with the Budakalász model: Palaikastro, 31 Züschen 32 and Kültepe. 88 On the early polychrome car from Palaikastro there is no trace of a pole. The axles were fixed to the bottom of the clay model. Childe (1954, 6) treated the Long Stone Cist with porthole slab at Züschen as parallel to the similar Stone Cists in Southern Sweden and so as contemporary with the late Bell-Beaker culture of Central Europe but, he conceded, it may be somewhat earlier. The cart figures on the Züschen cist walls are a little ambiguous. Though the oxen yoked in a pair to a pole are carved clearly, the wheels are represented only by cup-marks, and not by circles. However, the Budakalász wagon seems to guarantee the oxcarts at Züschen.

The first vehicles represented on seals of the style used by the Assyrian merchant colony at Kültepe (Kanes) were still of the heavy Sumerian type, but they were drawn by horses.³⁴ Traces of wheel im-

²⁸ A. Cassau, "Ein frühbronzezeitlicher oder endsteinzeitlicher Wagenradfund in Beckdorf, Kr. Stade," Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte 12 (Hannover 1938) 63-71. S. Schneider, "Die pollenanalythische Altersbestimmung des Wagenrades von Beckdorf, Kr. Stade," ibidem 72-77. J. G. D. Clark, Prehistoric Europe, The Economic Basis (New York 1952) (quoted infra as Clark 1952) 308. This wheel was dated to an early stage of the Northern Bronze Age on the strength of pollen analysis. It is, however, not certain when it was deposited in the bog.

29 Childe 1954, 10 and 14.

Hančar 1955, 412.
 Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos at Knossos, Vol. IV,
 Part II (London 1935) 807-09, fig. 787. This clay model has been referred to MM I a.

32 Jörg Lechler, "Neues über Pferd und Wagen in der Steinzeit und Bronzezeit," Mannus 25 (1933) 123-36; see 131-32 and fig. 20, 22-24. Lechler claimed some carvings on a slab in the cist of Züschen near Fritzlar, Hessen, as representations of oxcarts. According to him, the solid wheels revolved on a fixed axle, in a hub. Childe first (ProcPS 1951) rejected this assumption, but later (1954) he accepted it. Menghin 1954, 39. Herbert Kühn, Die Felibilder Europas (Stuttgart 1952) 153-54 and 287, assigned the oxcarts at Züschen to a period between 1800-1400. While this date is somewhat late, the representations on the Züschen cist walls are in all probability later than the Budakalász model.

⁸⁸ Thanks are due to Miss Hetty Goldman, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., who called my attention to the presidential address delivered before the American Oriental Society by Dr. Julius Lewy, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. As Dr. Lewy kindly stated in a letter sent to the author, Old Assyrian merchants transported goods sometimes on wagons.

doff; **e each of them are made of a single solid piece prints were discovered in the soft andesite stone of wood. The diameter of the wheels of Storeževaja the main street at Kültepe** and at Fraktin.**

H

As to the purpose of the chariots, Childe⁸⁷ supposed that the first economic use of wheeled vehicles was for transporting bulky foodstuffs from fields to settlements. In the case of the Budakalász wagon, Hančar⁸⁸ stressed that it was undoubtedly used for heavy transport. In this connection he mentioned that bulky stone pieces were found in the graves of the Baden-Pécel cemetery at Budakalász. As Banner reported, smaller or greater stone slabs or stone pieces were unearthed in 53 of the first 115 graves published so far.³⁹ In many cases, a layer of stones (0.25-0.50 cubic meter) lay over the skeletons. In grave Nr. 32, the skeleton was surrounded by 10 flat stone slabs (the height of the slabs varied between 20 and 35 cm.).

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the earliest vehicles were often hearses or ceremonial cars. Around 3000 B.C. the burial of wheeled vehicles was firmly associated with royal funerals in Mesopotamia⁴⁰ and, later, in other areas of the Old World. In the Sumerian language, we find separate words⁴¹ for the transport wagon, for the throne wagon⁴² and for the chariot of the king, the latter being

He also mentioned that certain seal impressions found on Old Assyrian tablets of the 20th and 19th centuries seem to illustrate that wagons were used by Assyrians in the pre-Hittite period of Asia Minor. A drawing of one of the pertinent seal impressions is found in Eduard Meyer's book Reich und Kultur der Chettiter (Berlin 1914) 54 (cf. Hančar 1955, pl. 23 a-b). It is interesting that, as Dr. Lewy writes, certain texts speak of "two wagons (full of) straw" which seems to indicate that the designation "wagon of straw" was used in much the same sense as in our times: the expression "a wagon full of straw" indicating the dimensions of a load of straw in much the same way as one speaks of "so and so many sacks of wheat."

84 Childe 1954, 11.

85 Hančar 1955, 486. Cf. T. Özgüç, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen von 1950 in Kültepe, ausgeführt im Auftrage des Türk Tarih Kurumu," Belleten 17 (1953) 109-18. See p. 111.

³⁶ K. Bittel, "Beobachtungen in Kappadokien," AA (Berlin 1939) 548-68. See p. 566. The age of the road made of andesite stones near Fraktin is not certain. It is probably of a later date than the site of Kültepe.

87 Childe 1951, 177

88 Hančar 1955, 38.

⁸⁹ Banner 1956, 191-92. The data on the other 217 graves are not yet published.

40 Childe 1951, 194. V. G. Childe, "Rotary motion," in Singer, Holmyard and Hall, A History of Technology, Vol. I (Oxford 1954) (quoted infra as Childe 1954 b) 187-215. Cf. 209.

41 Hančar 1955, 429.

42 Cf. A. Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels," La Nouvelle Clio (Bruxelles-Mainz 1950) 537-66. The author is indebted to Prof. Alföldi for this reference and other suggestions. used also for war chariots. The wagons of the Baden-Pécel culture may have been used for normal economic purposes and for religious rites.

At this point the question arises: what animals were employed for drawing the wheeled vehicles of the Baden-Pécel culture? There is no doubt that the earliest draft animals were oxen.⁴³ The oldest vehicles were attached to the draft animals by pole and yoke. The animals were arranged on either side of the central pole.

Domesticated oxen as sacrificial animals were often found in the graves of the Baden-Pécel culture in Hungary and elsewhere. Such sites are known from Bogojeva,⁴⁴ Alsónémedi,⁴⁵ Hódmezövásárhely-Bodzáspart,⁴⁶ Üllö,⁴⁷ Budakalász⁴⁸ and Zlota.⁴⁹

However, there seems to be fairly definite evidence for the domestication of the horse in the same culture. Though horses were not numerous among the animals of the Baden-Pécel culture, they very probably were controlled with a bridle-bit terminating in cheek-pieces of antler.⁵⁰ The domestication of the horse is demonstrated also by the ceremonial burial of this animal in Zlota⁵¹ and in Föllik.⁵² Remains of various domestic animals (horse among others) were discovered in graves on both sites. While there is a slight chronological difference between the Baden-Pécel culture and that of Zlota (respectively that of the Corded-ware) these groups are closely related.⁵⁸

But it is worth noting that, even if the horse was a domestic animal, it was not used for drawing heavy four-wheeled wagons. Horses as draft animals appear regularly in company with spoked wheels.⁵⁴ Thus the wagons of the Baden-Pécel culture definitely were drawn by oxen.

48 Childe 1954, 2. V. G. Childe, "Wheeled Vehicles," in A History of Technology (cf. supra n. 40) vol. I, 1954 (quoted infra as Childe 1954 c) 716-29. See p. 719. Hančar 1955, 38, 441. Soproni 1954, 34-35. G. Clark, "Horses and Battle-axes," Antiquity 15 (1941) 50-70. Cf. p. 63.

44 ArchErt 18 (1898) 256-57; 19 (1899) 62-64. The site now belongs to Yugoslavia.

45 J. Korek, "Ein Gräberfeld der Badener Kultur bei Alsónémedi," ActaA Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae I (1951) (quoted infra as Korek 1951) 35-51.

46 Banner 1956, 76-86, 206. Hančar 1955, 37.

47 Banner 1956, 67-68.

48 ibidem 111-28, 206.

⁴⁹ J. Zurowski, "Neue Ergebnisse der neolithischen Forschung im südwestpolnischen Lössgebiet," PZ 21 (1930) (quoted infra as Zurowski) 3-20. V. G. Childe, Prehistoric Migrations in Europe (Oslo 1950) (quoted infra as Childe 1950) 142. Hančar 1955, 37.

80 J. Banner, "Angaben zur Frage des Domestizierens der Pferde in der Urzeit," Dolgozatok 15 (Szeged 1939) 165-66.

In this connection, it must be mentioned that in at least three graves of that culture a pair of oxen were buried together with human corpses. In grave Nr. 3 at Alsónémedi, a male and a female skeleton were found near the skeletons of two oxen. 55 In grave Nr. 28 of the same cemetery, a male skeleton was lying close to the skeletons of two oxen. 56 In grave 3 of the Budakalász cemetery, 87 a human double burial was associated with a pair of oxen. On the basis of this evidence, Banner 58 supposed that the oxen were buried together with a wooden wagon. Unfortunately, no traces of such wagons could be observed.

TI

Archaeologists generally agree that the first wheeled vehicles were invented in Mesopotamia and diffused from there. But how did the first wagons reach the Carpathian basin? In dealing with our clay model, Soproni⁵⁹ offered two different possible interpretations. He first considered the possibility that the earliest chariots came from the Balkan peninsula, because the Baden-Pécel culture has close connections with that area. But the wheeled vehicles appear there later than in Hungary.

On the other hand, there are earlier and contemporary wagons and carts in Southern Russia, but Soproni has not yet found sufficient evidence for close contacts between the two territories.

In the author's opinion, Soproni's first alternative should be abandoned completely. The oldest chariots of the Greek mainland are known from the 16th century B.C.⁶⁰ and these are war chariots with spoked wheels.

A. Mozsolics, "Traditions des steppes à l'âge du bronze en Hongrie," ArchErt (1946-48) 63-74, notes 11 and 12. Hančar 1955, 40. Gimbutas 1956, 123. For the domestication of animals see the following articles: R. H. Dyson, "Archaeology and the Domestication of Animals in the Old World," American Anthropologist 55 (1953) 661-73. F. E. Zeuner, "Domestication of Animals," in A History of Technology (supra n. 40) 327-52, and E. F. Zeuner, "The Domestication of Animals," Scientia 91 (Milano 1956) 23-28.

⁵¹ Zurowski, 15-17.

82 Pittioni 1954, 246-47, fig. 172.

88 Banner 1956, 208.

54 Childe 1954, 2. Childe 1954 c, 721.

85 Korek 1951, 38 and pl. 1x fig. 1.

56 ibidem 39 and pl. x1 fig. 1-2.

⁵⁷ Banner 1956, 113. ⁵⁸ ibidem 206.

89 Soproni 1954, 32-34.

60 Childe 1951, 193 and Childe 1954, 12. F. Schachermeyr, Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens

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Thus it seems clear at the present time that the first wagons were brought to Central Europe from the steppe area of Southern Russia. A study of the early sites of the Pontic-North European Plain and their dates leads to this conclusion. Until recently little attention has been paid to the problem of cultural correlations between the Carpathian basin and the area east and southeast of the Carpathians during the Neolithic period. Therefore most of the evidence that would warrant final decision is still lacking. There are, however, several cultural elements which indicate close relationship between the two areas in Neolithic times. Marija Gimbutas gave a detailed discussion of these elements in her much-needed book. As far as the area outside the Carpathians is concerned, we will refer to her

As Childe and others have shown, or there was already an active trade between Hungary and the territory east of the Carpathians in the period preceding the Baden-Pécel culture. For implements, obsidian was distributed all over the Central Danube basin and northward to Moravia, Bohemia and Silesia. It was concentrated in Poland in the Upper Vistula area.

Recent research has demonstrated other connections between Eastern Hungary and the territory east of the Carpathians. Apart from these contacts, close relationship is seen between the Baden-Pécel complex and the contemporary cultures of the area northeast, east and southeast of the Carpathians. Some of the common traits are:

a) frequent double or triple burials. In Alsónémedi, ⁶³ Bogojeva, ⁶³ Lichtenwörth, ⁶⁴ Leobersdorf, ⁶⁴ Vučedol, ⁶⁵ Budakalász, ⁶⁶ and Palotabozsok, ⁶⁷ many double and several triple or multiple graves (man and woman; woman and child; 2 children; man and child; 2 men) came to light. ⁶⁸

b) burials of animals together with, or beside, the human graves.⁶⁰

c) appearance of domesticated horse. Apart from the bridle-bit of Hódmezövásárhely-Bodzáspart, we must mention a similar finding from the Usatovoculture.⁷⁰ In his excellent book on the history of the horse, Hančar pointed out the great significance of these cheek-pieces for the evolution of later bridle-bits.

d) a specific peculiarity of the burial rites in the Pontic area was the use of red ochre in graves. Similarly, ochre grains were found in grave Nr. 40 of the cemetery in Alsónémedi.⁷¹ The decoration of a vessel of grave Nr. 44 in Budakalász consisted of ochre-filling, and the red-painted pottery is frequent in the Baden-Pécel culture.⁷² Although red painting was known in earlier Neolithic cultures in Hungary, it is interesting to note that this kind of painting generally appears in those cemeteries of the Baden-Pécel culture where we find animal burials.

e) copper beads in cylindrical form point to the Pontic-North European Plain. They are known in Hungary from the cemeteries in Alsónémedi⁷⁸ and in Budakalász.⁷⁴ Similar findings came to light in the Northern Caucasus⁷⁸ (Lesken, Kabardino Park,

(Bern 1950) 50-64. G. E. Mylonas, "The Figured Mycenean Stelai," AlA 55 (1951) 134-47.

61 Childe 1950, 96. Clark 1952, 243. Hančar 1955, 74. Gimbutas 1956, 116.

62 I. Kutzián, "Die Ausgrabungen in Tiszapolgár-Basatanya,"
Discours des chercheurs hongrois à la Conférence Archéologique
de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, Budapest, 3-6 octobre
1955 (Budapest 1955) 69-87. See pp. 81-82. The contacts between the Hungarian Early Copper Age and the Cucuteni, resp.
Tripolye, cultures are stressed here. J. Korek and P. Patay, "A
Herpályi-halom kökorvégi és rézkori települése" ("The Settlement at Herpály-halom from the Late Neolithic and the Early
Copper Ages"), Folia Archaeologica 8 (1956) 23-39 in Hungarian, 40-42 English summary. Some intrusive cultural elements
from southeast of the Carpathians are claimed by the two
authors.

68 Korek 1951, 36-41.

64 K. Willvonseder, "Zwei Grabfunde der Badener Kultur mit Metallbeigaben aus Niederösterreich," WPZ 24 (1937) 18-28.

65 R. R. Schmidt, Die Burg Vučedol (Zagreb 1945) (quoted infra as R. R. Schmidt 1945) 41.

66 Banner 1956, 113-28, 220-21. At least 26 (out of 221)

graves contained double or, occasionally, triple burials in this cemetery.

67 ibidem 128-34.

68 Cf. Gimbutas 1956, 151, 154 and 168-69.

60 See notes 55-58, and Gimbutas 1956, 168. Cf. O. F. Gandert, "Neolithische Gräber mit Rinderbeigaben und Rinderbestattungen in Mitteleuropa," Actes de la Illo session Zurich 1950 (Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Zurich 1953) 201.

70 Hančar 1955, 72, 523, 529, 552 and 553. Gimbutas 1956,

71 Korek 1951, 41. Gimbutas 1956, 55-60, 71, 74-75, 80-82.

72 Banner 1956, 168-69.

⁷⁸ Korek 1951, 46-47: in graves Nr. 3-4, 20, 34, and 36 cylindrical copper beads were found. They are of native copper. Cf. K. Szepesi, "Chemische Untersuchung der Funde aus dem Gräberfeld von Alsonémedi," ActaA Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 1 (1951) 80.

74 Banner 1956, 199. Copper beads were discovered in at least 13 graves of the first 115 already published. They have not yet

been analyzed.

78 Gimbutas 1956, 57, 62-63, 67, 69.

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Konstantinovka and Kislovodsk), in the Catacomb graves between the lower Dniester and lower Volga,⁷⁶ in the Jordansmühl-Brześć Kujawski group,⁷⁷ in the Globular Amphora culture⁷⁸ and in the Zlota group.⁷⁹

A great number of other copper ornaments and tools are also characteristic of the Baden-Pécel culture in Hungary, ⁵⁰ Austria, ⁵¹ and in Yugoslavia. ⁸²

On the basis of the evidence presented above, it seems reasonable to suggest that wagons, invented in Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium B.C., spread-in the course of the third millenniumthrough Armenia, the Caucasus, the Dnieper and the Danube to Central Europe,88 and that they reached this latter area at the beginning of the second millennium. The small eastern ethnic groups, which brought the knowledge of wheeled vehicles to Central Europe, did not make great changes in the material culture, but adapted themselves to the local environment. These steppe people probably were attracted by the fertile lands. One reason for their migration could be, among others, the desiccation of the steppe caused by the Sub-Boreal climate period, which started in the fourth quarter of the third millennium B.C.84 The rich ores of the Carpathians may have lured them.

TU

The earliest spoked wheels appeared in Central and Southeastern Europe by the end of the Early Bronze Age. 85 Models of four-spoked wheels are known from the sites of the Mad'arovce (Magyarád) group in Slovakia, 86 the Věteřov-group in Moravia 87 and from Western Hungary. 88

These culture groups show a relationship with the Shaft Graves in Mycenae. Certain objects of antler or bone in the Moravian, Slovakian and Hungarian area can be connected with contemporary findings in Greece. These correlations are of great importance for the Bronze Age chronology of Central Europe. The Greek analogies belong to the 16th century and thus they demonstrate that spoked wheels were used in Central Europe before 1500 B.C.

It must be emphasized that the Baden-Pécel culture played a significant role in the formation of the Mad'arovce group in Southern Slovakia, Northeastern Austria and Northwestern Hungary, where the characteristic antler objects and also the models of spoked wheels⁹⁰ first appear.⁹¹

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¹⁶ ibidem 80.

⁷⁷ ibidem 118.

⁷⁸ ibidem 145.

⁷⁹ ibidem 156.

⁸⁰ See notes 73 and 74. Korek and Banner report of neckband, chisel, awl and diadem.

⁸¹ Pittioni 1954, 205. The chemical analysis of the axe of Zwerndorf has shown, beside copper, 1.7% of arsenic. The ingot torques of Lichtenwörth and Leobersdorf contained, beside copper, traces of silver, nickel and lead. Since arsenic is unknown in the ore-deposits of the Eastern Alps, the origin of the Zwerndorf axe cannot be decided. In this connection, H. Otto and W. Witter (Handbuch der ältesten vorgeschichtlichen Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa [Leipzig 1952] 48) suggested a Central-German origin. On the other hand, as Gimbutas (1956, 70) pointed out, there is no doubt about the existence of a North Caucasian metallurgy since the beginning of the second millennium B.c. The influence of this center radiated to Southern and Central Russia. The ornaments of this early phase contained 95-97% copper and no tin or antimony. There was some quantity of arsenic, iron, and occasionally some of nickel. However, it will be wise to wait for decisive evidence from future research, as far as the origin of the Austrian ingot torques and axe is concerned.

⁸² ArchErt 18 (1898) 24. R. R. Schmidt 1945, 71.

⁸⁸ Hančar 1955, 553. Gimbutas 1956, 78-79.

⁸⁴ Gimbutas 1956, 151, 169.

⁸⁵ K. Tihelka, "Nejstarši hliněné napodobeniny čtyřramenných kol na území Č S R" (Die ältesten tönernen Nachahmungen vierarmiger Räder auf dem Gebiete der ČSR.), Památky Archeologické 45 (1954) 219-222 in Czech, 223-224 German summary. Cf. Childe 1954, 14.

⁸⁶ Pittioni 1954, 323. P. Patay, "Frühbronzezeitliche Kulturen in Ungarn," DissPan Ser. II, No. 13, 77-81.

⁸⁷ K. Tihelka, "Sidliště Věteřovského Typu Na Morave" (Die Siedlungen des Věteřov Typus in Mähren), Acta Musei Moraviae, Scientiae Sociales 37 (1952) 313-34 with German summary. K. Tihelka, "Nálezy Ze Sidliště Věteřovského Typu Na Nových Horách U Věteřova" (Die Funde aus der Siedlung des Věteřov-Typus bei Věteřov, Mähren), ibidem 38 (1953) 27-62 with German summary.

⁸⁸ K. v. Miske, Die prähistorische Ansiedlung Velem St. Vid (Wien 1908) plate 56:13, 15-16.

⁸⁰ Pittioni 1954, 369. I. Hnizdová, "Die Frage der Formen vom Typus Věteřov in der Aunjetitzer Kultur in Böhmen," Památhy Archeologické 45 (1954) 216-18. Cf. J. Werner, "Mykene-Siebenbürgen-Skandinavien," Atti del 10 Congresso Internazionale Di Preistoria E Protostoria Mediterranea 1950 (Firenze 1952) 293-308.

⁹⁰ See note 86.

⁹¹ The author is grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York for financial assistance which made possible preparation of this paper.

Shrines in Sepulchres?

A Re-examination of Three Middle to Late Minoan Tombs*

CHARLOTTE R. LONG

PLATE 20

The three tombs with which this paper is primarily concerned are the tholos tomb at Apesokari in the Messara, the Temple Tomb at Knossos, and Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha. These tombs have several features in common which do not occur in ordinary Middle Minoan tombs: the multiplicity of rooms in addition to the sepulchral chamber, the presence of pillar rooms, and the inclusion of a room which appears to be a shrine. Two of the three are built entirely above ground; the third was constructed in a huge cut made in the hill slope, possibly because in this way it could be oriented East-West. Two of the three are situated near palaces and no doubt served as dynastic sepulchres while the third lay near a settlement but not, so far as is yet known, near any residence of imposing size.

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The tomb at Apesokari1 (pl. 20) is built on a terrace near a Middle Minoan settlement. From the pottery found in it, Schoergendorfer concluded that the tomb was built at the beginning of Middle Minoan I and continued in use during Middle Minoan I and II. The building is oriented as nearly East-West as the terrain permitted and its entrance lies at the east end. In front of the tomb is an open area which has, on its north side, a rectangular platform 0.80 by 0.90 m. in size and only 0.20-0.25 m. high. Schoergendorfer identified the latter as an altar because of the quantity of fragments of stone and pottery vessels found near it,2 but its height is more suitable for an altar base. The tomb proper, which is built entirely above ground, consists of a circular burial chamber or tholos and a rectangular building in front of the tholos, which served as an elaborate entrance system for the tholos. A large

pillar room occupies the north-central part of the building while the remaining space to the east, south, and west is divided into narrow rooms. An alcove to the east of the pillar room and immediately to the right of the entrance contained a thin, six-sided slab of stone laid on the floor at its north end, and an anthropomorphic concretion. Originally the concretion must have stood on the slab, and it may be taken to be the symbol of a deity. Consequently the alcove in which it was found appears to be a shrine. At the same time, burials were found in the tholos and in the rooms to the west and south of the pillar room, though not in the pillar room nor the alcove, and the building must therefore be considered as a sepulchre.

In its use as a communal sepulchre, in its construction, and in its plan, the tomb at Apesokari is a direct descendant of the Early Minoan tholoi of the Messara. Both the tomb at Apesokari and the tholoi are built above ground. Both have round sepulchral chambers. The rectangular building in front of the sepulchral chamber at Apesokari is an elaboration of the anteroom found in front of some of the Early Minoan tholoi, and the open area with the altar in front corresponds to the paved courts sometimes found near Early Minoan tombs though it did not necessarily fulfill the same function. The tomb at Apesokari, however, shows further architectural development in the elaboration of the entrance system and the inclusion of a pillar room.

The most important difference between the tomb and the earlier tholoi is the presence of a shrine within the building. The altar outside the tomb may have served this shrine, although it may also have been used for funeral rites. Both shrine and

[•] I am greatly indebted to Miss Machteld Mellink for reading and criticizing this paper. I should also like to express my indebtedness in a more general way to the late Leicester B. Holland who instructed me in architecture and in Aegean archaeology at Bryn Mawr.

¹ Matz, Friedrich, editor, Forschungen auf Kreta 1942 (Berlin 1951) 13-22: Schoergendorfer, A., "Ein mittelminoisches Tholosgrab bei Apesokari."

² ibid., 20-22.

⁸ ibid., 19-20.

^{*} Xanthoudides, Stephanos, translated by J. P. Droop, The vaulted tombs of Mesara (London 1924) abbreviated as VTM.

⁶ VTM 5-6, 32-33, 51, 56, 71, 134.

⁶ VTM 6, 34, 90; Seager, Richard, Explorations in the island of Mochlos (Boston and New York 1912) 40.

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altar are situated in front of the sepulchral part of the building so that persons could visit the shrine or perform ceremonies at the altar without entering the burial chambers, but the pillar room and the rooms containing burials could be reached only from the shrine. Thus while the two functions of the building are clearly separated, they cannot be wholly unrelated: presumably the deity symbolized by the concretion was conceived to be a protector of the dead left inside. The concretion gives no indication of the sex of this deity, nor are there any offerings which might illuminate the extrasepulchral functions of the deity. Near the altar were found quantities of broken vessels but no bones; hence it may be assumed that the offerings made consisted principally of liquids, fruit, grain or the like rather than slaughtered animals.

In date and in architecture the tomb at Apesokari is intermediate between the Early Minoan tholoi and the tombs at Knossos and Ayia Triadha next to be considered (pl. 20). The pottery found in excavating the Temple Tomb suggests that it was built during the Middle Minoan III B period. At the end of the Late Minoan I A period, part of it collapsed, but the building was repaired immediately. Evans dated the final interment to the close of Late Minoan II and the latest of the votive vases found within the tomb to Late Minoan III A.9

Except for the sepulchral chamber, which is cut into the living rock at the back of the tomb, the entire building is constructed in a huge cut made in the slope of the hill beside the road leading from Knossos to the south of Crete. Its east wall was built approximately at ground level. The main entrance to the tomb is situated on the north slope, well above the level of the ground floor of the tomb and only three steps below that of the upper storey.

In addition to the labor involved in making the cut for the tomb, the building shows other evidence of lavish construction, the use of large, hewn limestone blocks in the visible wall faces, of slabs of gypsum to line the sepulchral chamber as well as of gypsum door-jambs, etc. That its furnishings were once equally rich is suggested by a cache of gold and beads found near the tomb and probably loot from it.¹⁰

The building consists of two storeys. At the east

end of the lower storey is an enclosed court with a portico. The entrance to the tomb proper is situated on the west side of the court. From this a hall leads past an inner stairway connecting the two storeys to the pillar crypt, a large room with two pillars. To the west of the pillar crypt is the sepulchral chamber which is hewn out of the rock.

The roof over the entrance and inner hall of the tomb was paved with slabs of green schist and was evidently used as a terrace. To the west, over the pillar crypt, was built an enclosed room with the same dimensions and nearly the same plan as the crypt below. The stucco on its walls was painted red and its door-frame at the northeast corner and a column base found within it were of gypsum. Of its furnishings nothing was recovered except part of a limestone pair of horns of consecration which may have stood either within the room or upon its roof. No traces of a bench nor of any other construction were noted within it. On the analogy of a "tomb of Minos" in Sicily described by Diodorus Siculus, Evans identified this upper room as a shrine of the goddess.11

When the pillar crypt was excavated, the spaces between its pillars and between the west pillar and the west and south walls were filled with rubble walls composed of broken blocks and building debris. The areas enclosed by these walls were filled with a mixture of rubble, human bones and sherds of Late Minoan I A pottery. In all, the bones belonged to twenty or more individuals, but except for one or two instances in which parts of the same skeleton were laid out in some order, the bones were mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the debris and were much decayed.¹²

Clearly the lower storey of the building was used as a sepulchre both before and after its partial collapse at the end of Late Minoan I A. The bones found in the pillar crypt belong to a series of burials of which the latest must have been made shortly before the collapse since at the time of the restoration one or two of the skeletons were sufficiently intact to be moved in order, whereas the rest had evidently disintegrated and were simply swept up with the rest of the debris. Had they been the remains of people killed in the fall of the building as Evans suggested, 18 more of the skeletons should

⁷ Evans, Sir Arthur, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, IV, (London 1935) 962-78, 986-1018; on the date of construction, 975-76; henceforward abbreviated as *Po/M*.

⁸ PojM IV, 987-92.

⁹ PojM IV, 1002-11, 1015-17.

¹⁰ PofM IV, 963-64, pl. 34.

¹¹ Diodorus Siculus 4.79.3; PofM IV, 965.

¹² PofM IV, 988-90. 18 PofM IV, 990.

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have been found in order. Some of the looting represented by the cache near the tomb may have been done in clearing the tomb at this time or the earlier burials may have been stripped of everything valuable in preparing the tomb for subsequent interments. In any case, it seems very likely from the magnificence of the structure that these bones belonged to the rulers of Knossos during the Late Minoan I A period.

It is the room above the pillar crypt which is of greatest interest, though the absence of finds in it leaves its use open to various interpretations. This room could be approached quite apart from the lower storey via the roof terrace and the steps up from the north entrance. Unless the portico west of the court was carried up two storeys, this room must have been visible from outside, and the fragmentary horns of consecration found near it suggest that it had an imposing façade with horns of consecration on its roof. At the same time, the upper room is connected with the sepulchral chambers by an interior stairway, and its position directly above the pillar crypt may have been significant. The exposure of the upper room in contrast to the concealing of the burial chambers below argues against its having been used in the same way as the lower storey. It is exceedingly difficult, however, to find any use for which the room is suited: it is too near the rear of the building to have been an efficient guardroom. It is at once too imposing and too wanting in domestic conveniences to have served as the living quarters of a tomb attendant. Evans' own theory that the room was a shrine of the goddess is the most satisfactory explanation of it. The separate entrance would permit worshippers to visit the shrine, if such it was, without entering the tomb, while the location of the shrine directly above the sepulchral chambers would enable the deity thus honored to extend his (her) benevolent protection to the bones laid out in the rooms below. A second possibility is that the room was used for rites to the dead below, but for the later period, at least, it may be assumed from the finding of kylixes and other vessels at the entrance to the sepulchral chamber and at the north entrance to the tomb that libations were made to the dead at these points and not in the upper room.

If the upper room of the Temple Tomb is indeed a shrine, it has certain things in common with the

shrine at Apesokari: both are distinct from the sepulchral part of the building, although in both there is ready communication between the shrine and the sepulchre. Both shrines lie to the west of an open area, the roof terrace at Knossos and the altar court at Apesokari. In both the entrance is placed so that the interior of the shrine is largely concealed from the gaze of people outside it.

Like the tholos at Apesokari, Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha is built entirely above ground on a terrace¹⁴ (pl. 20). Too little of it is preserved for its orientation to be certain, but its entrance was on either the east side like the entrances of the other tombs at this site, or possibly on the north.

The date of the construction of Tomb 5 and its original purpose are uncertain because nothing was found directly on its floor. In one of the rooms, about 0.30 m. above the floor, was found a vase in the form of a bird which may be dated to the Middle Minoan I period, ¹⁵ and hence the building may have been erected as early as the beginning of the Middle Minoan period. The bulk of the finds, however, belong to Late Minoan I-III, and it is with the appearance and use of the building in the Late Minoan period that we are concerned.

When the building was excavated, the washing away of the slope above and below the terrace on which it stood had destroyed all but the south wall of the building together with the ends of five crosswalls and parts of two pillars. The south wall still rose to a height of 1.75 m. and the better preserved of the two pillars to a height of 1.29 m., a height approximately ten centimeters above the top of the Minoan fill in the room. Of the other pillar, only the lowest block was still in place, but the excavation report does not reveal whether the higher blocks were removed before or after the Late Minoan occupation. Possibly, therefore, the building was already in ruin when it was used as a sepulchre in the Late Minoan period, but there is no positive evidence that it was. On the contrary, the richness of the Late Minoan stratum suggests that the bones found in it did not belong to burials carelessly made by the wall of an abandoned house, but rather to persons of some importance who would be laid out in a proper tomb.

Of the four extant rooms lying next to the south wall, the easternmost may have been a court, for it has a width East-West of 4.20 m. without any sign parallel for this vase is a MM I vase from Platanos, VTM 95, no. 6868, pl. 51.

¹⁴ MonAnt 14 (1904-05) cols. 677-756.

¹⁵ MonAnt 14 (1904-05) cols. 753-54, fig. 46. The closest

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of pillars or columns to support a roof. Nothing was found in it. Next to it are two narrower rooms, each approximately 1.50 m. in width. The juxtaposition of two narrow rooms of the same width naturally suggests a stairway, and this in turn presupposes a second storey.16 In support of this identification it may be noted that the west narrow room was evidently filled in when the building was in use, for it contained no finds whatsoever, and one of its walls seemed to have no face. In the east narrow room at a height of 0.30 to 0.50 m. above the floor were found the bird vase mentioned above, a gold-plated earring(?), a bronze mirror of Late Minoan III date, and a worn stone bowl, possibly of Early Minoan manufacture. At a higher level, 1.15 m. or more above the floor, was another group of objects: a black steatite sphinx which must have come from Syria or Anatolia, part of a bronze figurine of a bull, two daggers and a hair-ring, also of bronze, part of a terracotta "goddess" with a cylindrical skirt, and the two pillars which supported the figure of a swinging girl found in the pillar room to the west. The "goddess" and the pillars must have come from the same original location as the "goddesses" and the swinging girl found in the pillar room, and probably the other finds came from there too. The westernmost room is called the pillar room from the two pillars which supported its ceiling. It is the largest of the rooms, measuring 4.80 m. East-West. The half meter of fill directly above the floor of the pillar room was sterile. Above this were found parts of no less than five skeletons still in order by the south wall, in what was the most protected part of the room. Mixed with the bones or above them, 0.50-1.00 m. above the floor, lay various objects: a curious, heartshaped gold amulet, two plain gold rings, pieces of a stone vase and of another in glass paste shaped like a conch shell, seven terracotta "goddesses" with cylindrical skirts, and fragments of a pedestal jar and an urn. One of the objects closest to the floor was the figure of the swinging girl mentioned above. 1.00-1.20 m. above the floor were found a scarab inscribed with the name of Queen Tiyi (wife of Amenophis III, 1402-1365 B.C.), two gold pend-

ants in the form of lions and three in the form of calves' heads, a third gold ring, four bronze daggers, a mace head, an alabaster head of a man, another terracotta "goddess" with knobs on her skirt, and handleless cups. The two strata should be considered as a single mixed deposit, for there is no appreciable difference in character between them, and the figure of the girl from the bottom of this deposit belongs with the pillars from the top of the deposit in the east narrow room.

The skeletons prove conclusively that the pillar room was used as a sepulchre, presumably in the Late Bronze Age since the objects in the same deposit can be dated LM I-III. While the gold objects found were not directly associated with any of the burials, their discovery proves that the tomb belonged to persons of wealth, no doubt the lords of the neighboring villa. The presence of a second princely tomb, the tomb of the painted sarcophagus, near this building provides a possible terminus ante quem for the use of Tomb 5 as a sepulchre, for the sarcophagus belongs to the Late Minoan III A period.

If, then, the skeletons can be taken as proof that the pillar room in this building was used as a tomb in the Late Minoan period, the "goddesses" prove just as definitely that a shrine existed in this area, also in the Late Minoan period. Obviously the pillar room could not have been used simultaneously as a sepulchre and as a shrine, and so the question arises: where was the shrine? Nilsson, in the first edition of The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, 17 suggested that the shrine was part of the original house and that burials were made in the pillar room subsequent to the destruction of the house. This is impossible, for the bones lay near the bottom of the stratum containing the figurines and the figurines are among the latest objects in this stratum.18 Miss Banti believed that the figurines might have been washed down the slope from a house built higher up.10 It seems hardly likely, however, that so large a number of figurines (ten), representing very probably all the figurines the shrine contained, would be washed out of the building in which they stood, down the slope, and into

17 Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska vetenskapssam-

fundet i Lund, IX (Lund 1927) 259.

¹⁶ An alternate possibility is that the two narrow rooms served as magazines, but this seems hardly likely since they contained no storage vessels either whole or fragmentary. There is, in fact, a remarkable absence of domestic pots and pans in the entire

¹⁸ The type of figurine with a cylindrical skirt belongs to LM III. Cf. Banti, Luisa, Annuario N.S. 3-4 (1941-43) 24; Marinatos, Ephem (1937) 290.

¹⁹ Annuario N.S. 3-4 (1941-43) 23-26.

a different building without being scattered. The most reasonable location for the shrine is directly above the pillar room. The collapse of the ceiling of the pillar room (and the floor of the room above) would naturally cause most of the contents of the upper room to fall into the room below, though some might roll into a neighboring room. That an upper storey did exist may be inferred from the stairway to the east of the pillar room, though none of its structure has been preserved. At the Temple Tomb the leaving of votives continued after the latest interment, and it is possible that here too the shrine continued in use after the latest interments as the late type of "goddess" suggests.

Architecturally, in so far as it can be reconstructed, Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha has much in common with the Temple Tomb: a possible court at the east end; beside it a stairway leading to the upper storey; to the west a pillar room used as a sepulchre with a shrine in the room above. Whether the building always had this plan or whether the remains of an earlier building were adapted in the Late Bronze Age to fit this plan is impossible to say from what is extant.

The furnishings of the shrine found at Ayia Triadha illuminate the nature of the cult. There is no evidence whatsoever that the shrine was dedicated to the souls of the dead or that the rulers were deified and worshipped in the shrine above their tomb. In all, ten terracotta figurines were recovered, eight of them representing women or goddesses wearing cylindrical skirts, one of a woman or goddess in a knobbed skirt, and one of a girl in Minoan costume swinging. None of the figurines is distinguished from the others by size or excellence; hence they are probably all votive offerings rather than cult images. It may be assumed, however, that the shrine was dedicated to a goddess since they are all female. The terracottas look no different from those found in Late Minoan III domestic shrines, and this has led to the conclusion that they belong to a domestic shrine rather than a mortuary one.20 The opposite conclusion should be drawn, that the goddess or goddesses to

whom they were dedicated was equally at home in the palace of the king and in his tomb.²¹ The swinging girl may reflect some special aspect of the goddess to whom the shrine belonged or it may be merely a toy.

More valuable offerings made to the goddess are the bronze bull, the alabaster head,²² and the steatite sphinx.²³ The sphinx was possibly imported, perhaps from Syria or Anatolia, and may have been presented to the goddess by one of the rulers of Ayia Triadha. A socket in its back may once have held the figure of a deity like the exquisite crystal statuette found at Tarsus by Miss Hetty Goldman,²⁴ for Hittite deities are often shown on the backs of animals, though I know of no instance in which the support is a sphinx. If the sphinx did hold the figure of a god or goddess, it would be a most suitable as well as costly offering for the shrine.

Virtually no ritual vessels were found in the building though these may have lain in the destroyed north portion. The cups could have been used for libations either to the goddess or to the dead. The vase in the form of a conch-shell may likewise be assigned to either the shrine or the sepulchre since conch or triton shells and imitations of them have been found in both types of building.²⁵ The nature of the rites is therefore uncertain. Possibly, as at Apesokari, the worship of the goddess was conducted in the open air outside the tomb, and the cups found are merely the remains of libations to the dead such as were made at the Temple Tomb.

Since each of these tombs illustrates different aspects of the association of shrines with sepulchres, a composite picture can be drawn of the phenomenon from the three. At Apesokari, the concretion found in the shrine may be an actual cult image. It should not be taken to signify a chthonic deity any more than the figurines at Ayia Triadha since concretions were also found in a Late Minoan III domestic shrine in the Little Palace at Knossos.²⁶ The discovery of an altar base and fragments of vessels in front of the tomb at Apesokari indicates

²⁰ Nilsson's and Banti's hypotheses regarding the location of the shrine are based on this assumption.

²¹ Since all the figurines lay in the southernmost part of the room, it is tempting to restore a bench for them by the south wall of the shrine above, like the benches in domestic shrines. However it should be remembered that we know nothing of what may have lain in the destroyed portion of the room and hence have no comparative data with which to justify this

restoration.

²² In the original publication the head is identified as a pommel (MonAnt 14 [1904-05] cols. 727-28, fig. 25).

²⁸ MonAnt 14 (1904-05) cols. 749-53.

²⁴ Archaeologica orientalia . . . Herzfeld, 128-33.

²⁵ Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean religion, second edition, Skrifter utgivna . . . Lund IX (1950) 153-54.

²⁶ Po/M II, 520, fig. 198, p. 346.

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that the offerings were made outside the building rather than in the shrine. The structure of the shrine is best preserved at Knossos: it was a single cella, probably containing two columns, with its entrance on the east side. Horns of consecration probably stood on the roof just as in contemporary representations of shrines. At Avia Triadha, finally, the similarity of the figurines in the tomb to those found in domestic shrines indicates that the goddess worshipped was similar to and perhaps identical with the goddess or goddesses honored in domestic cults. In all three tombs the proximity of the shrine to the sepulchral part of the building suggests that the deity thus honored, though essentially supernal, was expected to protect the remains of the dead.

There are three additional pieces of evidence regarding the close association of a divine cult with burials in the second millennium: first, Diodorus Siculus states²⁷ that a structure in Sicily, believed to be the tomb of Minos of Crete, had a temple of Aphrodite built above the sepulchre. A Mycenaean jar has been found in the neighboring town of Akragas (Girgenti),28 and hence people from the Aegean may have reached this part of Sicily, though there is more evidence for their presence in the neighborhood of Syracuse.20 The form of the tomb agrees with the remains of the Temple Tomb at Knossos, as Evans recognized, 30 and also with those of Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha. Diodorus further states that sacrifices were made to Aphrodite, not to Minos, and seems to be rather puzzled by the association of Aphrodite with the tomb. Aphrodite, who presumably usurped the cult of a Minoan goddess, was not a deity primarily associated with death or the after life. Yet almost the same situation existed in Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha: the shrine there was dedicated to a goddess, not to the deceased, and the goddess thus honored was apparently the same deity worshipped in domestic shrines, i.e., a supernal rather than an infernal goddess.

Secondly, a tablet found at Boghazköy, relating to royal burial customs in the Hittite Empire, states that sacrifices were made both to the sun goddess and to the soul of the deceased.³¹ Again a supernal

deity is involved in funerary practices. If this was customary in Anatolia, a similar practice may have existed in nearby Crete.

Finally, the well-known sarcophagus from Ayia Triadha has, on opposite sides, representations of offerings being brought to the soul(?) of the deceased and sacrifices being made before a shrine.82 Here as at Apesokari, the altar is set in the open air in front of the shrine, but in addition to the offering of fruits or cakes and liquids, for which there was evidence at Apesokari, a bull and two goats are being sacrificed. It is worthy of notice that a scene of this type was considered an appropriate subject for a coffin quite apart from the fact that it balances the scene of offerings to the dead. One end of the sarcophagus shows two goddesses riding in a chariot drawn by griffins. If these are the occupants of the shrine on the long side, once more the deity to whom the sacrifices are made is a goddess. It would be felicitous indeed if the shrine of the sarcophagus could be shown to represent the shrine in Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha, which was actually in use at the time the sarcophagus was painted, but there is no reason to suppose it is. Horns of consecration such as crown this shrine were found near the shrine of the Temple Tomb at Knossos, but they occur on other shrines and palaces as well, and there is certainly no evidence for the presence of an olive tree in or near Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha or the Temple Tomb. It should be mentioned in passing that on the opposite side of the sarcophagus where the rites for the dead are depicted, people are mixing wine, perhaps for libations to the dead such as were made in the Temple Tomb at Knossos.

In each of these three instances it will be seen that the burial is royal or princely, for surely the Ayia Triadha sacrophagus was designed for no ordinary citizen. In two instances sacrifices were made to a deity at the time of the funeral; in the third a cult was established above the tomb. While the deities involved are not necessarily the same, the association of a deity with a royal burial seems certain.

Of the three tombs containing shrines, the tholos

⁸¹ Gurney, The Hittites (Melbourne, London, Baltimore 1952)

³² MonAnt 19 (1908) cols. 6-72, pls. 1-3. The evidence for the identification of these scenes will be presented in a special study of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus which I am preparing with Sterling Dow.

²⁷ Diodorus Siculus 4.79.3-4.

²⁸ Ausonia 1 (1906) 10, fig. 3. Dunbabin discusses the evidence for the presence of Aegean peoples in Sicily in the Late Bronze Age, BSR 16 (1948) 1-18.

²⁹ BSR 16 (1938) 1-3.

⁸⁰ PojM IV, 959-60.

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at Apesokari is much earlier than the other two and is not located near any palace so far as is known. It may represent an early stage of the association of the divine cult with the sepulchre just as architecturally it represents an intermediate stage between the Early Minoan tholoi and the tombs at Knossos and Ayia Triadha. It is important principally as proof that this peculiar association was present in Crete centuries before it was embodied in the Temple Tomb and in Tomb 5 and was an integral part of Minoan civilization. If this association did exist, other double tombs must have been built, near the palaces at Phaistos and Mallia if nowhere else, 33 and should eventually be found un-

33 At Chrysolakkos near the Palace of Mallia, there are, in fact, the remains of a building used as a tomb, which had in a room beside its east wall, a hollow column or altar base for libations and a number of handleless cups embedded in its floor. (Demargne, Pierre, Études Crétoises 7 [Paris 1945] 26-38, especially 35-38.) Demargne concluded that the funerary cult practised here was that of the goddess worshipped in the palace. The interior of the tomb had been thoroughly plundered, but its name suggests that it was a rich tomb, suitable for the rulers of Mallia. While the tomb was constructed above ground and has a court outside and a place for offerings, it does not have either the shrine or the pillar room found in the tombs at Apesokari, Knossos and Ayia Triadha. The form of the

less their exposed nature has led to their total destruction.

The Temple Tomb and Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha both stand near the residences of Minoan rulers and were used as royal tombs. In life these rulers may have been considered the favorites of certain gods or goddesses just as the Homeric heroes had their patron deities. They were not gods on earth like the Egyptian pharaohs nor were they deified in death, but the goddess who had favored them in life and lived in their palaces took up her abode above their tombs.³⁴

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building is different, therefore, although the cult may have been the same.

34 Since this was written, I have had access to Nicholas Platon's article, "Τὰ Μινοικὰ οἰκισκὰ Ἱερὰ," Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 8 (1954) 428-83. Platon includes all three tombs in his discussion of domestic shrines and pillar crypts. He considers Tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha a house with a shrine re-used as a tomb (455-56), and he dates the terracotta figurines MM III B-LM I A. His conclusions in regard to the shrines of the Temple Tomb and the tholos at Apesokari (446-47, 457, 483) are similar to mine, but he believes in addition that the pillar rooms were used for the cult of the dead.

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Two Athenian Shrines

R. E. WYCHERLEY

I. HERAKLEION IN MELITE

About the shrine of Herakles Alexikakos, ούκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας, the only information we are given by ancient authors is that it was in Melite. In Melite, says the Schol. on Frogs 501, is an ἐπιφανέστατον ἱερόν of Herakles (ἐπιφανέστατον may mean and probably does mean "conspicuous," and so add a little; but it may also mean "famous").1 This has given a wide scope to topographers, who have located the shrine at very different points in the extensive and indeterminate area which is or may possibly be Melite. The deme lay in a southerly to westerly direction from the agora, but its limits cannot be fixed at all precisely. Wachsmuth argued strongly2 that the so-called "Theseion" was the Herakleion; more tentatively Ernest Gardner^a was inclined to think that of all known cults Herakles had the best claim to the temple. The identification received little support and it is hardly up for consideration now; but at least it was not, like some suggested identifications of the "Theseion," topographically impossible on the literary evidence; and at least it has now at last been satisfactorily demonstrated that Kolonos Agoraios was not a deme but a district,4 and Melite included the area in which the temple stands.

Judeich with some confidence placed the Herakleion on the hillside just south of the Pnyx.⁵ This was in general an acceptable location; but shortly afterwards H. A. Thompson worked over the site in his examination of the Pnyx, and found no reason to place Herakles here. At first Thompson identified a shrine in this area as the Thesmophorion, the scene of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.⁶ Later through lack of positive evidence he was in-

clined to withdraw this identification; O. Broneers maintained that the Thesmophorion was not near the Pnyx after all, except in Aristophanes' fancy, and was identical with the Eleusinion, southeast of the agora, or with part of it. The large square cutting southwest of the bema of the Pnyx, where Judeich placed the altar of Herakles Alexikakos, and others that of Zeus Agoraios, did not belong to an altar at all according to Thompson, and may well have been the site of Meton's sundial.

A. Frickenhaus, using the character of the remains as his chief evidence, made a very plausible case for placing Herakles Alexikakos in the triangular enclosure east of the Pnyx and southwest of the Areopagus, in which Dörpfeld had located the shrine of Dionysos in Limnai.10 Frickenhaus laid particular stress on a platform with cuttings for columnar supports, usually explained as the base of an altar-table, but intended, according to Frickenhaus' theory, for a structure of a kind associated with Herakles in a number of reliefs, one of which actually has HPAKΛΕΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚΟ inscribed on the step of this structure. Frickenhaus' idea, ingenious though it is, has not been generally accepted, and Judeich and many others have continued to regard the triangular shrine as belonging to Dionysos in Limnai.11 Frickenhaus' site is hardly "very conspicuous." It may be in Melite; but it may equally well be in Kollytos. R. Young,12 debating whether to assign his "Industrial District," a little further north, to Melite or Kollytos, finally inclines towards Melite, mainly to allow more space for "the most thickly populated of city demes." But Young is still assuming the existence of a deme Kolonos Agoraios; Melite can now be considered

¹ The other ancient authorities, besides those quoted below, are Hesychios, ἐκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας, Μήλων Ἡρακλῆς; Suidas, Μήλειος Ἡρακλῆς, and Zenobios 5.22.

² Die Stadt Athen I (1874) 357 and 406. ³ Ancient Athens (London 1907) 424.

4 D. A. Lewis in BSA 50 (1955) 16.

⁵ Topographie von Athen² (Munich 1931) 396.

6 Hesperia 5 (1936) 183.

⁷ Hesperia 12 (1943) 295. ⁸ Hesperia 11 (1942) 250ff.

9 Hesperia 1 (1932) 207ff.

10 AthMitt 36 (1911) 113-144; the reliefs are of varied pro-

venience; several are Attic according to Frickenhaus, but the best he can say of the crucial one with the inscription, in Boston, is that it is "wahrscheinlich aus Attika" (121). O. Walter discusses these reliefs further in AthMitt 62 (1937) 41ff. D. M. Robinson would add another example, Hesperia 17 (1948) 137ff; but this relief is different in that the pillars frame the whole picture instead of representing a particular structure within the picture.

¹¹ Judeich, Topographie, 397; O. Walter too, in JOAI 18 (1915) 97, disagrees with Frickenhaus and would place the Herakleion above the Pnyx.

12 Hesperia 20 (1951) 141.

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to extend a good deal further north and northwest than he thought.

An inscription from the agora now has to be taken into account. It eliminates much of Melite; it can hardly be made to fit any of the sites suggested, I believe, and it points, though somewhat vaguely, in another direction. This inscription, on an opisthographic stele, deals with leases of mines and sales of confiscated property (Agora I 1749; Hesperia 5 [1936] 393ff, no. 10). The date is the middle of the fourth century. In Col. IV (Face A), lines 105-109 one reads X: καὶ ἐργαστήρια δύο έ μ Μελίτηι οίς γε: πρὸς] ήλίου ἀνι: Φιλοκράτο ς: Αγν: οἰκία: πρὸς ἡλίου] δυο: Ἱεροκλείδο: Έρμ: [έργ]α[στήριον: βορρ: Φιλο]κράτους: Αγν: οἰκία: νοτό: ἡ ὁ[δὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακ] λείο τοῦ 'Αλεξικάκου είς άγο ρὰν φέρουσα: ών ιππόνικος κτλ. The two workshops in question were in Melite and had a house on the east and north, a workshop on the west; and on the south "the street leading from the shrine of Herakles Alexikakos to the agora." To fit the description one has to look for a street which in this part of its course-not necessarily in other parts or in its general direction-ran roughly west to east, which led eventually to the agora, which had a number of houses and workshops on it, and on which, in the other direction, the Herakleion could naturally be used as a point of reference. The reading Melite in line 105 is safe and the restoration of lines 108-09 is beyond question.

None of the sites mentioned conforms with this new evidence. The "Theseion" hardly enters the picture. The road from Frickenhaus' Herakleion to the agora runs in a generally south to north direction with some deflection towards the northwest and northeast. The same is true of Judeich's Herakleion; and in any case if the shrine were on the terrace up above the Pnyx one would hardly use it as the point of reference—one would more naturally speak of the road leading from the Pnyx to the agora.

B. D. Meritt in his note on lines 108-09¹⁸ says, "The course of the road is uncertain but it probably entered the agora south of the Tholos." This must be true; one could hardly find a road coming down to the agora from the west *north* of the Tholos.

The topography of the area southwest of the agora, and the course of the streets in it, are by no means fully determined. However there is now a known street which conforms well enough with the terms of the inscription. In his account of the "Industrial District of Athens" southwest of the agora, R. Young describes what the excavators have entitled. from the character of the numerous workshops of the fifth and fourth century found along its course, "Street of the Marble Workers."14 This street, which goes back to early times, leaves the agora at the southwest corner, just beyond the Tholos and the boundary stone, and takes a direction south of southwest, forking from the more easterly "Areopagus Street," the street leading from Frickenhaus' Herakleion. After about 150m., still bordered by houses and workshops, it took a westward turn,15 passing soon beyond the range of the excavations, "to mount the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs in the direction of the gate in the city wall in the saddle between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs." For at least a short distance it ran almost west to east, and here it may very well have formed the southern boundary of the ergasteria of the inscription. In that case the Herakleion is to be sought further along its course on the south slope of the Hill of the Nymphs; presumably the shrine was fairly prominent, so as to form a landmark.

A boundary stone which probably comes from the Herakleion has also been found (Agora I 298; Hesperia 3 [1934] 64, no. 56). It is inscribed $[h\iota]\epsilon\rho\delta\nu$ [$\hat{\tau}$ 0 he] $\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon_0[s]$ in lettering of the middle of the fifth century; but since it was found in the wall of a modern house in the southern part of the agora it does not help in determining the site.

2. OLYMPION

In 1906 Jane Harrison wrote in the introduction to *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides*, "Controversy as to the main outlines of the picture is an anachronism; the facts stand out plain and clear." Fifty years later one of the greatest of her successors in the study of Greek religion and the author of a monumental commentary on Thucydides have expressed irreconcilably opposite views on the whole question. I do not wish to enter the tangle of problems with which the interpretation

¹⁸ Hesperia 5 (1936) 410.

¹⁴ Hesperia 20 (1951) 161; see the map, fig. 3, on p. 146; this also appears as fig. 1, p. 10, in the agora Guide (Athens 1954); and as Plate 1 in The Athenian Agora, Vol. III, Testi-

monia (Princeton 1957).

¹⁵ There was originally a branch continuing southward, but this no longer existed in the fourth century.

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of Thucydides, 2.15 is still surrounded, but merely to raise again the question of the Olympion, with special reference to Strabo 9.2.11, and to suggest that one is not justified in assuming, as a number of recent writers have done, the existence of a shrine of Olympian Zeus on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.

For convenience I give the passage of Strabo in full.

ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα ὅποταν δι Ἦρματος ἀστράψη ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἅρμα, καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφούς, ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ ἔκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ᾿Αστραπαίου Διός ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ ᾿Ολυμπίου.¹

The place where the Pythaistai kept watch for the lightning sign at Harma was naturally assumed to be in the southeast of Athens, near the great temple of Zeus Olympios, until in his account of his excavations west of the Acropolis Dörpfeld with great conviction placed the watch-post and the adjacent shrines, the Pythion and the Olympion and the eschara of Zeus Astrapaios, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.2 His view did not gain general acceptance, though Jane Harrison, who had given the traditional view in Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens,3 gave Dörpfeld enthusiastic support in Primitive Athens.4 Judeich does not even raise the question of an Olympion on the northwest slope, and has little to say for a Pythion on that site.5 But at about the time of Judeich's second edition, A. D. Keramopoullos⁶ strongly maintained that Strabo's Olympion was indeed on the northwest slope, and located it precisely in the cave Γ , just to the east of the cave of Apollo (B) and west of the cave of Pan (Δ). He could not produce any precise epigraphical or other archaeological evidence, such as there is for the cult of Apollo (not explicitly under the title of Pythios);

but he claimed to recognize in a cutting just in front of the caves B and Γ the site of the eschara of Zeus Astrapaios. Of course Keramopoullos sees in these cave sanctuaries the Olympion and Pythion of Thucydides too, who thus lists the ancient shrines as from east to west—Olympion, Pythion, Ge, Dionysos. As regards Strabo, the proposed site certainly provides an excellent lookout—better than a spot in southeast Athens—in the direction of Harma, on the Parnes range near Phyle to the north of Athens.

One should mention that an additional piece of possible evidence has come to light. A boundary stone of Olympian Zeus has been found in the agora (Ag. I 6373; Hesperia 26 [1957] 91, no. 39). It is dated before the middle of the fourth century B.c. It turned up in a marble pile at the southwest corner of the Odeion. If one could show the existence of a shrine of Olympian Zeus on the northwest slope, it is more likely that the stone would have come from this than from the shrine in the southeast of Athens; but in itself such a stone counts for very little.⁸

Keramopoullos' identification of the Olympion and Zeus Astrapaios has proved very attractive, though Gomme at least is highly sceptical.9 Indeed it has sometimes apparently been taken for granted, as a point now fixed in Athenian topography and as a support for theories about early Athens and for a particular interpretation of Thucydides. A. W. Parsons says in Hesperia 12 (1943) 233, "(the paved court) lies below the caves of Apollo, Zeus and Pan." O. Broneer in Hesperia Suppl. 8, 54, speaks of "the numerous caves along the upper slopes accommodating the primitive cults of Apollo Pythios, Zeus Olympios, Aphrodite and Eros." A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, citing Keramopoullos, confidently assumes an Olympion on the northwest slope, differentiating it from "the Olympicion of Peisistratos and Hadrian."10

In spite of these authorities I should like to insist that it is extremely unlikely that Strabo meant by

¹ Further recent investigations tend to confirm that the temple of Olympian Zeus in the southeast was within the Themistoclean city wall; see AJA 61 (1957) 281.

² AthMitt 20 (1895) 199.

^{8 206. 4 67.}

⁵ See n. 29 infra.

⁶ Deltion 1929 (1932) 86.

⁷C. H. Weller in CR 16 (1902) 158f is able to work out a similar east to west order of the shrines, even though he places the Olympion and Pythion in the southeast.

⁸ IG II², 4848 (Pittakys, L'ancienne Athènes, p. 267), a dedication to Zeus Olympios, was actually found on the Acropolis, apparently in the southwestern part.

⁹ Historical Commentary on Thucydides, Vol. II (Oxford

¹⁰ Dramatic Festivals of Athens (Oxford 1953) 18-19. He seems to imply that the different spelling of the name may mean a differentiation. In fact Olympion is in general simply the older name, though Strabo uses it; see Judeich, Topographie von Athen² (Munich 1931) 383, n. 3.

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Olympion an obscure and probably otherwise unknown shrine; and that unless more solid evidence turns up one should not assume the existence of such a shrine. There are two main difficulties. The first and lesser consists of the words έν τω τείχει. Jane Harrison, before she came under the spell of Dörpfeld, said, "This wall, mentioned so emphatically, can only be the city wall."11 Dörpfeld explained that the eschara was situated "auf der unteren pelargischen Mauer."12 Keramopoullos too believed the wall to be the Pelargikon, the ancient western outwork of the Acropolis; but presumably with his location of the eschara he took the words to mean "within the Pelargikon." That when Strabo says "the wall," without any explanation or qualification, he should mean the Pelargikon, is very strange indeed, though not, I suppose, impossible. Whether the Pelargikon existed at all in the form of a recognizable fortification-line in the time of Strabo or his source, is at least doubtful.18 If Strabo's Olympion is indeed northwest of the Acropolis, then a much more credible position for the eschara would be on (or just within) the Acropolis wall up above. This would indeed be an excellent look-out; and the meaning of $\tau \epsilon \hat{\imath} \chi o s$ would not be so outlandish.

Another ambiguity in the words έν τῷ τείχει has to be considered. What is the meaning of $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$? A. B. Cook speaks of a hearth on the city wall:14 and most writers appear to translate "on the wall." "auf der Mauer." One might expect ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους; but èv will bear the required sense. The eschara can be thought of as incorporated in the structure of the wall. But one should also consider whether έν τῷ τείχει means rather "within the wall." The words can have this sense, as is clearly shown by a passage of Xenophon15 in which έν τῷ τείχει (ἐν τῆ πόλει) and έντὸς τείχους (έν ταις οἰκίαις) are used interchangeably. On the whole I prefer to translate "on the wall" in the Strabo context, where the reference is to a particular bit of wall. In the other sense one would expect reixos to have a wider extension, meaning walled circuit or wasled town;

in Xenophon ἐν τῷ τείχει means within the fortifications generally. We shall have occasion to recur to the meaning of the phrase—it is relevant to the identification of the site, though not of decisive importance. Incidentally, I do not think one is bound to attach any special significance to Strabo's use of eschara instead of bomos; in poetry bomos and eschara can be interchangeable, and even in prose eschara is occasionally used of a god for whom one would expect a bomos.¹6 An altar of Zeus on a wall is a curiosity; one would like to have parallels; but it seems to be acceptable to A. B. Cook.

A much more vital question is-can Strabo have ignored the great temple in the southeast and referred to something else, quite simply, as the Olympion? I suppose it is possible; one has learnt to avoid such terms as "certain" and "impossible" in these connections. But it seems to be at the extreme limits of possibility, especially when one notes that in another context17 Strabo undoubtedly means the big temple when he says Olympion, since he remarks that "the king left it half-finished." Even in its unfinished state the temple must have dominated a part of Athens in Strabo's day even more than its few remaining columns do today. It was built on the site of a reputedly ancient cult and it had had a long and notable history. It is all but unbelievable that Strabo means not this temple but an obscure shrine which has left no other trace in literature or in archaeological remains; that is, no trace unless one assumes that Thucydides too, in 2.15, is referring to the shrine on the Acropolis slope. I find it hard to believe that even Thucydides ignored the southeastern shrine and called another without qualification the Olympion. J. H. Jongkees has attempted to show,18 mainly on the evidence of Clouds 401f, that something which could be called a temple stood on the site in Thucydides' time. However that may be, Thucydides would know all about Peisistratos' impressive though abortive building efforts.

A leading objection to the traditional view is that southeastern Athens was an inconvenient and un-

¹¹ Mythology and Monuments 206.

¹² AthMitt 20 (1895) 200.

¹⁸ It is hardly proved, as Keramopoullos implies (*Deltion* [1929] 90) by Lucian *Piscator* 47, where Parresiades sits "on top of the wall"—i.e. the Acropolis wall—and is asked if he is going to fish for stones from the Pelasgikon.

¹⁴ Zeus II 815; cf. Dörpfeld, see n. 12; Jane Harrison, see n. 3 and 4; A. Boethius, Die Pythais (Uppsala 1918); Farnell, see n. 22; Judeich, Topographie, 386; G. Daux, Delphes au Ile et

au ler Siècle (Paris 1936) 526; I. T. Hill, Ancient City of Athens (1953) 100.

¹⁵ Hellenica 7.5.8 and 15.

¹⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, RE, s.v. Altar, 1664.

^{17 9.17 (396).}

¹⁸ Mnemosyne (1957) 154. Column-drums, unfinished, of the Peisistratid Olympion have recently been found; see n. 1. Aristotle, *Politics* 5.9.4 (1313b) speaks of the οἰκοδόμησες of the Olympion by the Peisistratids.

likely quarter from which to keep watch for a sign at Harma. But even if Harma were completely invisible one could more readily assume that Strabo was mistaken about the business of the signal than that he was not referring to this Olympion. And was Harma invisible? The site is reasonably certain; on the maps the line of vision seems to pass just to the right of the Acropolis and well to the left of Lykabettos. I have not been able to put the matter to the test personally on the spot, but Mr. Eugene Vanderpool has kindly done so, and he reports that after climbing up the hill across the Ilissos to a point still below the epistyles of the Olympieion he had "a full clear view of Harma and the whole Parnes range over the tops of the high modern houses; there is no doubt, I think, that from an elevated point near the temple of Zeus one could have had a clear view of Harma."19 Even if Harma was not fully and clearly visible from ground level, one should bear in mind that the watchers merely looked ώς ἐπὶ τὸ "Αρμα, and saw a lightning flash in that direction. They may have stood upon the altar, which may in any case have had a site of some elevation. If as is generally assumed the altar was on the wall, they would have a very satisfactory view. That they would have a better one from northwest of the Acropolis does not matter. The place was dictated by reasons of cult, by the presence of Zeus Astrapaios. The evidence of Strabo vanishes into thin air.

Though I do not wish at the moment to discuss in full the formidable difficulties of Thucydides 2.15.4, or the alleged duplication of shrines in northwest and southeast, one cannot altogether segregate the Olympion; in particular Olympion and Pythion hang together. Broneer and others²⁰ have developed the idea of Dörpfeld and Jane Harrison that a whole range of shrines in the southeast of Athens had equivalents on the northwest slope of the Acropolis and thereabouts. Admittedly there was some apparent duplication, but one hesitates to make anything definite of it. In most cases one cannot help doubting whether the shrines are real

doublets, corresponding closely in the nature of the cult, involving true duplication or transference. And Enneakrounos cannot safely be added as further evidence: the whole Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos business is still surrounded by doubts and difficulties.21 Farnell,22 criticizing Dörpfeld, would allow no duplication at all; in no city, he says, is there any record of more than one Pythion; "and further we may venture to dogmatize about Athens itself, that city of shrines, that there was no single instance of a double place of worship of the same deity designated by the same cult name." One need hardly be so dogmatic. But in the case of the Pythion, which is most important in consideration of the Olympion, one may ask whether the two shrines of Apollo were really equivalent, were both Pythia in the full sense. For Pausanias, the shrine of Apollo Pythios was in the southeast and nowhere else, though he knew the Acropolis cave. 28 Thucydides, when in 6.54.6-7 he says èv Πυθίου and speaks of the temenos of Apollo Pythios, means the southeastern shrine. The altar whose inscription he quotes has been found in the appropriate place, together with other Pythian monuments.24 Dörpfeld and Keramopoullos and their followers have not questioned this, I believe. But they insist at all costs that what Thucydides calls the Pythion in 2.15.4 is on the northwest slope. Pickard-Cambridge25 goes so far as to say, "It would be absurd to think of Thucydides as referring in the words which follow to the sanctuaries a long way to the south." I find it less credible that he means something different by Pythion in the two contexts. There is no trace of differentiation; he gives no hint that there is more than one Pythion, as he does for the Theseion to avoid misunderstanding in 6.61.2. And one would not say of Thucydides that he is writing just for Athenians who would know

The Pythion par excellence was probably the shrine near the Ilissos. Euripides in the Ion²⁸ is poetically vague in his Pythian allusions to the shrine on the Acropolis slope. Philostratos²⁷ is the

¹⁹ Cf. Farnell in CR 14 (1900) 373.

²⁰ See supra.

²¹ See for instance Gomme, Commentary on Thucydides, Vol. II. p. 50.

²² CR 14 (1900) 372; Verrall, CR 14 (1900) 274 takes a different view.

^{23 1.19.1; 1.28.4.}

²⁴ IG 1² 761; Judeich 386; note also Hesperia 16 (1947) 262 no. 1, a saucer inscribed 'Aπ[6]λλωνο[τ], which helps, accord-

ing to Mitsos, "to indicate a more accurate location for the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo"; it was found in excavations south of the Olympieion.

²⁶ Dramatic Festivals, 18, n. 1.

^{26 283.}

²⁷ Vit. Soph., 2.1.7 (550); the Panathenaic ship "putting out from the Kerameikos made for the Eleusinion; rounding the shrine it passed the Pelasgikon and reached the Pythion, where it is now moored." Cf. Pausanias 1.29.1.

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crucial authority for a Pythion on this spot, and he hardly carries the weight of Thucydides, Pausanias and the inscriptions. When he says that the Panathenaic ship came to the Pythion, he may just possibly mean that the procession rounded the west end of the Acropolis and went on to the Ilissos; but that is not likely-probably he does give the name Pythion to the shrine beneath the rocks. Some have doubted his accuracy; others have made desperate attempts to emend away his Pythion.28 However one should perhaps assume that Apollo beneath the Long Rocks was sometimes called Pythios, and that there was something on this site which might occasionally be called a Pythion. This is Judeich's view; he speaks of "das volkstümlich Pythion genannte Heiligtum des Apollon."29

Two recently discovered documents have to be taken into account in considering the significance of this shrine. Agora I 5476, a boundary marker of the fourth century B.C., was found just west of the north end of the stoa of Attalos in a late Roman context (it had been reused as a door sill).³⁰ It is

inscribed "Boundary of the Sacred Way by which the Pythais proceeds to Delphi." This is interpreted by Parsons as being an alternative name, used in the special Apolline context, for the processional Panathenaic Way leading across the agora and up the Acropolis slope. The general route of the Pythais, the sacred mission to Delphi, has been worked out,⁸¹ but not its course within the city. This stone does not help much, since one cannot be sure where it came from. Even if the Pythais passed through the agora it may have set out from the Pythion in the southeast.

Agora I 5517 was found reused in a parapet in Klepsydra; ³² it has a retrograde inscription of the sixth century B.C., giving a dedication to Apollo. It may well come from the shrine beneath the rocks; if so, it gives evidence of its antiquity, but tells nothing of a cult title. Still there is evidence for a Pythion—not *the* Pythion—on the northwest slope. "With the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios"—to use the words of Jane herself—"it is alas! far otherwise."³³

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES

cydides, Vol. II, p. 58, n. 2, raises objections to Parsons' idea that the paved court below the Klepsydra was associated with the shrine of Apollo and was a kind of pompeion for the Pythais procession.

82 Hesperia 26 (1957) 79, no. 24.

83 Primitive Athens 76.

I am grateful to colleagues at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for helpful discussion of these problems, in particular to Professors B. D. Meritt, H. A. Thompson and H. T. Wade-Gery, and Mr. G. Stamires.

²⁸ See C. Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen I (Leipzig 1874) 296; G. Colin, Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes (Paris 1905); Wachsmuth, Neue Beiträge zur Topographie von Athen (Leipzig 1897) 50, where amongst suggested emendations of Πύθιον are mentioned Πειθοΐον, Πλουτώνιον, Κυλώνειον, Έννεάπυλον θ' πυλον). With a score of carefully selected emendations one could make short work of the most difficult problems involved in the topography of Athens.

^{29 386,} n. 5; cf. 302. 30 Hesperia 12 (1943) 237.

³¹ Boethius, Pythais, 34ff. Gomme, Commentary on Thu-

Archaeology in Asia Minor

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

PLATES 21-24

The following reports concern the progress of excavations in 1957 with the addition of the Panionion campaign completed in the spring of 1958. Most of the sites are familiar from previous reports (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 91-104), several from previous generations of excavators. The most spectacular newcomer is Hacılar, an early site in the lake district of Pisidia which takes the prehistory of southwestern Anatolia back to the "neolithic" period. Hacılar is being studied eagerly by Greek prehistorians and can be interpreted as one of a series of early settlements awaiting exploration in western Anatolia.

Early sites of this category are often elusive to the eye of the traveller searching for mounds, but various regions have now yielded information from settlements consisting of a low accumulation, often located on natural hills. J. Mellaart is investigating the west Anatolian lake districts for further evidence of "neolithic" habitation. Later periods are represented in such unobtrusive sites as Yazırköy (AJA 62 [1958] 97) in Phrygia and Horoztepe in the Pontic region. The latter site dispels the "mystery" of the royal tombs at Alaca Hüyük with convincing parallels. The study of similar early sites which are not of the orthodox mound (hüyük) variety will undoubtedly produce more sudden illumination on the Anatolian scene.

One more general remark may precede the site reports. Mechanization of digging is on the increase. Even the less ambitious of excavations seem to encounter a steady amount of technical difficulties. None of the obstacles to progress are new, and some kind of mechanized aid has always been called in where available for the excavation of architectural tumble and anastylosis of Greek monuments in Ionia. A somewhat more disconcerting peculiarity is the discrepancy between ancient and modern groundwater levels in many parts of Anatolia. Sites of various periods have to cope with the fact that the lowest levels are now waterlogged, whether due to subsidence of the land or to a rise of the watertable. Miletus and Klaros are to be added to the sad case of the Artemis temple at

Ephesus; at Gordion the Early Bronze Age levels and large sections of the Lydian suburb are under water; similar troubles were encountered previously in Cilicia (Tarsus) and the region of Antioch (Alalakh). Strong modern pumps are among the desiderata of several expeditions.

The presence of alluvial deposits, huge quantities of river sand and silt, landslides and even man-made artificial fills often justify a mechanical method of earth removal. Each case has to be judged on its merits, but a modern archaeologist will often be justified in putting a bulldozer to work on sterile strata covering his information. Sites clearly in need of-and sometimes having made successful experiments with-mechanical earth removal are: Ephesus, Klaros, Sardes, Gordion, Karahüyük near Konya, also all sites with tumuli, and all sites with dumping problems, meaning practically every archaeological site. Experiments have been made on a large scale at Ephesus where mechanization extends to the use of conveyor belts (JOAIBeibl 43 [1956] 2-3). There are other aspects where modern technological progress could come to archaeology's aid: aerial photography, the location of tombs and deposits by seismic and other devices, underwater exploration and photography. Anatolia has not yet profited from the latest advances in these respects. In the summer of 1958 a beginning is being made with undersea archaeology. The director of the archaeological museum at Izmir, Mr. Hakki Gültekin, is supervising operations along the Ionian, Carian and Lycian coast from Izmir to Antalya with the aid of P. Throckmorton and M. Kapkın. The map of the sea bottom is dotted with shipwrecks in many places. One hopes for special attention to the wreck which produced the upper part of a bronze Demeter in 1953 (ILN November 7, 1953, 747-49).

As in previous years, Anatolian excavators and Turkish authorities were liberal with help and information. Special thanks are due to: Professor Ekrem Akurgal, Professor Sedat Alp, Dr. Kemal Balkan, Professor K. Bittel, Professor H. T. Bossert, Mr. Nezih Fıratlı, Mr. Hakki Gültekin, Mr. Hik-

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met Gürçay, Professor G. Kleiner, Mr. Seton Lloyd, Professor Arif Müfid Mansel, Mr. James Mellaart, Professor F. Miltner, Miss Nekriman Olcay, Professors Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç, Professor Louis Robert, Mr. Raci Temizer, Mr. Burhan Tezcan, Mr. P. Throckmorton, Professor C. Weickert.

PALAEOLITHIC SITES

MAGRACIK. Professor M. Şenyürek and Dr. E. Bostancı of Ankara University continued the exploration of caves near Magracık in the district of Hatay (Antioch). They also studied palaeolithic surface remains from this region (*Belleten* 86 [1958] 147-210).

CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE SITES

KÜLTEPE. Professor Tahsin Özgüç added another successful campaign to his series of excavations in the historical site of Kanish (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 92-94; Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 7.1 [1957] 44-45; Belleten 82 [1957] 344-46; 84 [1957] 656-58). We owe the following information to him.

In the Karum, the Assyrian colonists' district, work was confined to levels Ia, Ib and II. In the part of the Karum nearest the city mound the Ia houses are well preserved. In a storeroom large pithoi and pitchers were found neatly arranged on the floor. Many of the pithoi contained wheat. The

pitchers always have stamp seal impressions on the lower part of their handles. Professor Nimet Özgüc has studied the differences between the Ia and Ib stamps (cf. her article in *Belleten* 85 [1958] 7-19). In level Ib many stamp seals with hitherto unknown motifs were found.

In level II of the Karum three new and rich archives and one shop were excavated. The buildings are of individually different plans but follow a generally uniform orientation. The new tablets number over 200, many in sealed envelopes. There are invariably new pottery shapes in this level wherever it is excavated, this time rhyta in the shape of boar and hare, also a small black vase with relief designs of a bearded man's and a woman's head.

More trenches were cut in the vast expanse of the city mound. The so-called Phrygian period is usually represented in two levels, both containing buildings of good construction, often built entirely of stone. The quality of this architecture is much better than that of some other central Anatolian sites which have thin and poorly constructed Phrygian walls. As for pottery, the earlier Phrygian level especially produces large vessels with painted designs of deer and birds of Alishar type and many samples of small jars which continue in improved technique in the later style. The later painted ware resembles specimens from Gordion and Alishar,

although none of the fine ware of Gordion (Koerte tumulus III) occurs. Gray and black ware is very rare, which corroborates previously noticed differences between "Phrygian" pottery east and west of the Halys. At Gordion painted Phrygian pottery remains a small minority group. At Kültepe there is a good production of local monochrome ware with a dark red, buff or light brown slip.

A large trench on the city mound is producing a monumental building of the period represented in Karum level II. It has long narrow rooms grouped around a large central hall, an arrangement recalling magazine buildings of the Hittite Empire period. The building is made of large mudbricks unlike those of the Karum and was destroyed by a violent fire which turned the mudbrick to many bright colors. This fire is contemporary with that which destroyed Karum II. The pottery is identical with that of Karum II, the only difference being a greater popularity of Alishar III ware on the city mound. Cylinder seals and bullae found in the building facilitate coordination with the Karum.

The deeper levels were also investigated. Under the Alishar III and "Intermediate" levels there are two building levels belonging to the last phase of the "Copper Age." The pottery of these levels resembles that of Alishar and Alaca Hüyük in general but there is a larger quantity of painted ware at Kültepe, suggesting a local tradition of potpainting in this region.

The excavations are continuing in 1958 at the time of writing this report, both in the Karum and on the city mound where the plan of the large magazine building is being followed. A monumental stone pavement, made of irregular slabs, adjoins the building. Its style recalls the later Hittite pavements near temple I in Boğazköy. The prehistoric soundings are also continued and promise to bring much more articulation in the analysis of the Anatolian Early Bronze age.

The reconstruction of the history of Kanish and other Anatolian kingdoms of the early second millennium B.c. is carried further by Dr. Kemal Balkan in his new publication Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish (Ankara 1957).

Horoztepe. Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok conducted a brief campaign at Horoztepe (AJA 62 [1958] 95) where a hoard of bronzes of Alaca Hüyük type had turned up previously. They were extremely successful in their investigations, the

report on which we owe to their kindness. The modern cemetery of Horoztepe covers a flat settlement of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze age periods, c. 2.50 m. deep in accumulation. Just outside of this old settlement there are "Copper Age" tombs, one of which was found relatively undisturbed, although some tomb-robbing had scattered objects from this tomb to various dealers. The tomb was 8.50 m. long, 2.50 m. wide and not over 1.25 m. deep, cut in virgin soil. There were no traces of stone walls or wooden beams in the tomb pit. The skeleton was not found in situ because of the disturbances but it had probably lain in the center of the tomb. The tomb gifts were arranged in groups which began to emerge at .65 m. below surface level. The most important group consisted of a pile of metal (mostly bronze or copper) objects: vessels, a statuette of a bull, a figurine of a woman nursing her child, a sun standard, a large table with four supports in the shape of human legs, a smaller similar table, a large fruitstand, beaked pitchers, a twohandled jar, two castanets. Most of these had been purposely bent and made useless. Several of the vessels represent types unknown at Alaca Hüyük. The large statuette of a bull stands on a special detachable base. Ears, horns, muzzle and tail of the bull are covered with electrum and in style this figure belongs to the finest known.

The second group of tomb gifts, one meter to the south of the previous one, included: a bronze two-handled mirror, a bronze sun disc of geometric design, bronze, silver, gold and electrum ornaments, gold revetments of wooden furniture and scepters, a bronze scepter-head crowned by four birds. Scattered in other parts of the tomb were a bronze spouted vessel, pilgrim flasks, a jar with basket handle, six knives, a few small pottery vessels.

This tomb has detailed resemblances to the material from the royal tombs at Alaca Hüyük but it adds many new features. In his forthcoming publication T. Özgüç will point out that the region of Tokat-Amasya is the presumed manufacturing and distributing center of the remarkable metal objects of Alaca Hüyük. More excavations are being planned for Horoztepe. The finds are on display in the Hittite Museum in Ankara where the tomb groups of the royal cemetery of Alaca Hüyük also have been given clear emphasis in the excellent new arrangement by the Director Raci Temizer. We illustrate a sistrum from Horoztepe in its newly cleaned state (pl. 21, fig. 1).

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Boğazκöy. Excavations were conducted on the citadel and in two places of the lower city. Professor Bittel kindly provides the following information.

In the northern part of the lower city further areas of the Old Assyrian colony Hattus were cleared in continuation of the 1956 campaign (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 94-95). The orientation of houses and streets is fairly systematic. Each lot is surrounded by paved and often drained alleys; it has a central court giving access to various rooms. Some of these were identifiable as kitchens, store-rooms, workshops and probably also offices. Old Assyrian tablets were fewer than in 1956 but there are several good stamp seals. This Old Assyrian eighteenth century level (level 4) is immediately overlain by level 3 which belongs to the Old Hittite period. The buildings of level 3 are distinctive in plan and technique and display features characteristic of Hittite architecture. Their exact date is not yet determined since texts or closely datable seals are wanting so far.

The fifteenth century saw great building activity in this part of the town centering around temple I, the temple of the weather god of Hatti. This temple proved to be supported to the north and west on a high terrace of large limestone blocks laid in three steps. At the foot of this terrace lay an area with isolated official structures, separated by long walls from densely built up residential sections. The temple then had a sacred precinct at least to the north and west. Temple I existed until the end of the Hittite city c. 1200 B.C. The residential areas were repeatedly remodelled, two building periods being distinct (15th to 14th century and 13th century respectively). The latter period is dated by cuneiform tablets and bullae with impressions of stamp seals of the great king Tuthaliya IV. One of his seals carries the title šar-kiššati (king of the universe) in the cuneiform legend, the first occurrence of this claim by a Hittite king, perhaps in imitation of Assur and Babylon. Among the small finds were a large gray-polished vase in duck shape with two necks and heads, late 15th century; a white polished sherd with relief decoration of a man raising his hands in prayer, 14th century; a small silver bull pendant perhaps imitating a larger statuette, 13th century.

On the southern part of Büyükkale a new cuneiform Hittite archive was found, the third one to be discovered on the royal citadel. The building is as yet incompletely excavated. It was built up against the inner face of a salient in the citadel wall.

The tablets were found in one room which had low benches against its south and west walls. The tablets lay on and in front of these benches amidst remnants of burnt wood, probably fallen from wooden shelves erected on stone socles. Shelves and tablets were burnt in the great destruction of the citadel. The archive contained some valuable new historical information. Three tablets each contain the "manly deeds" of king Hattušil I, one in Akkadian, two (incomplete) in Hittite. The Akkadian version is the older and original one. It relates that Hattušil had to cope with serious threats against his kingdom (c. 1600 B.c.) and how he undertook campaigns to Arzawa as well as in the area south of the Taurus mountains where he captured, among other cities, Alalakh, modern Tell Atchana. This event is probably the cause of the destruction of level VII of Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations. Hattušil is also described as having campaigned in the Hurri-lands, having crossed the Euphrates with his troops and having taken rich booty from Hurrian places to Hattuša. Among his loot, listed in detail, there are several statues of Hurrian deities. This shows that, from 1600 B.C. on, Hurrian gods as well as Hurrian works of art were known in the Hittite capital, an important new fact in the controversy concerning possible Hurrian influences on Hittite art.

The archive also produced a large fragment of a Hittite treaty concluded between Suppiluliuma and Aziru of Amurru, the latter known from the Amarna tablets to have played a most ambiguous role in Hittite-Egyptian politics. Professor H. Otten is preparing a detailed statement on the tablets.

Büyükkale also produced a post-Hittite find of unexpected importance. A limestone statue group was found in the Phrygian gate on the steep south side of the citadel. It stood in a niche with a step in front and two stone benches to the sides, probably sheltered by a wooden roof. The statue group is not over 1.40 m. high and stood with its flat back against the back wall of the niche. The central figure is a standing woman (a goddess, undoubtedly) flanked by musicians standing on a common base. The goddess wears a long skirt with pleats. Her feet emerge from its lower edge. Of the nude upper part of her body only a few fragments are preserved, the left breast supported by the left hand, the tip of the left elbow, part of the right side above the belt. An unusually large polos with many moldings crowns the head. The musicians

are small and nude but for shorts. The one to the right of the goddess plays the double flute, attached with facial straps (phorbeia), the other plays a seven-stringed kithara.

Professor Bittel points out the unmistakable affinities to archaic Greek art in the pleated skirt, the feet showing under the lower edge of the skirt, the mouth of the goddess. But the combination of the stiff figure of the goddess with the slightly asymmetrical stance of the musicians, also the generally un-Greek cast of the goddess' face show that the sculptural tradition of this work is different from the known schools of art. Its stratigraphic date is c. 550 B.C. at the latest.

An illustrated report on the excavations of 1956 has appeared in MDOG 89 (1957). The 1957 campaign will be reported on in MDOG 91. Another installment of the final excavation reports has appeared as WVDOG 71: K. Bittel, W. Herre, H. Otten and others, Die hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankayası (Berlin 1958).

GÜLLÜCEK. The material from this prehistoric site, about ten miles to the north of Alaca Hüyük, has now been published in a report by Hamit Koşay and Mahmut Akok, Ausgrabungen von Büyük Güllücek. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen von 1947 und 1949 (Ankara 1957). The lowest ("Chalcolithic") levels are the most interesting for the study of early Anatolia. There is also evidence of Hittite, Phrygian and classical habitation.

KARAHÜYÜK. The excavations at Karahüyük-Konya were continued by Professor Sedat Alp of Ankara University. Special attention was paid to the city-wall discovered in the area outside of the city mound proper (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 95-96; Belleten 82 [1957] 348-50; 84 [1957] 660-62). The construction of this Middle Bronze age wall seems to be of the well-known Anatolian box-system. It is buried deeply under alluvial soil and requires the use of modern machinery for rational excavation. A gateway was discovered in the section excavated in 1957.

BEYCESULTAN. The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara completed its fourth season of excavation at this site. Mr. Seton Lloyd kindly allows us to quote the following details from his

"The year's most outstanding discoveries were related to the evolution of religious ritual during the Bronze Age. The first clue had been provided at the very end of the 1956 season" (cf. AJA 62

[1958] 96-97) "when traces were found of something resembling a religious shrine in our Early Bronze Age sounding. In 1957 a new sounding was begun at this spot, and its area and placing subsequently proved to have been unusually fortunate, since it exactly covered the building complex of which the shrine found in 1956 formed a part.

"This complex was recorded and carried down through four major building-levels (XIV-XVII), at each of which the same ritual features were repeated. The primary composition of the sanctuary, architecturally speaking, consisted of twin shrine-chambers, with an average measurement of five meters by ten. Certain features distinguishing one shrine from another, could be recognized at each successive rebuilding and gave the impression that male and female elements in their dedication could be differentiated.

"Features common to both were as follows. An entrance doorway in the middle of one end-wall: facing this door at the other end of the room, a complex erection of the sort described in last year's report (AnatSt 7 [1957] 27-36), consisting of two clay stelae and a pair of clay 'horns'; behind the stelae, built-in or buried receptacles for liquid and solid offerings; a line of wooden posts or columns, screening the part of the chamber behind the shrine, from which a second door led into a small 'priest's chamber'; quantities of ex-voto pottery vessels and small objects both in front of and behind the shrine. In front of the shrine a low curb enclosed a semicircular space. Some shrines had two concentric curbs of this sort, and the 'male' shrine was usually distinguished by an upright wooden post or pillar set axially on the perimeter of the outer circle (pl. 21, fig. 2). The 'female' shrine seemed always to be furnished with a small clay platform built against the neighboring wall. Flat marble figurines of the 'mother-goddess' type were also found exclusively in the 'female' shrine.

"The period of time covered by these shrines corresponds to the earlier part of the Early Bronze Age. A sounding begun in a neighboring part of the site revealed to us precisely the same sequence of buildings in its later phases. Starting near the surface with a pair of shrines dating from the Late Bronze Age (Level II) we were once more able to trace back their development throughout the whole Middle Bronze Age period and by the end of the season were engaged in clearing a pair of such buildings dating from the time of the burnt palace,

about 1900 B.C. These later shrines demonstrated some features of their Early Bronze Age predecessors completely unchanged. Other features, such as the horns of the shrine itself had reached a more advanced stage in their evolution. These were now pairs of elaborately shaped terracotta symbols, covered with stamped ornament.

"The Late Bronze Age shrine-rooms took the form of long narrow galleries usually with a small 'priest's room' behind the shrine itself at one end. The Middle Bronze Age examples beneath, on the other hand, still retained the form of a *megaron* with a small altar replacing the conventional hearth.

"As for the period of time which the shrines cover; the earliest Early Bronze Age examples should perhaps be dated to about 2600 B.c. and the latest Late Bronze Age sanctuary to about 1200 B.c.

"After the earliest Early Bronze Age shrine had been cleared, the main sounding was continued into the Chalcolithic levels beneath. Unfortunately the settlement now proved to be so much reduced in size that we had access only to layers of rubbish which had accumulated outside the enclosure wall. This did not prevent us from obtaining a pottery sequence extending well back into the Late Chalcolithic—to a date perhaps approximating to 3200 B.C. Here, at an estimated depth of about five meters above virgin soil, house walls again began to appear during the last few hours of the dig, and we were able to trace the ground-plan of a perfect miniature megaron, with all its usual appointments, including benches and sleeping platforms.

"Our new archaeological sequence for southwest Anatolia has now therefore been completed from the Late Chalcolithic to the end of the Bronze Age. The definition of each major period at our site may now be supplemented by a map, showing the geographical distribution of settlements where its salient characteristics are known to be represented."

HACILAR. Under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara a short test excavation was carried out by James Mellaart who writes the following about his spectacular discovery:

"Hacılar lies in Burdur Vilayet, 25 km. west of Burdur on the main road to Yeşilova and Denizli. The prehistoric site, discovered in December 1956 lies about a mile west of the village, just beyond the orchards, watered by a powerful spring. The mound, about 150 yards in diameter, rises five feet above the level of the surrounding fields and is un-

der cultivation. Numerous holes have been dug in the mound by locals in search of antiquities, many of which have found their way to the Istanbul market.

"It was established in the sounding that the mound of Hacılar contained at least nine building levels, five of which belonged to the early Chalcolithic period and four to the preceding neolithic period.

"The top building-level I was badly denuded and disturbed; only fragmentary stone foundations of rectangular buildings were found. With them went the pottery which littered the mound; mainly large bowls with both exterior and interior decorated with chevrons in red paint on a buff slip, and afterwards burnished.

"The second building-level had been destroyed in a conflagration. Three burnt houses of rectangular shape, preceded and surrounded by courtyards were found with all the domestic utensils and pottery in situ. The houses were built of mudbrick without stone foundations. Approximately square rooms contained a square built-up hearth in the middle and had internal buttresses, thus providing the room with alcoves. Wooden posts carried porticoes. Red-on-white painted pottery and red and brown monochrome wares, querns with pounders for red and yellow ochre littered the floors. Bone, stone and obsidian tools were common, also stone bowls and celts. Steatopygous clay figurines, often of large size (20-30 cms.), red-slipped or painted standing female figurines, occur in many fragments. In the pottery two styles are found; a fantastic one with oval cups and bold curvilinear ornament and another one with large geometric designs of a solid rather than a linear type. Spirals occur.

"The pottery of level III resembles that of II, but the two earlier levels IV and V have simpler shapes and predominantly geometric ornament. Chevrons and wavy lines occur, but solid patterns with an infinite variety of triangles, filled or solid, and diagonal and vertical lines form the majority. Monochrome wares continue. Both painted and unpainted wares are burnished.

"In the neolithic levels painted pottery does not appear, except for a handful of primitive painted ware in the last Neolithic level VI. Monochrome wares with tubular vertical lugs on jars and bowls occur in all levels from VI-IX, but there is a steady development in the pottery as regards colour and

shape. The earliest wares are cream-burnished, then follows a mottled (and sometimes black-topped) ware, followed by red-burnished ware in level VI.

"No burials were found. Agriculture is known: carbonized wheat, barley, vetch and lentils were found (level II). Animal bones are common, especially in the neolithic levels and include: ox, sheep, goat, dog, two types of deer and a variety of smaller animals. Carbon for carbon 14 tests was collected in levels II and VI. Arms consist mostly of slingstones; there is a macehead but no arrowheads were found."

Many speculations are attached to the potential role of sites like Hacılar in the transmission of early cultures from the Near East to the Aegaean. Space forbids further quotations but it is clear that Hacılar will figure prominently in prehistoric discussions. Its gaily painted pottery brings an unusually bright note into the monochrome gloom of the Ankara Museum storerooms. An illustrated preliminary account appeared in *The Listener* of March 13, 1958, 445-47.

IRON AGE AND CLASSICAL SITES

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BOĞAZKÖY AND KÜLTEPE. The important Phrygian data gathered at Boğazköy and Kültepe have been mentioned above. Both sites produce valuable information on the Iron Age cultures which were consolidated on the plateau after the mysterious spell of the Dark Ages. In maintaining the label "Phrygian" for the material from sites east of the Halys and in Cappadocia we admit the existence of a certain cultural continuum in the seventh and sixth centuries B.c., but Phrygian graffiti, fairly frequent on ceramics from Gordion, are absent at Kültepe, where Hittite hieroglyphs seem to be the script of the "Phrygian" period. The situation is open to speculation at Boğazköy where the newly discovered statue-group forms an interesting link between western and eastern iconography.

GORDION. The discovery of an undamaged royal tomb-chamber at Gordion and other results of the 1957 campaign were elaborately reported upon in this journal 62 [1958] 139-54. The archaeological material of the Phrygian capital of the period c. 750-700 B.C. is now fairly well known, with the presence of the Phrygian alphabet at least toward 700 B.C. (used for writing in wax on wooden tablets?) as the most important sign of links with the West, the Urartaean bronzes as documentation of historical contacts with the East.

KARATEPE. Restoration and protection of the site were foremost in the work conducted by Dr. Halet Çambel. The fortress will be much more accessible for archaeological tourists than it used to be in the first few romantic years after discovery. The consolidation of the sculptures in situ will be an interesting experiment in the difficult art of preserving excavated monuments (cf. Belleten 82 [1957] 346-47; 84 [1957] 658-59).

ZINCIRLI. Dr. U. Bahadır Alkım of Istanbul University is investigating the area of Zincirli and has published the results of his researches in the basalt quarries of Yesemek some fifteen miles to the SSE of Zincirli. Several unfinished gate-lions and sphinxes, column bases and reliefs are lying about in various stages of workmanship (Belleten 83 [1957] 359-94).

MISIS-MOPSOUHESTIA. Excavations continued in the fall of 1957 under the direction of Professor H. T. Bossert. He kindly reports the following details (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 97-98; Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 7.1 [1957] 40-41). Work on the city mound was hampered by the presence of large Islamic cisterns in trenches to the west and in the center. A new trench is in operation to the east so far producing good architectural fragments in secondary use. Work on the church mosaics was completed. Iron Age pottery on the city mound and the church site is mostly of two painted varieties: brown on buff, and black on red, the latter better fired and decorated with concentric circles of the Cypriote variety. Both wares are also known from Tarsus and Karatepe and seem of local manufacture at Misis (as at Tarsus). A Byzantine pottery factory was discovered near the banks of the Ceyhan (Pyramus) river, unfortunately partly destroyed by a modern road. The decorated ware of Misis promises to make an interesting contribution to the history of Byzantine ceramics.

Xanthos. Excavations continued in 1956-57 with various attempts to analyze the complicated history of the Lycian capital. The 1956 campaign was directed by H. Metzger, that of 1957 by P. Demargne.

On the Lycian acropolis the succession of some important buildings is now fairly clear. Two superposed "palaces" exist in the southeast corner. The lower one ("premier palais"), facing west, has a large number of rooms of various sizes. A shallow anteroom is flanked by two projecting wings, it leads to two small intermediate rooms and then into an irregular rectangular hall. Smaller rooms and

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perhaps a stairwell lie to the north and south. The plan of this "premier palais" seems remotely related to that of North Syrian palaces of the first millennium B.C. The Xanthos structure is of the 7th-6th centuries B.C. according to subgeometric and Ionian pottery finds. It probably represents the Lycian palace of the early phase, destroyed in 545-540 B.C.

The "second palais," a fortress-like building, is partly destroyed by later constructions. Two magazines with pithoi belong to it. Attic pottery fragments date the second palace to the period c. 540-480 B.C., at the end of which it was burnt.

On the highest point of the acropolis a one-cella temple of north-south orientation is tentatively attributed to Artemis. Its entrance is at the north: a wide courtyard belongs to the temple at this side. The fifth century temple, built with large orthostats, perhaps had a 6th century predecessor. Between the palaces and the top of the acropolis another sanctuary exists, this one built with a triple cella in west-east orientation. An anteroom lies to the west. The main part of the building is c. 13 by 10 meters, with two interior (incompletely preserved) lines of foundations making three parallel cellae. The solid orthostats of the east wall are over one meter high, smooth on the outside but irregular on the interior. At the east end of the central cella lay a fossa of 3.10 x 2.80 m. This temple existed in the second half of the sixth century and was destroyed c. 475 B.C. according to the analysis of the pottery by H. Metzger. Much Attic black-figure and red-figure was found, some of it provided with Lycian graffiti. A predecessor of this temple is attested by some earlier foundations under it and by the pottery from the fossa which suggests a seventh-sixth century date. There was no architectural connection between this earlier temple and the "premier palais."

The Harpy Monument has been studied, restored and provided with casts of the British Museum reliefs, a great improvement over the improvised repairs made by Fellows. P. Demargne has completed his study of the pillar tombs of Xanthos (Fouilles de Xanthos I. Les Piliers funéraires [Paris 1958]).

The Nereid Monument has profited from clearing at the foot of the slope, where the Hellenistic doorway to the precinct, a paved road leading to it and a court separating it from the arch of Vespasian were exposed. In this process the second half of an Ionic corner capital found in 1954 was recov-

ered; the capital has four volutes. The terrace north of the monument was cleared entirely. A fragment of the second frieze was found here, the head of a warrior. The peribolos wall of this terrace to the west, north and east is not earlier than Roman. Further research solved the problem of the base-moldings of the cella-walls.

In 1957 much work was done in the Roman theater. In the postscenium the interior walls connecting the scena-walls and the retaining wall of the agora form five slightly trapezoidal rooms corresponding to the five valvae. These rooms had wooden floors at the level of the scena. East of the parodos and east parascenium the monumental entrance from the cardo of the Roman city was analyzed. Further study was devoted to the upper maenianum. Soundings in the orchestra revealed the existence of an earlier, Hellenistic theater of smaller size with a cavea of horseshoe shape.

Special studies of the Byzantine remains (a basilica on the acropolis, remodelling of the rampart, a basilica in the agora) were carried out by Professor C. Delvoye of Brussels.

Interim reports on Xanthus have appeared in CRAI (1956) 155-61; Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 7.1 (1957) 9-10; 7.2 (1957) 5-8.

Excavations in Pamphylia continued under the direction of Professor Arif Müfid Mansel of Istanbul University. He kindly reports the following progress.

Side. At Side work was concentrated in the theater. The façade of the scena-building was partly cleared. The stage on which the actors performed was of stone and c. 2.50 m. high; it had a façade with doors and semicircular niches. Architectural fragments of the scaenae frons include: large granite columns, Corinthian capitals, frieze blocks decorated with Medusa heads and theatrical masks between upright console-like elements, triangular and round pedimental fragments (one with a flying Nike), ceiling-slabs decorated with busts of Athena and Demeter in high relief. The columns were arranged in two stories and set on a socle decorated with a long frieze all along the façade (pl. 21, figs. 3-4), interrupted by the five doors of the scaenae frons. The frieze seems to illustrate one continuous legend perhaps of local relevance.

Perge. In Perge the clearance of the great colonnaded street was continued for c. 50 meters. The columns are Ionic and stand on rectangular or hexagonal pedestals. Only very few fragments of the entablature were found, showing that the upper parts were replaced by wooden beams in Byzantine times.

Among the sculptural finds were a well preserved statua togata (1.60 m. high), a seated man with a lion to the side of his throne (1 m. high), several female heads, three marble columns each decorated with a relief in the upper part. The first relief (pl. 23, fig. 6) represents Artemis with veil, aureole, several necklaces, torch in her right hand, bow and arrow in her left (0.49 m. high). The second, badly damaged, has Apollo on a quadriga, the third a libation scene at an altar. These columns stood in front of a Byzantine church which was built into the shops on the east side of the colonnaded street. Their decoration suggests that the Christians in Perge looked upon Artemis as Maria and Apollo as Jesus.

A well illustrated report on the Pamphylian excavations of the years 1946-55 has appeared in AA (1956) 34-120; Belleten 86 (1957) 211-40.

MILETUS. The excavation near the Athena temple in Miletus, resumed in 1955 (cf. AJA 60 [1956] 379-81, pl. 125; Istanbuler Forschungen 7 [1957] 102-32, pls. 18-44) was continued in the late summer and fall of 1957. Professor C. Weickert kindly sent us the following account of his campaign.

"Since the weather was exceptionally dry the level of the ground water receded below the mark normal for Miletus. This enabled us to clear and investigate a major part of the Mycenaean settlement west, south and east of the temple (cf. pl. 22, fig. 5).

"In the earliest level a considerable number of walls came to light belonging to two phases. Most of these walls are of the older phase. It is clear that they belong to a building with many rooms which has no connection with the Helladic house type based on the megaron. Among the pottery fragments from this first level we find M.M. III-L.M. I represented again in indubitably Cretan specimens. Other fragments, especially pieces showing spirals with superimposed white, could also be Mycenaean L.H. I imports. Fragments of painted wall stucco were again found.

"The buildings of the second level (L.M. II or L.H. II) are more thoroughly destroyed and poorly preserved. Again two phases can be distinguished. The later phase has a puzzling wall in square HJ XIII east of the temple. It is technically unusual and better built than any other wall of the settlement. It is hoped that a future extension to the east

will explain to what kind of building this wall belonged. A well preserved kiln, built of tiles set on edge, belongs to level II (square F XII). It must have been used for large pithoi, placed one by one on a bench in the interior.

"The buildings of levels I and II apparently extended for some undetermined distance to the north beyond the settlement of the late Mycenaean level III. There is a gradual transition between the pottery of levels I and II.

"The third level (L.H. III) differs from the first two in being equipped with an impressive wall provided with towers. A L.H. III stirrup vase was recently found under the wall and allows us to date its construction to the fourteenth century B.c. The pottery of this level is purely Late Mycenaean and again included examples of excellent technique and a special style. An elongated house-type could be identified which has several rooms behind one another (cf. the better preserved buildings of this level from the earlier excavations, A. von Gerkan, Milet I. 8, 74, fig. 41, pl. vII. The gate assumed there did not exist). The wide bulge of the wall apparently followed the shore of the harbor of the period in question. The course of the wall makes it clear that the settlement enclosed by it must have been considerably larger than the section investigated so far. It seems that the fortification was destroyed before the end of the Late Mycenaean period.

"A major interruption in habitation is improbable, however, since one also finds sub-Mycenaean and quantities of protogeometric sherds. A well-built channel east of the temple and perhaps also the remnants of a neighboring house may even belong to the protogeometric period. A well in square XIII was filled entirely with geometric ware. Walls certainly of the geometric period were identified also in the northern part of the temple at great depth underneath the archaic constructions which in this section now have been cleared completely. The latter probably were magazines or the like, again reconstructed in several phases. Important samples of Ionian orientalizing and archaic pottery were found here. Mycenaean sherds were no longer represented in the northern part of the temple, not even in the deepest levels.

"At the southwest corner of the temple a Mycenaean tower had been hypothesized on the basis of earlier excavations. In reality the towers of the Mycenaean wall lie further to the north. At the place of the hypothetical tower the large foundation

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blocks of the temple were removed and as a result a construction of the geometric period was revealed. It is surrounded by an archaic temenos and we should like to interpret it as a shrine. It is made as an approximate oval of c. two meters in diameter formed by some five courses of flattish stones, laid radially at the outer edge. The interior is filled with small stones. A paved floor surrounds the oval. Before the archaic temenos was made around the earlier construction in the middle, it seems that a curved temenos existed contemporary with the oval. Temenos and oval are superimposed on the south face and interior fill of the Mycenaean wall. Inside the construction we only found some geometric sherds and a plastic snake from a jar handle, painted with spots and artificially 'gilded' with mica. This construction as well as the foundation of the early temple near it were visible until the foundations of the great temple of the fifth century B.C. were laid over them.

"The origin, age and importance of the Mycenaean settlement in Miletus are becoming increasingly clear. After a more extensive investigation of the earlier levels we shall be in a position to make conjectures about the historical causes of the fact that Miletus was fortified in the fourteenth century B.C. The traces of occupation in protogeometric and geometric times are beyond doubt, and excellent samples of Ionian pottery have turned up in several areas of the excavation. All this serves to increase the probability that early Miletus was located on the site of the later city. An extensive report on this campaign will appear in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*."

Panionion-Çamli. The second campaign of the German expedition under the direction of Professor G. Kleiner was completed in May 1958. The following account is based upon a summary kindly provided by Professor Kleiner. (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 103-04).

Some supplementary digging took place in the bouleuterion. A rectangular projection in front of the prohedria is perhaps to be interpreted as a base for an altar of Zeus Boulaios. One analemma wall of the bouleuterion was cleared further.

Most of the campaign was devoted to the citadel hill (Kaletepe) in the west part of Çamlı (AJA loc.cit. 104). The lower fortification wall was cleared of brushwood. Contrary to Wiegand's statements this lower wall cannot be traced all around Kalatepe: it only begins at the end of the north side (which drops steeply to the sea), then continues on

the east and a small stretch of the south side. This means that only the gentler landward slopes of the citadel were protected by a wall.

The upper citadel wall was especially promising on the east side where a large tower or bastion was discovered and archaic pottery turned up, e.g. a pithos-rim stamped with Ionic volutes and palmettes set in a circle around an open flower. The large tower is the only one in the entire fortification system. It is preserved to over two meters height and is almost four by six meters in plan. This tower is not bonded into the wall which as a rule is two and a half meters thick. Much cutting of shrubs and brushwood was needed to clear this wall. On the north side it has mostly slipped down and has to be traced by rock-cuttings; few traces of habitation are left here. An exterior spur wall descends to the second lower hill of Kaletepe without however reaching the saddle between the two hills. On the east and south sides, which are less steep, spur walls abut on the interior of the citadel wall at irregular intervals. Their meaning is not yet clear. They are not ramps, since a staircase was found leading to the chemin de ronde at the southeast. Two blockedup gates were located: a larger one to the south, a smaller one to the west. The east gate near the large tower required careful digging and analysis. Its threshold is made of several stones and has a width of about two meters.

A trial trench of over 50 meters length was cut within the citadel at right angles to the east gate and carried down to rock level. No sherds were found below the 0.50 m. level even where more soil existed. In the red ferruginous earth all sherds are badly weathered and have lost all traces of paint; where they are washed down against the wall much incrustation covers the paint. One can recognize geometric patterns, mostly wide bands, and shapes derived from the well-known protogeometric goblets with wide bases narrowing conically upward. Shapes and designs, apart from imports, are non-Greek, perhaps Carian.

The architectural finds were analogous; a large oval building to the west, but a simple anta-house built against the inner face of the south citadel wall. In the latter lay a late fourth century B.C. terracotta fragment, in its anteroom an archaic arrowhead of triangular section without barb or perforation. Under this rectangular house remnants of an oval house emerged.

These results tend to confirm J. Keil's hypothesis

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that the citadel of Kaletepe represents the "Karion phrourion" and the city of Melie. An archaic Greek inscription on a block near the east gate provides additional evidence; its first line may even read Melie. In the next campaign several areas still await excavation: some parts within the citadel, the necropolis at the foot of the east slope (discovered by Wiegand), and some constructions in the plain between the bouleuterion and the citadel.

KLAROS. Professor Louis Robert conducted the eighth campaign in August-September 1957. He kindly reports the following progress in the excavations in and around the temple of Apollo (cf. A]A 62 [1958] 98-99; Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 7.1 [1957] 5-8; 7.2 [1957] 12-14).

South of the altar two areas were cleared. Among the finds were the drums of a votive column, a foundation for a base, and more importantly a block inscribed on its four faces, belonging to the pillar erected in honor of Cicero's brother, and covered with lists of foreign delegations of the second century A.D. Other epigraphic discoveries of the campaign include new fragments of the steps of the temple façade. The lists confirm previously drawn conclusions regarding the expansion and limits of the cult of Apollo Clarius; one notices a consistent pattern of regions represented and absent. There are now, more or less complete, one list of Chios, one of Phocaea, two of Crete (Hierapytna and Lappa), one of Aphrodisias, one of Herakleia of the Salbake in Caria, three or four of Laodikeia in Phrygia, one of Akmonia in the same province. Of Hellenistic asyleia decrees there are no more than remnants, this year coming from the Thessalians and Cretans of Hierapytna.

The small Ionic temple north of and parallel to the great Apollo temple has been completely excavated. It is badly ruined and it failed to produce epigraphic evidence for its attribution. Professor Robert conjectures that it was the shrine of Artemis Claria who appears on coins of Colophon independent of the statues of the Apollo-Artemis-Leto triad.

The most important part of the work was devoted to the great temple. On the north side, more peristyle columns were cleared. Two new Doric capitals were found, making a total of seven. Column drums belonging to three different columns were excavated, making a present total of 145.

The architects, MM. Martin and Bonnard, worked on the recording of the interior of the tem-

ple. Several soundings were made to investigate possible predecessors of the present temple. (A recent article in a periodical which attributed all of the temple with its subterranean installations to Hadrian is erroneous and unauthorized.) Along the north krepis foundations and virgin soil have been reached without finding traces of an earlier building. This and similar work has to be carried out with the aid of pumps. Below the conglomerate blocks forming the foundation of the opisthodomos an earlier form of the adyton was found, again under water. This work is being continued in 1958.

The back room of the subterranean adyton with its well had been cleared in 1956. The room is 3.74 m. deep (E-W) with six vaulted arches of which only one has disappeared. The height at the keystone is merely 1.77 m. The only access to this room was by the vaulted postern which pierced the 2.70 m. thick masonry block between front and back room of the adyton. The front adyton is 6.43 m. deep (E-W); it has four vaulted arches. This room was found full of earth and tumble, partly colossal blocks moved with the aid of mechanical equipment borrowed from the French company working in the harbor of Izmir.

The front adyton is 1.88 m. high under the keystones. A low step led to the postern which was closed by a door or curtain. The prophet apparently went through this, alone and at night, into the mystery of the back room and to the secret well. The front room was a waiting-room for the priests (known from the lists; in addition to the annual priest there were: the priest of Apollo appointed for life, the permanent thespiode who put the oracles in verse form, one or two scribes). Two blocks were found which belonged to molded benches set against the walls between the arches. The privileged consultant who is said in some inscriptions to have "penetrated and celebrated the mysteries" must have been allowed to enter the front adyton. This front room was entered, as explored previously, by two doors on the long (north and south) sides from a corridor which started in the pronaos and was entered there by two narrow staircases of four steps.

The excellent preservation of the installations was once more emphasized by the presence of a marble omphalos in the north part of the front adyton. The omphalos is .68 m. high, slightly broken at the base where a cavity for attachment is visible (diameter at the base: 1.66 m.). Its top has a small rectangular

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cutting for some ornament. Mr. Martin has identified four molded fragments which give the shape of the entire base on which the omphalos rested. The presence of the omphalos, the well preserved vaults, the sacred well all give the visitor an unusually vivid and direct impression of an ancient oracle.

EPHESUS. The campaign in 1957 aimed at further clearance of the Thermae of Scholastikia and at the discovery of the ancient street(s) connecting these Thermae with the Prytaneion (cf. AJA 62 [1958] 99-101 and the elaborately illustrated reports on previous campaigns in JOAI Beibl. 42 [1955] 23-60; 43 [1956] 1-64). Professor Miltner kindly reports the following results.

In the Thermae of Scholastikia the rooms of the lower floor were cleared between the baths proper (on the east side) and the so-called Marble Street as far as the presumed north limit of the building. The rooms bordering on the street turn out to have been shops and perhaps also eating-places. The rooms west and north of the latrines according to the building inscription there represent the (or a) paidiskeion of Ephesus. Remnants of stairs prove that parts of the upper floor belonged to this complex. In its general aspect of spaciousness and in details of execution this building is more grandiose than e.g. the Lupanar of Pompeii and clearly of Greek design. In the common dining-hall there is a mosaic with the four seasons from the original period, late 1st century A.D. (pl. 24, fig. 10). Interestingly enough, this paidiskeion was also restored at the time of Scholastikia, i.e. the end of the fourth century A.D., and it apparently continued to serve its original purpose.

At the southern exit of the paidiskeion a well of c. 13 m. depth was emptied. Its pottery contents proved a use from the third century B.C. to at least the fifth to sixth centuries A.D.

Excavations on the upper floor allowed the clearing of the central hall of the sudatorium and a hall adjoining it to the east, also fitted up as a sudatorium. The sudatorium rooms now already surpass in size frigidarium and caldarium combined. The transition from the triple bathing procedure in early imperial times to the single one of the Byzantine bath apparently was made gradually in the late antique period.

The debris in this sector, sometimes to twelve meters high, did not fail to produce various fragments of statuary, some from the ancient decoration of the Thermae, some from the buildings located on the slope above. A male portrait bust of the first half of the third century A.D. deserves special mention (pl. 23, fig. 7).

The "Street of the Kouretes," passing along the south facade of the Thermae, was excavated eastward to the so-called Sockelbau. The road is c. 11 m. wide with its paving mostly intact, on either side it is flanked by colonnades of 5 m. depth with shops behind. In the southern stoa a late antique mosaic of c. 60 m. length was exposed. It is being preserved in situ. In front of the columns there are the usual inscribed bases. Many of the statues have been found, some of them have been re-erected on their original bases, e.g. that of the consul Stephanos or the physician Alexander (pl. 23, fig. 8) from the early fifth century A.D. The northern stoa is interrupted c. 25 m. east of the Thermae since there a Nymphaeum faces on the street. This Nymphaeum originally was erected in honor of Trajan and was restored at the time of Theodosius. The façade was richly articulated; about ten statues belonging to its decoration were recovered complete or in fragments, e.g. a matron from the lower floor, a reclining satyr (pl. 24, fig. 11) and an Aphrodite from the second.

An arch crowned the street c. 45 m. east of the Nymphaeum. Its architectural elements, slabs and pilasters with relief recall the arch of Constantine in Rome in many respects. Their style and remnants of the building inscription date this Ephesian arch to about the first half of the fifth century.

Beyond the arch and c. 20 m. to the east an interesting monument stands to the north of the street. Some relief slabs and fragments of the building inscription allow the preliminary statement that the monument belongs to the last years of the Roman republic and is possibly connected with the strife between Sextus Pompeius and Marc Antony. At this place the main street curves to the south and seems to climb between the street of Domitian and the street of the "Sockelbau" to the height of the saddle between the two city-hills. A narrower street branches off the main street to go north of the "Sockelbau" eastward as a clivus sacer to the precinct of the Prytaneion. A stoa runs along the north side of this clivus sacer. Most of this was reconstructible. Other efforts in the field of anastylosis were made in the beginning of the reconstruction of the temple of Hadrian in the south façade of the Thermae of Scholastikia (pl. 23, fig. 9) and also of the church of St. John on the citadel hill of Selcuk.

PERGAMON. The German Archaeological Institute resumed work at Pergamon in 1957 under the direction of Professor E. Boehringer. Excavations in the Asklepieion revealed the presence of an earlier, non-Asklepian sanctuary, to judge by votive terracottas of Cybele and Artemis type. The work is continuing in 1958. The results of the two campaigns will be reported on in the next installment of this news.

PHOCAEA. No campaign was conducted here in 1957. Professor Akurgal has published a summary of previous work in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 7.1 (1957) 39. The ceramic record of the site begins in the third millennium B.C. There is no Mycenaean pottery. Protogeometric wares prove the early character of the Ionian settlement which was on an island (the site of the later peninsula). In the eighth to seventh centuries painted geometric wares are about as plentiful as monochrome wares. Among the objects from the temple area terracotta revetments are of special interest. Some are decorated in frieze style with racing chariots and provide good parallels for the architectural terracottas from Larissa on the Hermos.

Dascylium. Professor Ekrem Akurgal of Ankara University continued his work at Ergili-Dascylium (cf. Belleten 82 [1957] 350; 84 [1957] 662). The large building at Dascylium in plan resembles a Greek temple and probably is not to be identified with the palace of the Persian ruler. A sounding to the south of the Hellenistic fortification wall produced Lydian pottery (skyphoi with painted stripes), also Laconian and Corinthian items.

Cyzicus. Professor Akurgal also returned to Cyzicus for more excavation. Although Hellenistic and Roman rebuilding have taken a toll of earlier levels, some good archaic finds were made, e.g. a fragment of a marble columna caelata with a relief

of youthful dancers, now on display in the Istanbul Museum.

Nemrud dag. No excavations were carried out in 1957 but the material is being prepared for publication by Miss Theresa Goell (cf. BASOR 147 [October 1957] 4-22). The sculptures are being studied by Professor John Young of Johns Hopkins University.

Coin Hoards. Several coin hoards were discovered in 1957 in connection with road construction all over the country, others accidentally by peasants and shepherds. It is to be regretted that much information is lost as parts of hoards disappear into private collections via ignorant or deliberately misleading intermediaries. Near Elmali in Lycia a hoard of some 600 silver coins was found, 514 of which entered the Istanbul Museum. The oldest in the hoard are fifth century coins of Aspendus, the latest coins of the Lycian dynast Pericles (380-362 B.C.). A Hellenistic hoard of c. 200 tetradrachms found at Urfa recently entered the Istanbul Museum and is being cleaned for further study.

ISTANBUL. The energetic demolition of parts of the city in favor of new construction and wide traffic lanes has led to various discoveries. Opposite the Vilayet building a fourth century A.D. mosaic was found, in fragmentary condition but of good quality with geometric, guilloche and animal designs. On the left side of the avenue leading from Beyazit to Aksaray the widening of the road cleared two piers of a triumphal arch of Theodosius. The base of the piers is preserved up to the moldings, and scattered fragments of columns, capitals, architraves, arches and ceiling coffers are lying about. This monument is being excavated and studied. A preliminary report will appear in the *Annual* of the Istanbul Museums 8 (1957).

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GUIDO FREIHERR VON KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG died on September 2, 1958 in Frankfurt, after a long illness, at the age of 68. Born and educated in Vienna where he received his doctor's degree, he served in the Austrian army during the First World War. As a young scholar he travelled widely, but worked mostly in the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. He began teaching at the University of Freiburg, but after only one semester he was appointed professor of classical archaeology at the University of Koenigsberg. Later he occupied the chairs of archaeology at the universities of Marburg and Frankfurt. From 1950 until his retirement two years ago he was First Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

His publications consist chiefly of a long series of extensive essays and articles which have established, for the history of ancient art, the method of the socalled "Struktur-analyse." His subject matter ranges from Egyptian and prehistoric art to Greek, Etruscan, Roman, late ancient and even medieval art. His earlier essays on Egyptian sculpture, Etruscan, and late ancient portraiture approached the monuments in a hitherto unknown fashion by discovering and analyzing those elements of their formal structures which underlie and cause their particular stylistic appearances—they demonstrated, for example, the basic differences in apparently similar Egyptian, Etruscan, and late ancient works. The study of Etruscan art, particularly, owes much to these early articles published in RM 41 (1926) and StEtr 7 (1933). The method of "Struktur-analyse" does not yet seem to be generally understood even in Germany, much less in the Englishspeaking countries where critics have found it too abstract, too subjective, and too complicated. Kaschnitz's essays are indeed not easy to read. But everyone who takes the trouble to study them carefully will soon realize that they are the foundation of less subjective, less superficial and less arbitrary ways of analyzing and interpreting artistic forms than are the impressionistic and phenomenological approaches. This is especially obvious in the case of architecture. Kaschnitz's more recent studies in Roman architecture in RM 59 (1944) belong to his most mature and most successful writings. Kaschnitz also published the learned catalogue of the Greek and Roman sculptures in the magazine of the Vatican Museums, demonstrating his willingness and his ability to work on more conventional lines. For almost 20 years he prepared a monumental work on the whole of ancient art, but his commitment to teaching, the burden of the directorship of the German Archaeological Institute, and finally a tragic illness prevented him from finishing what was supposed to become the definite statement of a lifetime's study.

Even the briefest account of Kaschnitz's archaeological work must be supplemented with a few words about his personality. Everyone who met him will remember the charm, the humor, the gentleness, and the grace of this man who combined authority with courtesy, standards with generosity, intellectual discipline with sensitivity, learning with taste. He was perhaps the best and most widely liked German scholar in Rome for generations. After the war he was the one person who could, and did, make the oldest Roman archaeological institute regain its place and reputation. With Kaschnitz Rome lost a devoted lover, the archaeological world a stimulating and original scholar, a great number of individuals of many nations and professions a loyal friend who was a truly noble man, of that profound serenity which results from the unity of mind and heart.

PETER H. VON BLANCKENHAGEN

BOOK REVIEWS

DAS HALLSTATTZEITLICHE GRÄBERFELD VON HADERS-DORF AM KAMP, N.-Ö., by Franz Scheibenreiter. Pp. 62, pls. 59. Veröffentlichungen der Urgeschichtlichen Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Wien. II Band 1954 (1957). \$2.00.

One of the greatest difficulties in prehistoric research is the lack of adequate basic publications of the archaeological findings upon which any interpretation can be built. A huge mass of museum material continues to be in large part unpublished and inaccessible to

the archaeologist.

Conscious of this situation, the Urgeschichtliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Vienna has decided to take part in drawing up a catalogue of the more important prehistoric findings. The volume under review gives a complete inventory of the most significant Hallstatt-B cemetery in Lower Austria. Next to Stillfried on the March, Hadersdorf am Kamp has been known for more than six decades. 130 urn graves were discovered here in 1889, and 8 urn graves in 1908. The largest part of the findings is now preserved in the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna. The museums in Langenlois, Zwettl, Krems, Eggenburg, Melk and Herzogenburg also have smaller collections from this cemetery.

The archaeological material belongs chronologically to the Hallstatt-B level. In Lower Austria it is called Stillfried type, in Southern Moravia Podoli type, and in Western Hungary Val II type. Sites with similar findings are known also from Slovakia and Croatia.

The inventory is accompanied by good drawings. This book is a welcome and valuable addition to the archaeological literature of the Hallstatt-B level in eastern Central Europe.

STEPHEN FOLTINY

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ABRISS DER VORGESCHICHTE, by Karl J. Narr, Willy Schulz-Weidner, Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Anthony Christie, Max Loehr, Karl Jettmar, Oswald Menghin. Pp. 266, chronological tables ix, maps 22. Verlag R. Oldenbourg, Munich, 1957.

This compendium of prehistory is part of the Oldenbourg series entitled "Abriss der Weltgeschichte" or Compendium of World History, edited by Wolf-

Dietrich von Barloewen.

"The book is dedicated to everybody who wishes to learn about this evergrowing science quickly and from a reliable source. It shows the present status of the whole of prehistoric research as well as giving a detailed bibliography," or so the jacket's advertising

The need for a survey of what we know at present about prehistoric cultures in all parts of the planet is tremendous, and unquestionably a reliable compendium would find a place on the shelves of every archaeologist, professional or student. Thirty-six years have passed since the publication of the fifteenth volume of 'Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte," edited by Max Ebert, and every year new material appears and with it come changes in archaeological theory. The time is ripe for a new summary of our knowledge, and archaeologists look forward to books like "Abriss der Vorgeschichte"

with eager interest.

In "Abriss . . ." the archaeological material is treated by periods and by cultural areas. Five authors describe briefly the cultures of given periods. Karl J. Narr surveys the prehistory and parahistory of the Near East, northern Africa and Europe (71 pages); Willy Schulz-Weidner, Africa south of the Sahara (26 pages); C. v. Fürer-Haimendorf, India, Indonesia and Australia (15 pages); Anthony Christie, southeast Asia (5 pages); Max Loehr, China and Japan (15 pages); Karl Jettmar, inner Asia (12 pages); and Oswald Menghin, the Americas (51 pages). Each author classifies the material and uses terminology in his own way. The greatest part of the book, and with it the greatest responsibility, was assigned to Dr. Narr who covers the Near East, Europe and northern Africa, and who in the introduction, explains the purpose and methods of prehistoric research, and the problems in terminology and chronology. Preceding each chapter, a number of references are given and following them a brief list of known cultures in chronological and geographical order. Some cultures rated some thirty sentences; some only three or four. Into 211 pages are squeezed all the known prehistoric cultures of the world. Naturally, comments for each must be short.

Detailed criticisms of this or that chapter or some particular description of a culture will not be given in this short review. The most important questions to be asked are: does a work of this kind justify itself? how reliable is it? will it be of help to the specialist as well as the layman (i.e., "everybody," according to

the hopes of the publishers)?

My first impression is that the description of each culture is too brief and too schematic to be useful. In a few sentences it is impossible to give any picture at all of an archaeological culture, especially in cases where the culture is not sufficiently known to archaeologists and the information is obtained from incidental and secondary sources. Some definitions of cultures are good and comprehensive, but some remain mere schemes without any insight into the culture's birth, development and change. Although there is much information in the book, a specialist checking the sections dealing with his field would find many gaps. Many cultural groups or their chronological phases escaped the authors' attention. Often, the information presented was taken from sources thirty or forty years old despite available new material which totally changes the picture (this reviewer checked Europe, especially its central and eastern part, for every cultural group mentioned). To any archaeologist who picks up this book, it will become apparent that it is a pretense at being a handy guide to students of prehistory. Such a compendium needs many more authors. Information should be firsthand. This is certainly the fault of the editors, not of the authors. The sections which are smaller in scope seem to be much better. It is understandable that one person cannot summarize every culture between the lower Palaeolithic and historic times, especially over complex and large regions such as the Near East, Europe or the whole of the Americas. One man could make a good synthesis for an area of such a scope if it were general, but not for encyclopaedic purposes.

If one compares the fifteen volume "Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte" with the "Abriss der Vorgeschichte," the question arises: is a good compendium of prehistory possible in 200 pages and without illustrations? One must admit that it is indeed difficult, as this volume has shown. Such a volume should be a painstaking work of a hundred scholars, each with up-todate knowledge of the prehistoric developments in his own area. Such a work would have to be internation-

ally organized.

In spite of criticisms, the authors of this volume deserve credit for their attempt and courage. Much of the book is clear, with systematic descriptions for certain periods and cultural groups. The chronological tables and maps at the end of the book will be helpful to students. The archaeologist who reads German will now have two sources of information: the "Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte," where he will find details about graves, hoards, cultures, periods, etc. with illustrations, data on archaeological research, etc., compiled up to the year 1932 by a great number of scholars; and the "Abriss der Vorgeschichte," where he will find brief definitions about periods and cultures of the world, given by five prehistorians, in the year 1957.

MARIJA GIMBUTAS

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ROYAL CEMETERIES OF KUSH, Vol. 2: Nuri, by Dows Dunham. Pp. 300, pls. cxli, figs. 216, charts 3, map. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1955. \$32.50.

This second volume of the Royal Cemeteries of Kush completes an exhaustive record of the excavations of the Harvard University-Boston Museum Egyptian Expedition at Nuri in 1916-18. This work was directed by the late Dr. George Reisner, assisted by the author, who thus had direct knowledge of the material which after many years he has been called upon to assemble and publish. Even with the meticulous recording which was consistently a feature of Reisner's excava-

tions, it is never an easy task to publish work done by another who may no longer be called upon for advice or explanation. This is specially the case when so long a time has passed between exploration and publication. We are therefore particularly indebted to the author for what is indeed an ideal excavation report, and once more we must pay tribute to Reisner's sys-

tem of field recording.

Nuri is some 8 miles from Merowe on the west bank of the Nile, above the Fourth Cataract and was one of the burial grounds of ancient Napata, dating from c.663 B.C., when Taharqa built his great pyramid tomb on the site. This tomb, the largest at Nuri, was the nucleus of a royal necropolis which was in continuous use until 308 B.C., when Nastasen was the last king to be buried there. Under their pyramid tombs lay 22 kings of Kush, together with their queens, and from the evidence found in these burials their chronological order has been established on a sound

As a purely factual record of the results of the excavations, the report does not present any final conclusions, which are reserved for the last volume of this series. Consequently, this is a work intended only for the student, and indeed only for the student specializing in the archaeology of ancient Kush. Here such a scholar will find the archaeological evidence on which history is based presented with the method and in a form which, in the writer's opinion, is faultless. A record of each tomb is presented as a complete unit consisting of well-executed plans, etc., accompanied by architectural description; then details of the burials, if any, and a full list of the objects and their provenance, together with admirable drawings and with direct reference to the photographic plates at the end of the book. Two very informative charts showing the evolution of the Kushite tomb are presented, but here the reviewer finds cause for criticism. Such an important assembly of material should surely be given more space in a report which certainly does not otherwise show signs of austerity in production. The diagrams on these charts are reproduced on far too small a scale, and thereby they lose considerable value, especially to a student not well versed in architecture.

W. B. EMERY

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PICTURE WRITING IN ANCIENT EGYPT, by Nina M. Davies. Pp. viii + 56, pls. 17 (12 col.). Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, by Oxford University Press, London, 1958. 30s.

I can imagine no more pleasant introduction to Egyptian language and writing than Mrs. Davies' unpretentious book on Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt. Mrs. Davies is not a philologist. Her book is neither a grammar nor a dictionary; it deals with only

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very few of the hundreds of hieroglyphic signs that were used in Egyptian writing. Her approach to the hieroglyphs is that of an artist with an eye trained by many years of faithful rendering of scenes and inscriptions left by ancient Egyptians on the walls of their tombs. Indeed, her slim volume is an excellent brief comment on certain aspects of painting and relief sculpture in the New Kingdom, the period to which her selection of hieroglyphs is confined. But it is more than this. Though no philologist, Mrs. Davies has a profound understanding of the signs she pictures.

That sort of understanding depends hardly at all on knowledge of how the signs are used in the writing of the complex language they express, nor does it depend solely on artistic ability. Scholarship and a good eye and trained hand can be helpful, but something more is needed, a something which Mrs. Davies has acquired through her long sojourn in Egypt in company with her husband, Norman de Garis Davies, one of the great archaeologists of our time. During many years, she has studied ancient Egyptian life as depicted on tomb walls and modern Egyptian life as seen from her tiny house, which still stands in the Theban necropolis. Out of this experience she has gained a sensitivity to the hieroglyphic signs she renders which does not fail to enter into her faithful reproduction of them.

It is well known that the signs used in writing the Egyptian language were originally pictures representing concrete things in the life and landscape of Egypt. While these pictures are formalized, the essentials of what they delineate are usually present in the best writing-birds and beasts and objects of daily use, for example, are easily distinguishable one from the other, and only our lack of knowledge of Egyptian life or artistic convention prevents us from recognizing the originals of certain other (relatively few) signs.

How the signs are used to express language is another matter. The summary of the principles of Egyptian writing on pages 18 and 19 of Mrs. Davies' book, by the late Professor Battiscombe Gunn, is probably one of the shortest statements of the subject in existence and certainly, taking into account its brevity, one of the clearest. This, in conjunction with Mrs. Davies' pictures and descriptions of the signs, aided by her references to Sir Alan Gardiner's great Egyptian Grammar, should be enough to whet the interest of an incipient student or satisfy the curiosity of the layman who wants merely to know "something about the hieroglyphs."

If anything more be needed, there are at the end of the volume five plates in black-and-white with drawings of scenes in which the originals of some of the hieroglyphs are depicted-animals, birds, and plants as they appeared to the Egyptians in nature, tools in the hands of workmen, objects of use or ceremony actually being used. These plates reveal how integral a part of the life of Egypt were the signs used in writing. They also reveal how, through years of studying and copying such scenes, Mrs. Davies has come to her deep appreciation of the picture writing that embellishes them.

ELIZABETH RIEFSTAHL

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DIE BEMALTE KERAMIK DES ZWEITEN JAHRTAUSENDS IN NORDMESOPOTAMIEN UND NORDSYRIEN (Istanbuler Forschungen, Band 19), by Barthel Hrouda, Pp. 70, pls. 17. Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1957.

This small monograph offers a succinct but detailed survey of the various styles of painted pottery used in Western Asia during the second millennium B.C. The author takes the finds from Assur as starting-point but expands to cover an area even larger than his title claims, including wares from Palestine and Anatolia. The two major sections deal with "Nuzi ware" and "Khabur ware" and for each he gives a meticulous description of fabric and technical processes, forms, design motifs and syntax, and discusses their extent, origin, and chronology. The descriptive and analytical sections are clearly presented, and the author has dealt lucidly and sensibly with the complex problems of interrelations of styles and chronology.

For the "Nuzi" style the reviewer prefers the term "Mitannian ware" suggested by R. T. O'Callaghan (Aram Naharaim, Analecta Orientalia 26 [Rome 1948] 72f) but not mentioned by Hrouda. This term avoids confusion with the local variant from any site and emphasizes one of the few indisputable facts about the style: that it is co-extensive with the Mitannian Empire in both space and time. One might suggest also that there is a more fundamental difference between the bulk of this pottery from Mesopotamia and the very elaborate designs of Atchana II than is admitted here: relatively little of the Atchana pottery is illustrated, and that of the simpler types. The chronological investigation is based on the stratification of Atchana and Assur and results in three phases of development: 1500-1370, 1370-1350/40, 1340-1200. This precision (particularly of the second phase) is somewhat suspicious; the dates of the Mycenaean and Cypriote parallels cited are not beyond dispute, and it seems wiser not to attempt to pinpoint a period or style to a twenty-year interval.

The Khabur ware with its simple geometric patterns is dealt with more briefly, and the author has included discussions of other painted wares of Western Asia which bear similar designs. Often it is difficult to see much connection; the North Syrian and Cilician painted wares of the early second millennium have quite different forms, and the plain bands and triangle rows are such universal decorative motifs that they have little value for comparative purposes. The author does not insist on relationships, speaking of the Syrian, Palestinian, and Anatolian sections as an excursus, and one must assume they were included in the mono-

graph merely for the sake of completeness.

Animal representation is given a separate section and the author points out that it plays an insignificant role in the painted design as a whole. In fact, the abstract nature of most of the Mesopotamian design is one of its most notable characteristics.

In the "Zusammenfassung" the author not only summarizes but makes some excellent observations on his material as a whole-e.g., the striking difference between the generally abstract and rectilinear character of most of the styles and the more fluid, naturalistic vegetal and spiraliform design of the Middle Assyrian tradition. (On this subject, see also Thomas Beran, "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, N. F. 18 [1957] 141-215.)

There is a descriptive catalog of the Mitannian and Khabur ware in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museum. Sixteen plates with drawings of representative specimens and motifs of the styles discussed, plus a map showing the geographical distribution of the wares, complete a most useful book. Its small compass cannot disguise the painstaking labor of collecting material and the intelligent analysis of the data involved in its production.

ANN PERKINS

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DIGGING UP JERICHO, by Kathleen M. Kenyon. Pp. 267, pls. 64, text ills. 18. London, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1957; New York, Fred'k. A. Praeger Inc. 30s. and \$5.50 resp.

This book is the interesting, popular account of the work at Jericho in Jordan, directed by Professor Kenyon of the London Institute of Archaeology. The excavations began in 1952, and have continued yearly, the present volume carrying the story through the 1956 campaign. While the book is written so that the non-specialist can find absorbing reading, it is packed with a surprising amount of detail and is a welcome review of the author's work.

Jericho, once of interest only to those who followed the campaigns of the biblical Joshua, now emerges as one of the most significant sites in old world archaeology. In 1935-36 an expedition under the leadership of John Garstang had penetrated into pre-pottery neolithic. The Kenyon expedition has discovered that the mound as it is now known was largely created before the fourth millennium B.C., having been the site of intensive settlement, covering some eight acres in extent and leaving some forty-five feet of deposit. Three main Neolithic phases are now recognized. The first is characterized by beehive houses made of elongatedoval bricks with flat bottoms and ridged tops ("hogbacked"). A remarkable stone city wall surrounded the site, one phase of which still stands six meters high and has associated with it a massive round tower, nine meters in diameter. The wall was erected with a slight slope against debris within, and in type and size can only be compared with revetments of the 17th-

16th centuries. A second phase is characterized by large courtyard houses, the rooms of which are plastered, painted red or cream, and given a high polish. The third phase is marked by the introduction of pottery, simple in shape, the finest examples exhibiting an advanced technique which can scarcely be considered the first stage in pottery-making. Carbon-14 dates suggest that the first phase dates back as early as 7000 B.C., while the second phase begins before 6000 B.C. The third phase, judging from a pattern of Near Eastern dates now emerging, came to an end in the fifth millennium. Space does not permit further description of the contents of the site in this early period. Nothing comparable is known, apart from a much humbler village, Jarmo, unearthed by Braidwood in Iraq. Concerning the author's interpretation of the discoveries, anthropologists will probably debate the insistence that Jericho in the seventh millennium B.C. already exhibits that specialization which distinguishes it as a town, not a village, and that it possesses "all the attributes of civilization, except that of a written language" (contrast Braidwood, Antiquity 21 [1957]

Ceramically, the author labels the earliest pottery phase "Neolithic A," and the next phase "Neolithic B." The latter is little known, stratigraphically, since it appears to have been eroded from the mound in subsequent centuries when the site was not occupied. It is the type of ceramic found by the Garstang expedition in its Level VIII (1936), and is related elsewhere in Palestine, particularly to the "Yarmukian." The author also believes it to be distantly related to the early wares at Byblos, Ras Shamra, Judeidah, Mersin and Hassuna, which appear to fall in the second half of the fifth millennium. To this reviewer both the comparisons and the title, "Neolithic B," are premature and unfortunate. At the moment we know very little about the succession of cultures in Palestine during the millennium between ca. 4500 and 3500 B.C., the latter being the period of the Beersheba-Ghassulian village-settlements. We have only one hint as to the placement of the Yarmukian-Jericho VIII horizon in the northern sequence. That is a correlation with Amuq D which lies between the Syrian reflections of the Mesopotamian Halaf and Obeid cultures. If this holds true, then the Yarmukian-Jericho VIII of Palestine is more probably to be dated in the early fourth millennium and to be labelled "Chalcolithic" rather than "Neolithic." There would thus be a gap in the site's occupation of at least a half millennium both before and after Jericho VIII (cf. the reviewer, BASOR 122 [1951] 52ff).

The next occupation at Jericho is post-Ghassulian, and dates from the end of the fourth millennium to about the twenty-fourth century B.C. The main effort in this, the Early Bronze Age, was the untangling of the many and complex phases of the brick city walls around the summit of the site. Except for the slope above the spring, most of the later debris on the summit had been eroded, but good EB deposits exist in

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relation to the succession of city walls and wall repairs. The latter include the double walls around the site which Garstang thought were those destroyed by Joshua, but which Kenyon found to be EB, the parallel walls being successive, not contemporaneous. Earlier than most of the EB tell deposits were a number of tombs, the most important being Tomb A94. These are treated, together with contemporary materials preceding the First Egyptian Dynasty, under the heading, "The Proto-Urban Age," while, the excavator believes, a new people entered Palestine and ushered in the Early Bronze Age about the time of the First Dynasty. To this reviewer the ceramic analysis on which such a view is based is not entirely satisfactory; it rests too exclusively on the results of work at the one site of Jericho, without a sufficiently detailed analysis of the situation in the country as a whole (cf. the reviewer's article in Eretz Israel, Vol. V).

Like all other known sites in EB Palestine, Jericho suffered violent destruction about the twenty-fourth century B.C. One wave of semi-nomadic invaders occupied the site during the twenty-first and twentieth centuries, and Jericho now provides the most extensive data so far known for a period first stratigraphically interpreted and dated by W. F. Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim. In addition to houses on the tell, 248 tombs of these new people have been excavated. The author names the period "Intermediate EB-MB," rejecting Albright's term "MB I," because the material culture bears no relation to the known Middle Bronze. In her analysis of the culture the author is surely correct in essential points, though the reviewer would prefer to emphasize much more that the new culture is introduced by people who have lived on the borders of the Early Bronze city-states, and ceramic forms are ultimately derived from that source, even though techniques of production, of burial and of architecture differ markedly. As for Professor Kenyon's unilateral introduction of a new and rather awkward term for the culture, I am inclined to doubt its practicability. There is need for a congress of Palestinian archaeologists to discuss our terminological problem and come to a proximate agreement before too much chaos appears. It has been nearly forty years since a semiofficial group attempted with considerable success to do something similar.

The most important discoveries from the Middle Bronze Age at Jericho are the seventeenth and early sixteenth century fortifications, the closest analogy to which was found by the Drew-McCormick expedition at Shechem in 1957, and a remarkable series of undisturbed tombs. Some of the latter contained furniture and various types of food, among many other objects, and are thus of great importance for understanding of the period. The things preserved in the tombs are as unique as they were entirely unexpected. Virtually the whole of the Late Bronze debris was eroded during the subsequent centuries when the mound lay uninhabited, and little remains of it. There was an Israelite occupation, but little is known of it

either, except for a government granary (unmentioned in this book), unearthed before the first war by the Sellin-Watzinger expedition, and a number of private houses, dated mostly to the seventh century. Occupation ceased at the site after the Babylonian destruction of 587 B.C.

This review scarcely does justice to the importance of Professor Kenyon's work, nor to the new and excellent techniques which she employed to secure her results. One of the worst-used mounds in Palestine has finally yielded a large portion of its exciting secrets. Hearty expressions of gratitude and of congratulations are due its distinguished excavator and her staff.

G. ERNEST WRIGHT

HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL

A CATALOGUE OF THE NIMRUD IVORIES WITH OTHER EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN IVORIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by R. D. Barnett. Pp. 19 + 252, figs. 92, frontispiece + pls. cxxxii. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1957. £, 8.8.

Preceding the discussion and catalogue of the ivories is a concise account of the excavations at Nimrud. from those of Layard and Loftus in the middle of the 19th century B.C. which yielded most of the pieces now in the British Museum, to M. E. L. Mallowan's fourth campaign of 1952, as well as an outline of the development of Syrian and Phoenician art. The outline, an expansion of the ideas first proposed by Barnett in Iraq II (1935) 179-98 and PEQ (1939) 4-19, presents a genesis of the two styles from their inception in the third millennium B.C. to their manifestation in the ivories of the first. In this attempt to separate the different strains that contributed to the formation of Syrian art, Barnett deals with the important problems presently being debated in the art and archaeology of Anatolia and Syria, such as the origins of Hittite art, its relation to the art of North Syria and the definition of its school of ivory carving.

Two ivories found at Boğazköy, once the Hittite capital Hattuša, were published after the appearance of this book: a small statuette of a mountain god (K. Bittel, Boğazköy III [Berlin 1957] pls. 23-25) and a roundel with various animals and monsters surrounding a sphinx (MDOG 89 [1957] p. 15, Abb. 7, a, b). Though differing in style, both tend to support Barnett's contention of the existence of ivory work produced under the Hittites (p. 35).

Another set of highly controversial problems concerns the Hurrian style in the art of North Syria and North Mesopotamia. Some would deny its existence (see p. 41, note 7). Barnett, however, feels that the Hurrian ethnic element is primarily responsible for definite features in the art of the just mentioned regions, and would ascribe to it the glyptic style of the Mitannian Empire which stresses ritual representations, especially those including a sacred tree.

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A feature which Barnett considers to be distinctive of Hurrian art is the physiognomy of the human beings which it illustrates; "the enormous eyes, protruding nose, and small, pinched mouth . . ." (p. 42).

The reviewer agrees with Barnett in such a distinction of Hurrian features in North Syrian and North Mesopotamian art to which she would add the three-dimensional stylization of human and animal bodies into simplified geometric forms, cubes, cones, cylinders and globes as in the statue of Idri-mi (p. 42, fig. 6a).

This geometric stylization is also found in the well-relief from Assur included by Barnett in his discussion of products of Hurrian art. The author points out that here the sacred tree is "reduced to mere branches in the hands of a mountain god, perhaps Aššur himself" (p. 41). In support of Barnett's suggestion, attention may again be drawn to a cylinder seal in the Walters Art Gallery showing a god holding a branch with the name of the god Aššur in the inscription (Iraq 6 [1939] no. 54), discussed by the reviewer in AASOR 24, p. 111.

The author also considers the stylization of the hindquarter muscles of lions into an ornament of flame-like pattern to be a characteristic feature of Hurrian art which ultimately influenced the sculptures of Tell Halaf and the Loftus group of ivories (p. 43). Helene Kantor, however, has made a convincing case for the derivation of this feature from Mycenaean sculpture (JNES 15 [July 1956] 174).

Following the discussion of Syrian art, Barnett locates the origin of the Loftus group of ivories in Hamath, which was not only a powerful Syrian kingdom but also an artistic center before its destruction by Sargon in 720 B.C. The date of the ivories is conservatively placed between the end of the 9th and the end of the 8th centuries B.C. although the author considers the latter date more likely.

In the treatment of Phoenician art, which is briefer than that of the more controversial Syrian, one of the most interesting sections is "Phoenicia in the Iron Age" (pp. 58-62) in which Barnett derives from the Bible and from Greek texts information concerning the use of ivories and their significance in the economy and society of the period.

The dating of the Layard series of ivories which Barnett considers to have been Phoenician (in contrast to the Syrian Loftus group), follows only after a detailed discussion of the original function of these ivories and a survey of similar collections: Megiddo, Sebastiya (Samaria), Zincirli, Arslan-Tash, Khorsabad, Kala'at-es-Shergat (Assur), Samos, Crete, Rhodes and Palestrina (Praeneste). At this point (pp. 133-35) Barnett suggests that most of the Layard group pieces are parts "of an ivory ritual bed, made originally for Ja'u-bi'di, King of Hamath, in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. . . ."

These samples must suffice to give an idea of the thoroughness with which Barnett treats the subject of ivory carving in the Near East and of the new insights and stimulating thoughts with which his pres-

entation scintillates. His encyclopaedic knowledge, attention to detail and sound logic, however, are most evident in his discussion of Syrian and Phoenician iconography in the ivories of the Loftus group and Layard series. In many instances he provides the first acceptable interpretation of Syrian motifs, in others he furnishes a firmer basis for earlier and more tentative explanations. A good example of this is his interpretation of the griffin as a seraph, a "burning creature" which he derives from an Egyptian name for the monster (p. 74). Though the philological evidence presented may be open to discussion, there are more lines of reasoning on an iconographical basis which support Barnett's interpretation. Attention may be drawn, for instance, to the relation between the Syrian griffin and the fire-spewing, winged lion-dragon of earlier Mesopotamian art. While griffins serve as support for the throne of Aphlad, the son of the Syrian storm-god Hadad at Dura (mentioned by Barnett, p. 75), fire-spewing, winged dragons serve as the mounts of storm or weather-gods on "Hurrian" seal impressions from Nuzi, c. 1400 B.C. (AASOR 24, nos. 712, 715, text pp. 56-57). The latter representations are survivals of Akkadian ones of the 24th-22nd centuries B.c., showing weather-gods standing on winged dragons (e.g., H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals [London 1939] pl. XXII a, e). Moreover, the functions of the lion-dragon depicted on seals of the Old Babylonian period, c. 19th-17th centuries B.C., in which the creature is associated with both the weather-god Hadad (OIP XXII, no. 220) and with Nergal, god of War and Netherworld (Corpus Anc. N.E. Seals . . . I [1948] 44), parallels the association of the griffin with the god of storm and war, proposed by Barnett (p. 75) as well as the monster's connection with the Netherworld concluded earlier by Frankfort (BSA 37 [1936-37] 106-122). These parallelisms between griffin and winged liondragon suggest a relationship between the monsters both composed of lion and eagle; they indicate furthermore that if the lion-dragon is associated with the fire which he vomits, the griffin would probably share such an association and be correctly identified as a "burning creature."

Equally convincing is Barnett's association of the sphinx with the goddess Astarte, not only in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as shown by H. Seyrig (Syria 10 [1929] 314-356, mentioned by Barnett, p. 84, note 1) but also in the Early Iron age and perhaps even before that time. As noted by the author, this identification of the sphinxes makes Solomon's decorations of the Holy of Holies in the temple at Jerusalem by cherubim, the Hebrew term for these monsters, an even more glaring infraction of the Commandment.

For persons unfamiliar with the uncertainties of ancient Near Eastern iconography, however, it should be added that even the convincing interpretations here exemplified ultimately remain conjectural because they cannot be supported by identifying inscriptions on the objects discussed.

The catalogue of the ivories which are actually in

the British Museum is arranged according to the location in which they were found, while the plates unite as far as possible pieces with similar style and motif. In general the drawings and reconstructions are most helpful. In one case to which C. K. Wilkinson drew the reviewer's attention (T 26, pls. cxvi, cxvii), however, the reconstruction is erroneous with the two fragments of the king's lower body placed apart instead of joined, giving an exaggeratedly curved silhouette to the back of the figure. An erroneous join also appears in the lower panel.

The numerous errors in plate, figure and object numbers found throughout the book are sad evidence that a scholar of Barnett's stature is not provided with sufficient clerical help.

Finally, a word of gratitude might be added for the fact that in contrast to some recent American and German publications, price and size of this indispensable book are still within the reach of the average scholar in the field.

EDITH PORADA

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Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi, by Sydney P. Noe. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 136. Pp. 44, pls. 15. American Numismatic Society, New York, 1956.

The first of the two hoards in the title contained one Croesus half-stater and 254 sigloi, all of the sigloi being of the type of the king holding spear and bow. Hoard II, the earlier, comprised 652 coins: 212 half-staters of Croesus, the rest sigloi: 53 with the half figure of the king; 260 with the king as archer and 127 of the same type as those of Hoard I, the king with

Mr. Noe's innovation of arranging each type of siglos by the distinctive reverse punch-marks greatly facilitates the classification of these coins. The punches had a long life. In Hoard I the same punch (reworked) appeared on 117 coins. In Hoard II 39 reverses of the archer type are from a single die and 77 of the "spearmen" also have a common reverse. A thorough study of the sigloi punches whose significance Mr. Noe has emphasized, should give a true chronological sequence within each type as well as of the types themselves. The sequence of types earlier suggested by E. S. G. Robinson was: 1) half-figure; 2) archer; 3) spearman with bow. Mr. Noe, judging from the form of the punches, reverses the order of the first two types, but there is agreement on the third. This type however, king with spear, is subdivided into lighter, earlier and later, heavier issues. All the coins of this type, in Hoard II, seem to be of the lighter weight, those in Hoard I of the heavier, suggesting an interval of time between the amassing of the two hoards. The author suggests no dates for the duration of any type, nor for the introduction of the higher weight standard.

The monograph is primarily an excellent exposition of the contents of the two hoards, and in making such good use of the often-neglected punch-marks is an important contribution to numismatics. The short excursus into the method of making blanks for these coins is somewhat disappointing. The speculation on whether dariks of the half-figure and archer types were ever struck may be valid for the former, but there is no uncertainty about the latter. Dariks of the archer type though very rare are known from several specimens. One example is in the collection of the University Museum at Philadelphia.

DOROTHY H. COX

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

OLYMPISCHE FORSCHUNGEN III, DREIFUSSKESSEL VON OLYMPIA, by *Franz Willemsen* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). Pp. viii + 193, pls. 95. Verlag Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin, 1957.

The best part of this book is without question the illustrations, ninety-five plates of good photographs, depicting some of the most attractive metal work ever seen in Greek lands. The only complete tripod-cauldrons shown are rather plain, and it seems a pity not to have included a reconstruction of one of the more elaborate examples, but this book is intended for specialists. It is certainly the most difficult book about metal objects that I have tried to understand, and in places I shall have to record failure.

It is clear from Willemsen's admirable sections that his sequences are founded on shape, and with the early part of the sequence for legs I am in general agreement (pp. 4-28, Summary p. 54); but here we stumble on the first difficulty. It is obviously vital to co-relate plates and sections but there is no tabulated list of either: there is a register of some eight hundred museum numbers, extending to five digits and not in numerical order. The numbers on a section are listed near the section and those lists give the plates, but the way from plates to sections is hard. There is no index.

The classification of handles defeats me. In the description of the sections (p. 28), "Strickhenkel" applies to those of fig. 6, "Kerbenhenkel" to most of those in fig. 7: in the Summary (55) Kerbenhenkel are said to have strickmüstern and so has another category called Schnurhenkel. It is all too difficult. Except for "hammered" to designate sheet metal, our writer sternly and perhaps wisely avoids metallurgical terms, but I do not find "notched" a happy description of decoration obtained by casting. It also seems a pity to describe as "in relief" decoration much of which is clearly in intaglio. Some term like "other decorative motives" would have been safer.

I gratefully accept W.'s correction (53) about an Olympia tripod (pl. 22 B. 4195): zigzag and not a lion

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Dunnwandige Gerät (Thin-walled gear), does not seem a happy category to include both a tripod-leg with the section of the Delos tripod (first on p. 78), and legs and handles of sheet-metal, but let that pass. Let us turn to the most original part of W.'s book, his dating. He points to the typological resemblance between the handles of the tripod-lebes from Mycenae, clay Protogeometric tripods from the Kerameikos and the Olympia series. To this he adds a stylistic resemblance of a simple, rope-like handle of the small Mycenae tripod and of large, complicated handles at Olympia (pl. 7). For these reasons he brings down the date of the tripod-cauldron found in the ruins of Mycenae to the dark ages, and raises the date of the Olympia series to derive from it. That is to say that the Greeks started this glorious and costly series of solid castings at Olympia, requiring a large import of copper, at the time when their foreign trade, their practice in metallurgy, their practice of the other arts was at its very lowest. They appear to have begun with large, highly decorated and most complicated versions (pl. 7). It is unlikely that the tripod-lebes found at Mycenae entered the ruins after the fall: the evidence is against an important Protogeometric occupation of the site. The origin of that vertical handle is clearly a piece of rope thrust through the handle of a cooking pot which had become too hot to hold. A similar thing happened again about 700 B.C. when a ring was put through a dinos handle. What is important and unique is the huge size and magnificent decoration of many of the handles and legs at Olympia. There is little evidence of wealth in Greece between the end of the Mycenaean epoch and 800 B.C., and 80 it is unlikely that the series of large, decorative tripodcauldrons began much, if at all, before 800 B.C. I confess I can see little resemblance between bronze patterns and those on Attic vases cited by W. before 800 B.C., and what I can see appears fortuitous.

In locating factories for tripod-cauldrons, their enormous weight, and the frailty of their lifting handles and some of their ornaments, must be considered. Olympia is a day's march from the sea by high-road and unburdened. It is unlikely that wheeled traffic was available and a tripod-cauldron would fit badly on a mule. It was obviously intended to be carried on a pole between two men, and the more delicate handles might not survive prolonged strain. Moreover, on some handles, the inside of the ring is cluttered with ornament, and so it could not have been used for lifting. I have no doubt that many tripods at Olympia and Delphi, like large statues in later times, were made by bronze casters on the spot; so different schools of art may have been represented. W. rejects Attica as a source of tripods, because no one has ever suggested it; but it's high time that Attic artists should be considered. All the comparative dating material mentioned or illustrated by W., and most of the material similarly used by me, comes from Attica. The Attic vase painters were devoted to tripod-cauldrons; it is inevitable that some tripods must have been made before their eyes.

Others have already compared rampant lions at Olympia (pl. 63), to an Attic vase painting of Herakles and the lion. One might compare the style of the lions of the Lion Painter. I have no doubt that Athenian bronze casters worked at Olympia before Pheidias.

One small detail about wheeled tripods: in Ithaca and Crete a hub was cast on both sides of a tripod leg to receive a wheel: in Olympia the small boring, low on the front of a tripod leg (pl. 50), would better accommodate a lion's foot.

Too much of this book is concerned with the detailed description and classification of Geometric motives, which many writers find so exhilarating. Many readers may prefer to rely upon the illustrations which, as I have said, are the cream of the book.

SYLVIA BENTON

OXFORD

THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION. VOL. IV, PART 3. THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS IN CYPRUS, by O. Vessberg and A. Westholm. Pp. xxxiii + 264, figs. 65, pls. 24. 1956.

A good many years have elapsed since the Swedish Cyprus Expedition was making archaeological news, and it may therefore be useful to review the plan of publication. The excavations were carried out between 1927 and 1931, and the first three volumes, each with its massive set of plates, were written as fast as the earth was removed, and published (one guesses) as fast as the Swedish forests could be cut down and turned into paper. Volume I was devoted chiefly to Bronze Age sites, Volume II to the Iron Age and Classical period, and Volume III to Hellenistic and Roman times. These volumes contained mostly unstudied material, made available to the public with rare generosity. Volume IV was to be issued in three parts, corresponding to the periods of the first three volumes, and presenting final conclusions, along with comparative material from Cyprus and elsewhere. Of these three parts, Professor Gjerstad's volume (IV, 2) on the Iron Age, Archaic, and Classical periods appeared soon after Volume III; with the publication of the volume now under review we have only to await the conclusions on the Bronze Age (IV, 1), and parts of these have in fact appeared as monographs.

The present volume begins with Westholm's study of Cypriote architecture in Hellenistic and Roman times. Here all that is really new is the useful section called Architectural Relations. The rest is chiefly devoted to the Soli temples (already discussed by the same author in his *Temples of Soli*, 1936) and to tomb architecture, a section which only reminds us how much time and money the expedition wasted clearing tombs. Westholm's other contributions are a chapter on pottery and one on terracotta sculpture. The discussion of pottery is very good indeed, and the author has used to good purpose other studies of

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similar wares, particularly the excellently published pottery from Tarsus. It becomes, however, increasingly clear that we must someday have a good publication of pottery from Italy itself before we can really discuss "Roman" pottery found elsewhere. Nevertheless, excavators (in Cyprus, at least) will now have their problems greatly clarified by this study and the fine drawings which accompany it.

Most of the remainder of the volume, originally assigned to Westholm, has been taken over by Olaf Vessberg, Keeper of the Cyprus Collection in Stockholm, and is competently executed. His first chapter is on sculpture, a difficult problem in Cyprus. The author has here given us much that is new, and has greatly supplemented the unpromising Swedish material with sculptures from the Cesnola collection, the Cyprus Museum, the British Museum, and other more scattered sources. Most of it is still, alas, depressing, but the plates are enlivened by such rare fine pieces as the Arsos head, the male portrait in Nicosia, the great bronze of Septimius Severus, and the extraordinary Helena in Paris.

The long chapter called "Other Arts and Crafts" contains, along with jewelry and various odds and ends, two basic studies, one (with the disconcerting title "Lamp") which presents a good synthesis of Cypriote lamps in Hellenistic and Roman times, and the other a really major treatment of glass from Cyprus (which had, however, already appeared in slightly different form in OpuscArch 7, [1952] 190ff).

ferent form in OpuscArch 7 [1952] 109ff).

Vessberg's final chapter, "Summary and Historical Survey," is a fairly successful attempt to write the history of Cyprus from literary sources in the periods under discussion and to supplement them with such archaeological material as is relevant. At the very end, the late Gudmund Björk corrects a previous reading of a metrical inscription from Soli, to change a "hymn to Aphrodite" into an acrostic oracle!

To conclude, the volume shows the faults of the rest of the Swedish publication, but also contributes greatly to its excellences. For faults, the foremost (and most serious) is that Cyprus is presented to us in a pseudo-mechanical manner—a manner which marshals, arranges, and sets in artificial order the material remains left by ancient Cypriotes, the while rarely stopping by the way for a glance at the people who produced them. Yet this latter is the proper aim of archaeology, which is a humanistic and not a scientific discipline. But the remains are, at least, set in order, drawn, photographed, described, studied, and dated (for almost the first time); this in itself was a gigantic task, and a task which is now nearly completed.

J. H. Young

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Nuove scoperte sulla storia di Coo, by *Giancarlo Susini*. Studi di Archeologia e Storia Antica, I, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università di

Bologna, Istituto di Archeologia. Pp. 54, maps 2. 1957.

This brief, general account of those phases of the history of Cos clarified by recent archaeological investigation worthily introduces a new series of studies in archaeology and ancient history issued by the University of Bologna. It discusses the city of Cos, founded by a synoecism in 366 B.C., and the basis of its prosperity in the Hellenistic Period rather than the Asklepieion for which the island is better known. The city, on the northeast coast of the island, was little known archaeologically until the severe earthquake of 1932 enabled study, for the ancient harbor area had been overbuilt by a Crusader's castle and the residential quarters by the Turkish and modern town. Its remains were found to accord well with the descriptions of Strabo (14.2.19) and of Diodorus (15.76.2): in antiquity Cos was a picturesque and prosperous little port serving not only as a harbor for the pilgrims who came to the Asklepieion, but prospering as a commercial depot and banking center for Ptolemies and Italian merchants. Unlike many Greek cities, such as its neighbor Rhodes, Cos did not suffer from the effects of the Roman conquest and civil wars, but entered the period of imperial peace in a flourishing condition.

Susini's reconstruction is made by a description of the city's topography (pp. 9-19), a discussion of the causes of the synoecism (pp. 20-24) and an account of its economy in the late Hellenistic Period when it created a somewhat distinctive Coan culture (pp. 25-39). The residential quarters of the city were enclosed by a finely built and engineered wall about the time of the synoecism (ca. 350 B.C.) and were connected to the small closed port by an agora and group of sanctuaries. A special fortification guarded the port as at Rhodes. On the basis of the plan and house remains the population is calculated at less than 300 families, a total of 2000-3000 inhabitants. Both plan (Hippodamian) and population seem to have remained remarkably stable, despite the very obvious prosperity of the port in the Hellenistic Period when it was rebuilt in marble from the nearby quarries.

The synoccism is reasonably linked to a social and political contest between conservative landowners, possibly centered at the older Doric town of Astypalaea in the southwestern part of the island, and the more democratic and commercially minded citizens. Even before the synoccism the latter had begun to cluster near the Asklepicion and the future city to take advantage of the growing popularity of the one and the commercial possibilities of the other, adjacent to the main shipping route along the coast of Asia Minor. On this economic basis and, also, with the protection of asylia granted because of the sanctuary, Cos became the wealthy little port glowingly described by Diodorus and Strabo: "The city is small, but planned best of all others and fairest in the eyes of those sailing in."

CARL ROEBUCK

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GREEK ANTIQUITIES AT UTRECHT I (Archaeologica Traiectina, edita ab Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae Instituto Archaeologico I). Pp. 20, pls. 8. J. B. Walters, Groningen, 1957.

This tiny volume initiates an unusual and commendable project, the complete publication of a small collection, that of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Utrecht. It contains four articles. Three are by J. H. Jongkees: Marmor Smyrnense, a funerary stele in Greek of imperial times, in Holland since the eighteenth century; Two Boeotian Geometric Vases; and A Gnathia Alabastron. The fourth is A Fragment by the Jena Painter, by Regina M. Dippel. There is also a list of items previously published. The series will include monographs, one of which, Roman Glass from Dated Finds, by C. Isings, has appeared.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

LES TIMBRES AMPHORIQUES DE THASOS, by Anne-Marie Bon and Antoine Bon, with the collaboration of Virginia Grace. (École Française d'Athènes, Études Thasiennes IV). Pp. 542. Librairie E. de Boccard, Paris, 1957.

It is unnecessary to insist on the importance of the jar stamps, impressions made by a stamp seal on the soft clay of pottery before firing. Whatever purpose or purposes they may have served at the time, they remain for the excavator in vast quantities as an objective and imperishable record of chronology and of commercial relationships. They contribute usefully and generously to our store of localized personal names and to our knowledge of ancient sigillography, a humbler counterpart of the coinage in this, with information which no historian of art can afford to neglect.

It is equally true that they are difficult to deal with and are frightening to investigators in great part by their very numbers, and yet it has long been recognized that only complete and basic collections and publications of types and categories would make their evidence usable. This was especially true of the "timbres amphoriques," the impressions found on the great amphorae of the Greek and Hellenistic East which were used as commercial containers for grains, liquids, and pickled products. If the round bellied pithoi, buried up to their necks in the earth, were the storage vessels of the ancients, the tall and narrow amphorae with the two large handles which gave them their name were the primary means of transport, easy to lift and carry on the backs of donkeys and compact to store in the hulls of ships. The stamps impressed ordinarily on one or both of the handles, and more rarely elsewhere, served as an indication of origin, and most of these can be traced to a comparatively small number of areas, South Russia, Chersonesus in the Crimea, Cnidos,

Rhodes, and Thasos. While it is likely that many amphorae were re-used and travelled away from their primary destinations, the places of finding (especially in some quantity) are those where trade went. But while every economic historian has used this material, its proper handling has demanded a specialist of skill and devotion. For the past several years, Miss Grace has dedicated herself to this task, and this sumptuous and definitive publication of the Thasian stamps would have been impossible without her wide and tireless researches. The present volume is a product of the French School at Athens and of Professor and Madame Bon, but it owes much to their American collaborator.

For this is not a publication of the Thasian amphorae as such nor of the amphora stamps found in the excavations at Thasos but a catalogue of the stamps wherever found, and while the authors contemplate the eventual publication of a supplement containing such stamps as they, modestly, expect to have overlooked, it is very unlikely that such will be needed in the foreseeable future. (The volume includes, as a matter of fact, only Thasian material found by the end of 1951. Extensive supplements have appeared in the BCH of 1953, 1954, and 1958.) They lament, as we all must, their inability to have access to the collections of the Communist countries, but otherwise ancient sites and museums have been ransacked, as their table on pages 537f shows, and the published record has been fully exploited. The evidence varies in density from the single example found at Dura to the thousands from the north shores of the Aegean and the Black Seas, from Delos and Alexandria. Rhodes itself, a major rival in the production of amphorae of its own, has yielded a large number, although none is listed as coming from Cnidos.

Whenever attested, the stamp impressions have been

sorted and compared and are presented in four great lists as follows: stamps containing names only (nos. 1-84); similar stamps accompanied by a second stamp (nos. 85-88); stamps with names and one or more attributes (nos. 89-2124; all of these are identified with the ethnic Thasion); stamps of similar type but without ethnic (nos. 2125-2145); and stamps bearing monograms only (nos. 2146-2232). The last two categories were identified as Thasian by the clay or the shape of the jars. For the sake of completeness, two additional lists give impressions found at Thasos but probably not Thasian (but not including those which are identified as other than Thasian, nos. 2233-2272), and graffiti scratched on the jar after firing (nos. 2273-2274: the word "pirates" and the picture of a ship with lateen sail). Each stamp is listed in the alphabetical order of the names it contains with a statement of the number and identity of the jars which carry it. Many are attested only once, but others occur commonly: five, six, seven, eight, and even ten times, this last (no. 573) bearing a hand extended to the right and the name Deinopas, common in Thasos.

In an introduction, the authors discuss their material conservatively. It is not possible as yet to discover the relative chronology of the stamps, but in view of the continued popularity of the Thasian wines, it is likely that they cover the period from the earlier Hellenistic period down into the later Roman Empire. Some, of course, are dated by their context. The two from Olynthus are evidently early, while those from the Hellenistic Near East are later; but these contestations have not led to anything generally useful. The personal names are those of Thasos, but no individual can be certainly identified, and they are hardly officials: commonly there are two names in the nominative case, and only two stamps with the name of Megon give a dating formula (epi with the genitive). Presumably, the persons named were producers of wine, oil, grain, or whatever other product was so packaged. The attributes are of the types familiar from coins, in most cases, but do not seem to have been intended as a conscious reflection of coin types; they are fully listed in the Index, pages 531-536. The most common are those suggesting an association with either oil or wine, or with religion, but these are not in the majority of the total number of attributes, and many have no suggested associations: human figures or parts of the body, animals and insects, implements and weapons, and the very common star. The authors regard them as without significance for the contents of the amphorae and as chosen simply according to the arbitrary inclination of the individual producers. Where there are two or more attributes represented, they seem to bear no sensible relation to each other, and here it may be suggested (one of the few possibilities not considered by the authors) that these are later than the stamps with a single attribute. Later producers may have wished to distinguish their brand from their predecessors.

In sum, this is a masterly presentation of an important body of material, and there will be few who will find combinations or interpretations which the authors have overlooked. I have only one comment in general, which may well be without relevance. Storage and transport containers made of baked clay occur both with and without a bitumen lining, the presence or absence of which suggests that the container was designed to hold liquid or dry contents. I did not find the matter mentioned. Doubtless it was unknown to the authors in many cases, especially where only the stamped handle of the amphora was preserved or published. As evidence for the trade of Thasos, the publication will stand as a definitive record-although it is curious that only one impression comes from the West (Tarentum, no. 136), where we know from the Roman writers that the vinum Thasium was popular. In Egypt, in contrast, the references in the Zenon papyri explain the large number of Thasian amphorae in Egyptian collections.

There is no doubt, also, that the publication will serve as a model for future publications of the other amphora stamps, to which, in spite of the difficulty

of the task, we may look forward confidently now that the way has been charted. The authors deserve and will receive our continued gratitude.

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Excavations at Nessana, Volume III: Non-Literary Papyri, by *Casper J. Kraemer, Jr.* Pp. xxiii + 355, pls. 8. Princeton University Press, 1958. \$7.50.

This volume is the second to appear in the series on the excavations by the Colt Archaeological Expedition at Auja Hafir (Nessana) in the Negeb in Palestine. The first was Volume II: Literary Papyri, by L. Casson and E. L. Hettich (reviewed in AJA 55 [1951] 438f by G. Downey). Nessana I will present the archaeological monuments.

The non-literary papyri (PColt 14-195, of which 97-195 are fragments of minor interest) fall into two groups, one from the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, the other from the last quarter of the 7th century. Their significance, as the author points out, is due to the fact that they come from outside of Egypt and that they furnish evidence for the early period of Moslem administration. Because their importance will attract the interest of others besides papyrologists, Kraemer has avoided, so far as possible, the use of technical terms and employed a style distinguished by its clarity.

The texts are preceded by a valuable introduction, containing an account of the discovery of the papyri, a description of the five archives in which they can be classified, a short sketch of the churches and the status of education in Nessana and a historical survey of the village and its fort. The majority of the 6th century papyri are the personal legal papers of soldiers who were attached to the fort, members apparently of a camel corps, which Kraemer estimates at 200 men. They are varied in nature, a marriage settlement, a divorce agreement, an affidavit issued by a military official, documents concerned with changes in the ownership of property and loans of money. The author has interpreted the texts with imaginative acumen, making use also of the available archaeological evidence, as when he explains the three-arched room of no. 22 by ancient and modern parallels in Palestine or connects no. 47 with indications of the importance of fish in the diet of the inhabitants of Nessana.

Of major importance for knowledge of ancient agriculture in the Negeb are the references to vine-yards and arable land (31, 32), the account of the grain yield (82) and the records of sales of dates (90, 91). The place of caravan trade in the economic life of Nessana is vividly reconstructed by the author, who sees the activities of a trading company in 89, of Egyptian traders in 90, and a caravanserai in the house with 96 beds and a vacant lot in 31. Donations to a

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church (79, 80) and pilgrimages to Mt. Sinai (72, 73) witness to the religious life of the community. The papyri after the Arab conquest relate to taxes particularly, including the series of requisitions upon the community by the governor (60-67), of which the Greek texts have already been published by Bell, a letter organizing an appeal for tax relief by the towns in the district (75) and a list of payers of poll tax (76), which allows a maximum estimate of 1500 for the population of Nessana ca. 689.

Papyrologists will appreciate the painstaking skill which has gone into the decipherment and restoration of these difficult texts. Dr. Florence E. Day has prepared and translated the Arabic texts of the nine bilingual papyri. In the notes to 92, 14 read Plate 8F, not D; 18, D, not E (in 2nd reference, omit 1st); 34, 37, 43, E, not F.

GERTRUDE MALZ

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THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE "RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN" AT LEYDEN (PROEFSCHRIFT), by Henri Willy Pleket. Pp. xvi + 104, pls. 16. E. J. Brill, London, 1958.

Most of the Greek inscriptions in the Museum at Leyden come from Smyrna and vicinity and belong to the Roman period. Many of them have been published before, but there remained a sufficiently great number to serve as the subject of a doctoral dissertation and to fill this handsomely printed volume. The editor has certainly earned his degree, he has performed a valuable service, and he has given us a competent and reliable publication. It is a pleasure to note that he worked under Woodhead at Cambridge, that he consulted Keil and Maresch at Vienna, and that he studied carefully the work of Louis Robert.

The volume is arranged according to groups of related texts. The first contains three Gladiator inscriptions which supplement (and in one point correct) the fundamental work of L. Robert. The second section contains two inscriptions with three new names of clubs; Πήγασοι (Pleket was unnecessarily worried about this name, pp. 9-10; the members of the brother-hood called themselves "Pegasoi" as others call themselves "Falcons" or "Lions"), Φιλοκαισάρειοι, and Φιλογρίππαι (Pleket accentuates this word on the last syllable).

The largest section contains the epitaphs (nos. 6-53). Pleket went astray in the commentary on No. 7, and his retraction on p. 46 does not suffice. No. 7 is the base of a statue of Agathe Tyche (see OGIS 5\(^85\)5, note 2; R.E., s.v. Tyche, cols. 1674-6), "dated" by a general (see Syll.\(^8\), 1263), and erected by the Oikonomos (see R.E., s.v. Oikonomos) Diodoros. With so much information available, it should be possible to identify the place of origin of this inscription. It is doubtful, moreover, whether No. 7 is really later than No. 5

which is engraved on the same stone. May Pleket solve this problem himself,

In another epitaph (No. 30), Pleket does not seem to have noticed that 'Αμαλώιχος (Pleket accentuates 'Αμαλωίχος) is related to the common Boeotian name 'Ομολώιχος. Also, I do not understand the dative Αΐακι in No. 48; this should probably be Αἰάκι = Αἰάκη.

After a small number of dedications and honorary inscriptions (Nos. 54-56), the important group of decrees (Nos. 57-65) closes the publication. Pleket rightly devoted most of the space to a letter of Augustus concerning the preservation of public and sacred land and property. Readers of his long commentary (pp. 49-66) will profit from consulting also A. H. M. Jones, The Greek City, especially pp. 245-47, and J. H. Oliver, The Ruling Power, pp. 972-80. It seems to me that the Leyden inscription is an important piece of evidence to show that the policy described by Oliver does indeed go back to Augustus; see my comments in Phoenix 8 (1954) 165. I also wonder why Pleket did not associate the list of Romans in his collection (No. 60) with the fragment of a similar list reprinted by him on p. 62.

The book contains not only full indices but also four Appendices, giving up-to-date references for the two earlier publications of the Leyden inscriptions by Janssen (Appendix I) and Leemans (Appendix II), a separate treatment of the metrical inscriptions prepared with the expert help of Peek (Appendix III), and finally a publication of two Attic inscriptions, IG II², 5416 and 7864 (Appendix IV); for the latter, the Corpus number of which Pleket fails to give, see now D. Hereward, BSA 47, p. 114 = SEG XII, 84, line 72.

The first Appendix contains (pp. 83-84, no. 4) an hitherto unidentified Attic inscription the first two lines of which Vanderpool correctly restored; Pleket himself failed to recognize the name of the honored person. This name can be confidently restored with the help of IG II², 3189; $Mevekp[ai\tau\eta V K\eta\nu\sigma\omega]peivou$ $\Phi[a\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon a]$. Pleket gives the dimensions of this stone but he does not describe it; it is, therefore, uncertain whether the left edge is preserved.

A. E. RAUBITSCHEK

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THE DIONYSIAC MYSTERIES OF THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN AGE, by Martin P. Nilsson. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 8°, V. Pp. viii + 150, figs. 37 in text. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1957. Swedish Crs. 30. DM 25, 80.

The religion of Dionysos has been treated by the author in his *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Otto, part II, Abt. V, I, pp. 532-68 and 578-82 (1941); II, pp. 94-95, 152-53, and 341-50 (1950). Other recent writings

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are: H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos, Histoire du culte de Bacchus (Paris 1951). Adrien Bruhl, Liber Pater (Paris 1953). Origine et Expansion du Culte Dionysiaque à Rome et dans le Monde Romain. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome No. 175. Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, VI, 2 Part VIII, "Wine," Pantheon Books, Bollingen Series XXXVII (New York 1956) pp. 13-93, figs. 187-269.

The new book distinguishes itself from the earlier ones by discussing only the later period of the Dionysiac mysteries. The author has treated these in his History of the Greek Religion as well as in four papers, which have appeared in three languages in four different periodicals. Now he has reworked them all into a coherent whole with many additions based chiefly on inscriptions and on works of art. The former come chiefly from Asia Minor, the latter from Italy. Among the writers Plutarch is used most frequently. He describes the orgia of the Attic Thyiads in Delphi, which began in the classical period, but survived into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as they did in Magnesia on the Meander, in Miletus and several other places in Asia Minor. While they were originally only celebrated by women, men were later admitted. The inscriptions show great variety in the Dionysiac festivals and cults. The leader could dress as Dionysos, as did Mark Antony, when he came to Ephesos, where the women greeted him dressed as Bacchants and the men as Satyrs (Plutarch, Antonius 24). In Egypt the Ptolemies favored the cult of Dionysos. Ptolemy Philadelphos instituted the gorgeous procession described by Kallixenos in Athenaeus 5, pp. 196-203 (Nilsson, p. 11f), and he was interested in the Dionysiac mysteries.

The most lively interest in Dionysiac mysteries, however, is found in Italy (pp. 12ff). In Magna Graecia Dionysos was combined with Demeter and Kore, and with them he came to Rome in 496 B.C.; the three were renamed Ceres, Libera and Liber. An inscription of the fifth century from Cumae (fig. 1) forbids those who have not been initiated to be buried in a certain place. The admission of men led to misuse of the Bacchic frenzy, as is several times mentioned in Plautus. The scandalous affair described in Livy 39.8ff (see Nilsson, 14f and Bruhl, Liber Pater 82-116), led to the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, which forbade the Bacchanalia and the performance of secret rites in public or private places. The public cult of Bacchus continued, and Caesar is said to have again introduced the Bacchic mysteries in Rome (p. 20). Their character was, however, changed. The fanaticism and the ecstatic celebrations in public places were replaced by regulated ceremonies indoors.

New symbols were introduced, particularly the liknon (Ch. III, pp. 21ff). It was originally an agricultural and household basket, with one small end open and the sides rising towards the other end. It was used for winnowing and for carrying objects, including babies. It could be used in a wedding procession for carrying gifts, as on a black-figured vase (fig. 2), and also in sacrificial scenes, as on a vase in Spina (fig. 3), dated about the middle of the fifth century and attributed to the group of Polygnotos. The gods, to whom the liknon is brought, have the names AKOS and KLOE inscribed, but the inscriptions have faded. The most likely explanation is by Sartori (RendLine 5 [1950] 233ff, pls. 1-111, not accepted by Nilsson, p. 26, note 12) as Iakchos and Chloe, which is a surname of Demeter. It could also be a surname of Persephone who, like Dionysos, is a symbol of resurrection in spring. Chloe means protectress of the green crops. KLOE, on the other hand, could even have been misread for KORE. The lion on the arm of the goddess testifies to her relation to Dionysos. The mask of the god is laid in a liknon on the Choes jug by the Eretria

Painter (fig. 4). The other symbol of Dionysos, the phallos, is frequently used in earlier times, but in the classical period it is never found laid in the liknon together with all kinds of fruit. In contrast, this occurs very frequently on monuments beginning in the first century B.C., the so-called Hellenistic reliefs (figs. 5-7) which should no longer be attributed to Alexandria (Nilsson, p. 31. See Sieveking to Brunn-Br. Denkmäler, text to pls. 621-30. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, pp. 152 and 155, fig. 659). As the herm of Priapus in the Lateran (fig. 8) carries the child Dionysos and a liknon with phallos and fruit and a Priapus appears on the relief, fig. 5, Nilsson is inclined to believe that the origin of the liknon filled with a phallos surrounded by fruit may have its origin in the cult of this god (p. 35f). I would rather believe that the liknon was taken over from the Eleusinian mysteries, where it was held above the heads of the neophytes (see p. 36f). The mystica vannus lacchi, the mystic basket of lacchos -who is the Eleusinian counterpart of Dionysos-does not, however, have the phallos. Only in the Hellenistic period did it become the symbol of purification and fertility. Dionysos is not a general vegetation god. He, like Persephone-Kore, is supposed to ascend from the underworld and therefore had life-giving power (p. 44). The Dionysiac mysteries gave hope of a joyous afterlife. That is why the Dionysiac symbols, particularly grapes, wine cups, and masks, and also the Dionysiac thiasos are so often used on Roman sarcophagi, of which, unfortunately, Nilsson has made but little use (see pp. 3, 88ff, figs. 19, 20, and 24. Cf. Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolism funéraire, 162, 343-45, 372, 463. Goodenough, op.cit. 53-60. John B. Ward Perkins, "Four Roman Garland Sarcophagi in America," Archaeology 11 [1958] 98-104. Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, Un Sarcofago di Villa Medici con Scena d'Iniziazione Bacchica. R. Instituto d'Archeologia et Storia dell'Arte XIII [Rome 1942] pls. 1-111. Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore [1942]. Bruhl, op.cit. 316-23, pls. xvixxvII, xxx-xxxI. F. Matz, "Die griechischen Sarkophage mit bakchischen Darstellungen," in Berichte über den VI. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie 1939,

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pp. 502f; Der Jahreszeiten-Sarkophag Badminton-New York. Suppl. to Jahrb. d. Inst. Vol. 19 [Berlin 1958]; and in the forthcoming volume on bacchic sarcophagi in Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs).

The liknon is rarely used in the Greek lands during the Roman age (pp. 45ff). The inscriptions mention many functionaries and members of the associations, now often named Speira, circle, instead of thiasos. They had an elaborate hierarchy with hierophant, archiboukolos, speirarchos, liknaphoros, theophantes, etc. The form of the cult and of the mysteries of Dionysos varied in different places; and so did the names of the functionaries. Among them and among the members more and more men are named. In this form the mysteries came to Italy from Asia Minor, retaining the Greek titles and names (see p. 54ff). They remain purely Greek, as Nilsson believes, in contrast to Cumont (Les Religions orientales, Appendix: Les Mystères de Bacchus à Rome, 195-204). When they borrowed from other mysteries they turned to the Eleusinian cult, where Iacchos, the equivalent of Dionysos, was united with Demeter and Kore. Thence is taken the cista mystica, which is seen on Roman monuments representing Bacchic scenes (see fig. 11, stucco relief in Villa Farnesina, and sarcophagi, p. 96, n. 22). The title "Antrophylakes," guardians of the grotto, explains the story that Mark Antony in Athens had an artificial grotto constructed above the theater, where he and his friends got drunk (p. 61f, Athenaeus 4. 148B). In most cases these Dionysiac feastings were held in a dining hall (stibas, stibadium, p. 63f).

Such a festive hall is the great triclinium in the Villa Item (pp. 66ff, figs. 9-10; pp. 123-26). Nilsson modifies the explanation given by Maiuri and the reviewer (see in addition to his note 1, p. 66f Bieber, Review of Religion I [1937] 3-11, folding plate with the right sequence of the scenes, and Bruhl, op.cit. 151-54). Nilsson begins with the scene of a girl whose hair is being dressed in the presence of two Erotes between the window and the large entrance door, and the seated lady between the large and small doors. These belong rather at the end of the sequence which begins at the small door and goes from left to right throughout around the four walls. The hair of the girl is parted to be dressed into the six tresses of the Roman bride, and the lady is seated not on a throne, but on a wedding couch. Thus these scenes show what happened after the initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries: the girls after being initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus and following the union of Bacchus and Ariadne, represented in the center of the wall opposite the window, are ripe for becoming brides and mistresses of the house. It is not my opinion, as Nilsson says, that brides are initiated into Dionysiac mysteries, but rather that they do not become brides before they are initiated. The same sequence was used in Athens: at the community feast for engaged girls during the Gamelion, the wedding month, solemn sacrifices were offered, and in the following Anthesterion they were initiated into the Bacchic mysteries, while at the same

time the archon basileus and his wife, the basilinna, in the guise of Dionysos and Ariadne, had a ceremonial wedding (Bieber in Hesperia, Supplement 8 [1949] 33-38). Similarly, in the Villa Item the happy married couple, Dionysos and Ariadne, is in the center, surrounded by satyrs and maenads, while on the left wall the reading of the sacred laws and sacrifices are performed. The transition is through the Silenus playing the lyre, the Pan playing the shepherd's pipes (not the double flute) and the Panisca with the kid and goat, the sacred animals of Dionysos. At the right of the sacred couple the liknon is uncovered by a maenad, while a daemonic winged woman lifts a rod to strike the back of a woman kneeling on the right wall. Nilsson explains the winged woman as punishing Dike, who lives in the Netherworld. I believe her to be the personification of Telete, the initiation, or of Aidos, the shame inflicted by the aspect of the phallos. Why should Dike flee as she does on the Campana reliefs (fig. 35), the cameo (fig. 36) and the mosaic from Djemila (Cuicul, fig. 23)? The beating of the nude back of the woman is a fertility rite. The goal of marriage is the procreation of legitimate children. The nearest parallel is the ritual flagellation of women in the cult of Faunus at the Lupercalia in Rome. The nude and the dancing maenad on the left wall are in my opinion a newly and a formerly initiated woman, not "the joyful and the gloomy aspect of the Bacchic afterlife" (p. 125f). Nilsson himself has rightly emphasized that the frescoes show "a mixture of actual rites and mythological material" (p. 74). In my opinion they are testimonials of a living art and a living faith, designed for the room in which they have been found, although they use many single figures and motives from earlier Greek art.

The same is true also for stucco reliefs and paintings from the Villa Farnesina (pp. 76ff, figs. 11-13. Cf. Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy, pp. 113ff, pls. xxiv, 2 and xxvi, 1-2. Bruhl, Liber Pater, pl. v). The most interesting feature is that the initiate here is a little boy. Other monuments with the initiation of small children in the Bacchic mysteries are a glass amphora in Florence (fig. 14), a marble relief in the Louvre (fig. 15), a gladiatorial helmet from Pompeii (fig. 17), a Campana relief (fig. 18), and Arretine cups (figs. 21-22). Children enjoying the happy life as small thiasotes playing with masks, shepherd's flute and wine cups are represented on sarcophagi (one on fig. 24; others in Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire, 284, note 2; sarcophagi of children with bacchic subjects, ibid. 63f, figs. 29-31; 78, fig. 8; 245, fig. 63; 463, fig. 98, pls. xxIII, 2; xxxIV, 1; xxxV, 2; xLVI, 1 and 3). An excellent chapter (VII, 106ff) discusses the reasons for initiation of children as neophytes in the Bacchic Mysteries. The parents hoped that if the children died they would partake of the happy Bacchic afterlife, which was believed to consist mostly of gay revelling and endless banquets. Therefore, a child who, as the inscription says, died at the age of three years, is already depicted lying on a couch, holding a kantharos

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and a thyrsos, on a relief in Bologna (fig. 27). Small babies who could not yet stand and carry the liknon were carried in such a liknon (figs. 28-29) or in the arms of a man disguised as a silenus (figs. 21-22), or a nymph (fig. 30). Nilsson rightly emphasizes that in all these cases it is not the child Dionysos, but a mortal child made, through the initiation, a bacchos and a playmate of Dionysos. He could, through admission into the mysteries, enjoy a happy afterlife in the company of the god. This may also explain the bizarre groups of little boys straddling a pantheress, a lion, a cerberus, and two peacocks in the Serapeion of Memphis (Charles Picard and J. Ph. Lauer, Les Statues Ptolémaiques du Sarapeion de Memphis, pp. 180ff, pls. 18-20, 22-24; cf. AJA 61 [1957] 213f). They are probably young Bacchoi, riding wild animals as Bacchos does on mosaics, for example, fig. 31 from Djemila (Cuicul).

Although the general interpretation of these monuments by Nilsson is excellent, some details of his descriptions need correction. Fig. 13: the figure to the left is not a man, but a herm. Fig. 14: the figure on the high base is not Dionysos but Priapus (see Cumont, op.cit. 135f, note 3, fig. 136). Fig. 15: the object on the column behind the altar is a folding frame for a votive picture, so often painted on Roman murals (rightly explained by M. Cagiano de Azevedo, Un sarcophago di Villa Medici con scena d'iniziazione bacchica [Rome 1942] 11). Fig. 17a: the group to the right is a repetition of the slaughtering of a pig on an ivory relief and in a group in Naples (Ed. Schmidt, in Festschrift für Arndt [1925] 90-98, figs. 1-4). Fig. 20a: the female figure with a torch in her hand and a liknon on her head is not a woman, but a little girl, much smaller than the other figures (rightly explained by M. Cagiano de Acevedo, Le Antichità di Villa Medici [1951] p. 76, no. 65, pl. xxx, fig. 48).

In Chapter VIII on the Afterlife (pp. 116-32): the interpretation of the wall paintings from the "Homeric" House at Pompeii (figs. 32 and 34, cf. pp. 76, 116f and 126; Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy, pp. 68 and 78, pls. x and xiv), I believe is erroneous. They have nothing whatever to do with the Bacchic Mysteries. The woman in the center of the first is not Dike, but Nike, winged, holding a palm branch and a shield. The shield does not belong to the seated woman, who is not "halfnaked." She wears a chiton leaving the right shoulder and right breast free similar to the seated woman on the sarcophagus in Villa Medici (Cagiano, Un Sarcophago pl. 11, 1). The other picture represents a deceased girl taking leave of her father and mother, while Charon waits in his boat to take her to the underworld. The scene is thus-as on Attic white ground lekythoi-not in the Underworld, but on the way to it, and nothing points to the afterlife and its "horrors" (Nilsson, p. 126). On the other hand, Nilsson himself emphasizes very convincingly the fact that the Bacchic initiated did not expect to rise from the dead but would lead a life of eternal bliss and joy in the other world, revelling with the satyrs and maenads.

This idea is also behind the frescoes of the Villa Item. A punishing Dike has no place in the initiation, only purification rites and the personification of modesty which vanishes when the girls are ready for marriage and motherhood.

The last chapter (IX, pp. 133-43) deals with Orphic and Pythagorean influence. The main addition due to these sects is a sacral meal, adding to the pleasures of life and afterlife. The crude dismemberment of the child Dionysos was not accepted, nor were speculative ideas. The liknon and the phallos were their only symbols of life power and life.

In an appendix to Chapter VI (pp. 99-106), Nilsson publishes a replica of the archaistic figure of a bearded man dressed in a long chiton and fur, on a base formerly in the Lansdowne Collection and now in the possession of Lady C. M. Whittall at Haslemere. The new replica is in the Carl Milles Collection at Lindingö near Stockholm (figs. 25-26). While Gisela Richter (A]A 40 [1936] 15f, fig. 5) has combined this figure with the maenads attributed to Kallimachos, who was the first archaistic sculptor, Nilsson rightly assumes that not Dionysos himself but his priest is represented, sacrificing at an altar. It might be the hierophant, archibacchos, archiboukolos, speirarchos, or the theophant, all mentioned in inscriptions (see pp. 52-54).

In the Conclusion (pp. 143-47) Nilsson discusses the religious and social aspects of the Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman age. He states that there was no Oriental influence. Beside the old emblems of thyrsos, tympanon, and torch, the liknon filled with fruit and a phallos, lectures and sermons delivered from sacred books were added in the later mysteries. The monuments, which are our main source, are all made for wealthy people and prominent citizens, who could afford drinking vessels, couches and festival halls (stibadia) in private houses. Dionysos for them was the god of wine and joy in this and the other world. The earlier violence was replaced by gaiety. The initiation was no longer secret and it included children. While in the classical period the followers of Dionysos belonged mostly to the lower classes, now "the mysteries of Dionysos appealed to well-to-do people who loved a pleasant and luxurious life" (p. 146). The lower classes now turned more and more to the Oriental cults.

If one compares the book by Nilsson with the three other books recently published on the Dionysiac cult, one may say that the book by Jeanmaire has more material for the earlier, the one by Bruhl more material for the later periods. Goodenough deals with all periods of the Dionysiac religion as a background for Jewish symbolism; while the research of Nilsson is restricted to the mystery cults of the Hellenistic and Roman ages. The four books together, published from 1951 to 1957, give an excellent picture of the manysided, complicated, and changeable Dionysiac religion. All four authors try to combine literary, epigraphical,

and illustrative materials. This is desirable and often necessary for any aspect of ancient civilization.

MARGARETE BIEBER

NEW YORK

ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ, by Nikolaos Himmelmann-Wildschütz. Pp. 43, ills. 12. Eukerdruck KG., Marburg/Lahn.

If it is the purpose of this booklet to make clear to the reader something which the author by his study has clarified in his own mind, the result is hardly a success. The author discusses a number of monuments, mostly reliefs, selected to illustrate what the ancients meant by the term that forms the title of the treatise. He begins with the well-known passage in Plato's Phaedros in which Socrates warns his interlocutor that as he warms to his subject he may become νυμφόληπτος. This is an obvious reference to the deities whose cult places crowded the Ilissos valley where the dialogue is represented as being held. Then the author discusses briefly the inscriptions and reliefs in the cave at Vari dedicated by Archidamos of Thera who was the founder (κτίστης) and as such was honored by later visitors and worshipers,

In the second chapter on "Visionen der Göttergriffenheit" he attempts to interpret some monuments for which conflicting explanations have been offered. To this reviewer the basis for his selection is anything but obvious, and the interpretations are largely subjective and often unclear. In all justice it should be recognized that the obscurity is inherent in the objects themselves, that the artists who produced them would doubtless have found it difficult to explain, even to their contemporaries, the true intent of their productions. In other instances the omission of names and attributes intentionally enhanced the mystery that a relief or painting was meant to convey. When clarity rather than mystery was desired the identifying tag was

The reader, who is likely to be puzzled by the book's title and hope that the text will explain, may well conclude after reading the book that the mystery has merely been intensified.

OSCAR BRONEER

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DIE ETRUSKER IN DER WELT DER ANTIKE, by Otto-Wilhelm von Vacano. Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie. Pp. 201, line drawings in text 39. Hamburg, 1957.

In the past five years a number of handbooks and guides to Etruscan antiquities have been published both here and abroad. To these, Dr. von Vacano's most recent book is a notable addition,-so notable,

in fact, that I have found it necessary to judge it more severely than I would a less interesting book. It is not a handbook of Etruscan art, though it relies on clear and sensitive descriptions of individual works of art, nor, in spite of the author's admirable familiarity with the topography of central Italy, is it a guide to Etruscan sites. Instead, it is an attempt to analyze as concisely as possible the character of Etruscan civili-

zation and to place it in history.

For his study, the author uses archaeological finds only to a limited degree; his interest in Etruscan material remains is confined to tombs and tomb furnishings. It is in his interpretation of the scattered references in Greek and Latin authors to bits of Etruscan religion and history that he is most brilliant. His outline of the political history of the Etruscans is studded with shrewd observations. He compares the league of the twelve cities with the Greek amphictyonies of the archaic period, in particular with the Ionic league of the Dodekapolis described by Herodotus: the Etruscan league was purely religious in character, not an alliance for political purposes as the Peloponnesian League was, and, to judge by Polybius' report of Rome's first treaty with Carthage (3.22), the Latin league became. Not till late in Etruscan history did individual cities join in concerted action. The Etruscan empire in the Po Valley and Campania was the work of individual leaders, each of whom founded or conquered a city for himself, as Tarquin did at Rome. The muchadvertised Etruscan sea-power also rested with individual cities. Each coastal town maintained a fleet, as much for piratical raids as for trading along the coast of western Italy; there was no organized policy of expansion by sea as in fifth century Athens or at Carthage. On land, the purposes of Etruscan wars were equally old-fashioned. They were fought for glory and booty, not to annex or destroy a dangerous neighbor. This archaic point of view was of considerable use to the Romans who had evidently begun to "think imperially" at least as early as the end of the fourth century, so that when they besieged Veii their purpose was not to harass or sack the city but to destroy it.

Though for the history of the Etruscans from the sixth century B.C. to the time of Augustus we have considerable material in Greek and Latin authors, their earlier history must be constructed from purely archaeological evidence, always excepting the conflicting traditions about their origin recorded by Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dr. von Vacano leaves the vexed problem of Etruscan origins undecided, feeling, like the majority of modern Etruscan scholars, that archaeological evidence alone cannot decide the question. Whenever the Etruscans may have come to Italy, their culture in historic times was ultimately derived from the eastern Mediterranean, from Greece, according to Dr. von Vacano, rather than from Phoenicia or Syria, in spite of the fact that one of the remarkable phenomena of the Orientalizing period in Etruria is the presence in its tombs of many Assyrian and Phoenician importations. This problem of Greek influ-

ence vs. Eastern is of crucial importance; I agree with Blakeway and Åkerstrom in seeing a distinct break between the Greek influence of the eighth century and the Oriental of the seventh, while to Dr. von Vacano (and, I believe, to Dr. Luisa Banti) it was precisely the fantastic, inorganic Orientalizing Greek art of the seventh century that was the greatest influence in the formation and crystallization of the Etruscan civilization.

However general may have been the influence of the eastern Mediterranean on Etruria, the individual cities reacted to this influence so differently, and created such distinct local styles in sculpture and tomb architecture that Dr. von Vacano comes to the conclusion that the Etruscans were a mixed people, as diverse racially as they were disconnected politically, varying in culture and perhaps in language from city to city, bound together only by their religion, their official language and their alphabet.

The author's discussion of Etruscan religion takes up the first four chapters, about two-thirds of the book. Here again, he makes use of evidence both archaeological and literary, and in addition, anthropological studies of modern primitive beliefs, which he uses as analogies. This part of the book seems to me the most controversial.

Archaeological discoveries make it clear that at all times their dead were of great importance to the Etruscans; Dr. von Vacano believes that the whole life of an Etruscan was a preparation for his death and eventual resurrection as a divinity, and that to this end all objects in the tombs were of more than ritual or commemorative importance—they were actually magical. Thus mirrors provided a doorway for the spirit's return. Whether such an interpretation of the material evidence is valid I am not qualified to say; it is certainly not an archaeological approach. The cult of the dead in Etruria may well be merely an extravagant taste in funerals. The fact that the Etruscans used stone only for tombs and tomb sculpture might suggest that the abode of the dead was thought more important than that of the living; but at Rome no building-excepting tombs-was constructed in stone until late in the Hellenistic period. To be sure, Etruscan tombs are often elaborate and splendid, but not more so than the tomb of the Scipios at Rome or the temple-tombs of the Via Latina, or the nymphaeumlike tombs recently found under St. Peter's. Nor are their contents more expensive or beautiful than the bronze hydriae from the Paestan cenotaph of the late sixth century B.C., or the elaborate enamelled goldwork from Tarentine tombs of the fourth. Handsome tombs and costly burial offerings are a phenomenon of Italy as a whole and not of Etruria alone.

The meticulous organization of Etruscan ritual is emphasized by the literary sources; the special importance of divination and the obsessive belief in destiny, individual and national; the overwhelming power of the gods, who were conceived in a hierarchy of ascending rank (though executive action was always delegated to Zeus-Tinia), and who divided the universe among themselves according to a fixed map repeated in microcosm in the sacrificial liver.

This elaborately developed fatalism, which so fascinated Roman writers of the late Republic and the Empire, seems to me to be not at all primitive but rather eclectic and sophisticated. By the first century B.C. a feeling of helplessness before inevitable destiny may well have permeated Etruscan psychology. To attribute such fatalism to all periods of Etruscan history is unsafe. When Dr. von Vacano suggests a connection between the nailhead decoration on Villanovan bronzes and the nail of destiny hammered each year into the temple of Nortia at Volsinii, I cannot believe him.

The 39 line drawings which illustrate the text are of poor quality and not always pertinent. The large bibliography at the end, organized by subjects, is neither exhaustive nor always well-selected.

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LA TECNICA EDILIZIA DEI ROMANI CON PARTICOLARE RIGUARDO A ROMA E LAZIO, by Giuseppe Lugli, Vol. 1, Testo. Pp. 743, figs. 151. Vol. 2, Tavole. Pls. 210 + pp. 19. Roma, Giovanni Bardi, 1957.

We are here presented with the accumulated experience of one of the leading archaeologists and topographers of ancient Rome in a highly specialized field, the building technique of the Romans. The technical study of a building is only an auxiliary discipline of the history of ancient architecture, but indispensable for the correct evaluation of any monument and often very helpful in chronological matters. The appearance of these two heavy volumes therefore commands our

particular attention and respect.

Modern studies in this field are few but important, beginning with the works of the late Esther Boise Van Deman, Tenney Frank and Thomas Ashby, and continued by Marion E. Blake who at present is preparing two additional volumes to her monumental work Ancient Roman Construction in Italy, published in 1947. With this recent work particularly in mind one would be inclined to believe that the work under review would to a considerable degree duplicate that of Miss Blake. With the exception of the inevitable instances of partial overlapping, that is however not the case. Lugli's approach is personal and direct in a refreshing way. He has visited, measured, photographed and studied all the innumerable monuments discussed in the book, which in itself is a work of a normal lifetime. His practical sense and his empirical instincts guide him in a truly Roman way through the mass of material and he is not burdened with intellectual rationalism or speculative imagination. "The present volume," says the author on p. 28, "is written by an archaeologist for the archaeologists." He wants to an o T by a liog eval dati clati deal

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serve a practical purpose, and succeeds in producing an easily consulted handbook of lasting value.

The book is organized in eight chapters preceded by an introduction. The latter contains a critical bibliography, a methodological declaration, a survey and evaluation of the chronological principles involved in dating a given monument, and a most useful nomenclature of the various building systems. Chapter I deals with polygonal and cyclopic masonry, called opus siliceum, an invented term that I am sure would have gained Vitruvius' approval. From a typological point of view he differentiates between four kinds of opus siliceum showing various degrees of refinement. The traditional dating of the "cyclopic" walls of Central Italy was much too high, and is now generally abandoned. Lugli is one of the contributors to this happy result. A decisive argument in the discussion was given in 1951 when Frank E. Brown published his account of the excavations at Cosa, and proved beyond doubt that the mighty city wall of this "old Etruscan" town was the work of the Roman colonists of 273 B.C. The evidence from Alba Fucens presented by the Belgian Expedition is equally important and confirms Brown's interpretation of Cosa. These are recent developments critically evaluated by Lugli. He also reminds us of the first attempt to demolish the "Pelasgian" date of similar monuments, made by the Italian archaeologists Savignoni and Mengarelli, who on ceramic and stratigraphical evidence dated Norba's walls down to the fifth century B.C. Otherwise, the author has strangely little respect for this sort of objective archaeological evidence, as can be read in his unfortunate statements on pp. 32-33. The travesty there given of the methods and results of scholars "d'Oltralpe" is written in a misguided and polemic mood, and seems absurd to those who have carefully read the works of Gjerstad and Hanell, quoted in the footnote. Stratigraphical evaluation is not one of Lugli's strong points, as can also be seen in his confused and contradictory discussion of the evidence from Ferentinum (p. 130, n. 1). This attitude is not incidental, but based on a principle, clearly stated in his introduction (p. 9): "In archaeological topography it rarely happens that an ancient monument is readily identifiable with absolute certainty, even when it is completely excavated. We possess literary and epigraphical sources only for the great monuments of the principal cities, while such sources are missing for the small cities and the countryside. Technical examination, based on comparisons, is the only guide apt to help us understand the use and the age-more rarely the identification-of the monument." (My translation.) Many of his colleagues will take issue with such a statement that seems to disregard the elementary tools of field archaeology in form of stratigraphy, ceramics, lamps, stamped amphora handles, coins and all the other artifacts which, when judiciously handled, can give invaluable factual information on the use, the age and the identity of an ancient building. It is actually on this type of evidence that the cornerstones

of his own chronological structure rest, as is demonstrated by the examples quoted above.

While discussing his principles of dating city-walls he presents the theory that they were built either in periods of great wealth or of "collective wars," and singles out ten periods in the history of Rome and Italy from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century of our era as particularly fitting to these prerequisites (p. 38). It may very well be that he is right, and as a working hypothesis his system may prove valuable, but it does invite dangerous simplifications which can only be corrected by a thorough examination of the other type of evidence, just discussed, in which Lugli puts little trust. From an historical point of view someone may be surprised to find the second century B.C. excluded from his list, the century that saw the Roman conquest of the Hellenistic East and of Carthage, achieved by continuous and successful wars, which brought to Italy a previously unexperienced wealth of Macedonian, Attalide and Punic treasures and revenues. However, this may reflect what Lugli calls a "diverso modo di giudicare" (p. 40) which he considers irrelevant.

Lugli's own sound judgment and great experience generally protect him from the dangers inherent in his system, and the summary of the first part of Chapter I (pp. 98-103) is an eminently useful and clarifying contribution. The second part of the same chapter is dedicated to a thorough discussion of the major monuments in opus siliceum arranged topographically and according to their various functions. It is most profitable to follow him from site to site in his examination of the walls and listen to his well-founded opinions regarding the local history of the towns even if one now and then is induced to follow a "diverso modo di giudicare." What Lugli gives here, and in all the carefully compiled lists of dated monuments incorporated in each chapter of his book, is a real contribution to the history of Roman architecture for which one remains very grateful.

The first chapter sets the model for the subsequent ones. The second deals with opus quadratum, ashlar masonry, in dealing with which he differentiates between the Etruscan, the Greek and the Roman manner of use. We can follow the shifting styles through seven main periods, all of them discussed in detail and provided with its list of monuments. Traditionalist as the author is and repeatedly professes himself to be, he brackets the first period with the two years 754 and 390 B.C. The list of remains from this period mentions no monument earlier than the sixth century B.C., and I do not think the author expects to find ashlar masonry in use in the middle of the eighth century. The building technique of that period is, after all, well documented by the wattle and daub huts on the Palatine and in the Forum area. The upper time limit is therefore misleading. This seems to me to indicate that the difference de facto between Lugli and the "Transalpine" archaeologists he disapproves of, is not very considerable.

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The chapter ends with a full and interesting discussion of arches and vaults in opus quadratum with or without concrete. Again, Cosa has provided an important technical and chronological date: the earliest safely dated voussoir arches of large size, known so far, are its city gates of 273 B.C. Vaults and arches in tombs and other minor structures antedate the Cosa

gates by at least some 150 years.

The third large chapter takes up the concrete structure, opus caementicium, and begins with a very useful critical survey of what the ancient authors have to say about it. It should be noticed that Cato mentions calx et caementa as the normal building material of the villa rustica in his De agricultura, a treatise written in the first half of the second century B.C., and that the technique can be archaeologically traced as far back as the second quarter of the third century B.C. in Cosa. The wide spread of the developed opus caementicium in significant architectural forms comes with the discovery of the remarkable qualities of the pozzolana sand, a common ingredient in the volcanic subsoil of central Italy. Lugli ascribes the discovery of this "natural cement" to Campania and dates it to the first half of the third century B.C. From there and then it spread to Rome and Latium. Its use for purposes other than substructures was conditioned by the adequate dressing of its surface, and the first method used to this end was opus incertum (Chapter 4), so highly recommended by Vitruvius. The chronology of opus incertum is a controversial matter. For the time being we have no major monument in Rome built in genuine opus incertum older than the Porticus Aemilia of 174 B.C. This is a utilitarian building of huge dimensions, and displays such a remarkable skill in handling cast concrete in the series of barrel vaults of which the roofing consists that it can hardly have been the first experiment of its kind. It is often used as an argument in the heated discussion of the date of the upper sanctuary at Praeneste, which Lugli firmly believes to be of Sullan date, while Gullini and Fasolo place it in the middle of the second century B.C. It is infinitely simpler in form and conception than the elaborate temple, but that does not necessarily make it almost a hundred years older. The ideas behind them and the purposes they served are not commensurate, and therefore neither form nor technique are apt criteria for establishing their relative chronology. The solution of the problem must be found through the uncovering of new external evidence of a purely archaeological character, if such evidence exists. May it however be recorded that Roman architects of the second quarter of the second century must have been well acquainted with the design and execution of extensive temple projects, as can be gathered from the call of Cossutius to Athens in 174 B.C., by Antiochus Epiphanes, to complete the largest temple of the Greek mainland, the Olympieion in Athens? In these contexts the date of the basilica of Pompeii acquires some importance. Its generic type comes from Rome to Pompeii; it is connected with the planning of

the Pompeian forum which reveals new spatial concepts also applied in the same center; and it is an accomplished opus incertum structure. Maiuri's arguments for dating it close to 150 B.C. seem sound and convincing. Lugli, his opinion based on technological considerations, prefers a date around 100 B.C. but, in a case like this, fuller argumentation is required before accepting a date which differs from that given by the excavator.

Chapter 5 takes us through an excellent and exhaustive discussion of opus reticulatum, its forerunners and its late survivals and modifications. Again I call attention to the very useful list of monuments, presented regionally and chronologically at the end of

the chapter.

The brick-covered concrete of the Empire is dealt with in Chapter 6 under the heading opus testaceum. Nobody can quarrel with this nomenclature which abandons the common opus latericium, reserving the latter for construction in crude brick. It would certainly have gained the approval of Vitruvius himself. had he always been as consistent in his terminology as one would wish. The Romans were latecomers in adopting baked brick as building material, and very frequently used roof-tiles adapted to the new purpose instead of specially prepared brick. Lugli's survey of the use of real brick in Hellenistic times and environments is very illuminating and brings our knowledge thereof right up to the latest archaeological discoveries. What he has to say about the significance of the brick stamps of Imperial Rome is dictated by his sound common sense and will, together with H. Bloch's fundamental treatise on the subject, remain a locus classicus.

The finishing chapters are dedicated to the mixed brick and stone lining called opus vittatum (earlier frequently called opus listatum), and to arches and vaults in concrete. The book ends with two indices which are not always exhaustive or accurate. The magnificent volume of 210 halftone plates mostly based on the author's own photographs enhances the value of the work, and forms a visual corpus of the material which one would like to consider definitive. The ample captions under the illustrations actually enable the reader to use the second volume as an independent instrument of research. Sincere compliments should be paid to the publisher, G. Bardi, and the printer of Vol. 2, M. Danesi, for a typographical product of very high standard. The present reviewer would venture to give only one piece of advice: never to use Roman figures in a large volume of plates. If Arabic figures had been used, I am confident that the majority of the many and disturbing wrong references could have been avoided.

Lugli has given us a standard work, a necessary companion for all students of Roman architecture, a work full of the "firmitas" and "temperatura" which Vitruvius rightly considers the criteria of permanence.

ERIK SJÖQVIST

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COLONNA DI MARCO AURELIO, a cura di Giovanni Becatti. Album d'Italia, collana diretto da Antonio Coderna, No. 9. Folio. Pp. 52, ills. 74. Milano, Editoriale Domus, 1957. Lire 3500.

The first complete publication of the Marcus column with good text by Petersen, von Domaszewski, and Calderini in 1896 was based on excellent photographs made by Anderson at the time when casts were made for the last German Emperor Wilhelm, because they contained many representations of Germans. The second and last complete publication by Caprino, Colini, Gatti, Pallettino and Romanelli, La Colonna di Marco Aurelio (1955), was based on unequal photographs by Calderisi, made during World War II in order to have documentary evidence in case of destruction. The five editors wrote essays which are valuable, but of different character and only loosely connected with each other (see C. C. Vermeule, A]A 60 [1956] 315-18).

The new volume is the ninth of a series of albums, each of which illustrates one aspect of ancient Italy. Albums comprising the arch of Constantine, the Roman Forum, the Piazza del Campidoglio, the Via Appia and others have already appeared; the Etruscan landscape, Vicenza and others are in preparation. The goal of this series is to make the single monument or city or group of monuments directly and thoroughly known by good and documentary photographs, accompanied by simple and concise text. This goal has been attained

in the present volume.

In the introduction Becatti, now professor at the University of Florence, deals with the main problems connected with the Marcus column. The monument was erected after the death of Marcus Aurelius, under his successor and son Commodus (A.D. 180-192). The events represented are the wars with the German tribes of the Marcomanni and Quadi, beginning in 172 with the crossing of the Danube near Carnuntum (figs. 3-5). In that year a thunderbolt destroyed the war machine of the enemy (fig. 9), and at some time in the first campaign a rain-miracle destroyed the Quadi, while it gave welcome water to men and horses of the Roman army (figs. 10-12). The figure of Victory marks the end of the first campaign (fig. 29). After this, Marcus took the title Germanicus in 173. The second war was fought against the rebellious Quadi and the Iazigi, after which Marcus took the title of Sarmaticus in 176.

The column was considered a precise illustration of facts, places, and races by Petersen and Domaszewski (op.cit. 20-21, 39-104, 108-25). Karl Lehmann, on the other hand, believes the reliefs to be just a selection of typical scenes (Gnomon 28 [1956] 515-19), as he has shown to be the case for Trajan's Column. Some scholars believe that the scenes are taken from some book on the war containing maps and plans. Others believe that there is no chronological or annalistic truth whatsoever. Becatti is of the right opinion,

that elements are chosen from the real historical story with emphasis on significant and emotional scenes. They have been brought into a visual iconography. The costumes, ethnic types, landscapes and episodic situations are chosen from the real surroundings. Definite iconographic schemes are indeed developed and found already on Trajan's column and again on the Marcus column for the following scenes: The adlocutio of the Emperor (figs. 6, 8, 17, 24, 31, 51, 54, 63); battle scenes (see figs. 26, 28, 42, 49); prisoners (figs. 13-16, 21, 33, 34, 37, 44, 58, 61, 64-66); marching of the army (figs. 4-5, 41, 47, 48); camps (figs. 9, 26, 51, 63, 67); building construction (figs. 54-55); and sacrifices (fig. 46). All these are well illustrated by Becatti. But, although some scenes are conventional, the story as a whole is historically true, a synthesis

full of original episodes.

Becatti rightly asserts that the composition of the column reliefs does not go farther back than to Trajan's column. The Mesopotamian, Indian and Assyrian monuments of similar forms, and the column for Nero in Mayence have horizonal bands, as probably had the triumphal pictures attested in literature. The columns of Theodosius erected 386 and that of Arcadius finished by Theodosius in 421 are later offsprings of the two Roman columns. The rotuli with miniatures, like the Joshua roll of the tenth century, have separate scenes, not continuous narratives. Although the Telephos frieze begins with such, it has very few landscape elements. In disagreement with the author, the reviewer believes that most of the indications of space are of Roman, not Hellenistic invention. In the wall paintings of Pompeii only the figures are copied from Greek originals, the landscape elements are added by the Roman mural painters. The whole idea of lifting the Emperor 100 feet above other mortals is Roman, not Greek.

The author rejects, rightly, the explanations of the new style found on the Marcus column from popular art, which was used in the provinces and did not influence the capital at that time, or from the invasion of the barbarians, or from the influence of the Orient, or from the beginning of Christianity, or from economic and social factors, or from a general decline of the Empire and decadence of Roman civilization. The current tendencies of art in Rome led quite naturally to frontality and to simple and sometimes childish perspective, and the use of different grades of proportions are explained as a natural development of current trends in Roman art. They become stronger in the third century, and this may be explained by the fact that eventually Roman, and no longer Greek, artists worked for the Romans. We would like to know the name of the artist who made the clever choice of the scenes which fill the spiral so equally

from base to capital.

Each picture has a few relevant sentences of explanation. The selection is excellent. All typical scenes and operations are represented. The execution with strong use of the drill and sharp outlines comes out

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better in these good reproductions than in any other publication, so that this limited choice gives enough details to study the different armor and military dress of the Roman soldiers, the dress of the Oriental auxiliaries and of the Barbarians, the flags and signa of the Romans, the camps and tents of the army, the huts of the barbarians. Thus there is no doubt that as a whole historical truth was adhered to. The portraits also come out very clearly: Marcus Aurelius himself (particularly figs. 25 and 39), and Claudius Pompeianus, his general and son-in-law, the second husband of his daughter Lucilla, who in most cases stands at his right side (particularly figs. 6, 8, 15), are excellent examples of the veristic and coloristic Antonine art of portraiture. Many heads of the barbarians also look more like individual than like race portraits, particularly the suppliant Sarmatians (figs. 21 and 42) and the captured German (figs. 22-23, 33-34), proud and dignified figures even in the moment before execution. The human element is strongly emphasized, particularly in the scenes with captured barbarians, and the fate of the women and children seems to have been deeply felt by the artist. The tragedy and injustice dealt out to these innocent victims of war is shown when they cling to each other in restrained despair (fig. 45), when they try to protect the children who cling to their hands or dresses (figs. 13, 14, 30-31, 43, 44, 56, 61, 66). The soldiers who grasp them from the back (figs. 56 and 58), by the arm (fig. 64 detail on cover), or the hair (fig. 61), or the one who tries to take the boy away from a mother who has her hand occupied with holding her little girl (fig. 44), have in contrast weather-beaten, harsh features and act so brutally that one feels the sympathy of the artist is on the side of the weak war casualties. The cruelty and injustice of war has been brought out by these excellent reproductions for the first time. The scene of deportation (fig. 70) shows the same spirit of compassion.

Thus historical facts, artistic intent, and the cultural attitude at the time of the Stoic philosopher on the throne, are combined and brought out in this new volume as in none of the other earlier publications.

Figs. 71-73 on the last plate are a valuable addition. Based on the engraving by Enea Vico reproduced in 1540 before the destruction of the base by Domenico Fontana in 1589, and used by Piranesi (1720-78), a fragment of the main side of the base has been recognized. It is now in the Museo Nazionale at Rome. It represents the upper part of a barbarian chief, who is kneeling and stretching out his arms in submission to the Emperor. It is executed in marble and in a more subtle technique without drilling, but the emotional quality is the same as in the reliefs on the shaft.

This fine book is modestly priced at less than six dollars. It can be recommended to everybody who is interested in Roman art, history and civilization.

MARGARETE BIEBER

ICONOGRAFIA ROMANA IMPERIALE DA SEVERO ALES-SANDRO A M. AURELIO CARINO (222-285 D. C.), by B. M. Felletti Maj. Quaderni e Guide di Archeologia, II. Pp. 309, pls. 60, figs. 209. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rome, 1958. Lire 11,000.

One critic has written recently: "The identification of portrait busts of Roman worthies is an old and perhaps harmless sport. It is incurably unscientific, and if it has improved in the ages of scientific archaeology this is not because archaeologists are less willing to be silly but because more material has become easier to compare." (Bulletin Rhode Island School of Design, Museum Notes, May 1958, 3). This pessimistic view may hold for some publications, but it does not apply to the book reviewed here. The Quaderni series, directed by R. Bianchi Bandinelli and Luisa Banti, has produced five useful monographs of reference on Greek sculptors of the period 475-325 B.c. Felletti Maj's book follows the format of these works and is a worthy suc-

cessor in the group. The same principles of organization applied to the modern bibliography, ancient references, and attributions for, say, Skopas, are turned to the emperors and their families in the half-century from the murder of Elagabalus to the advent of Diocletian. This is a dark period of the Roman Empire which has left many monuments of portraiture, numismatic and otherwise; their number is out of all proportion to activity in other arts, save perhaps production of sarcophagi (which, of course, relates closely to the cult of the individual). Felletti Maj's book goes over ground covered by many others in major monographs, series of articles, and short notes or publications of specific sculptures. What is important is that her work presents evidence, speculation and conclusions in a form in which scholars whose main preoccupation is not iconography per se can use the material with ease. A person interested in the emperor Balbinus (A.D. 238), for example, will find all available information, literary and otherwise, on the emperor's appearance; key coins are cited and illustrated; and the type of attributions in the quotation in the first paragraph are weighed in a competent manner, with illustrations of important sculptures

in the round. In Part I (Bibliografia, Fonti e Testimonianze), modern works are grouped and given numbers according to their scope: e.g., monographs, museum catalogues, collections of photographs, works on coins and gems; ancient sources are arranged by ruler. These excerpts are introduced by a list of editions used in the quotations; they are given in Greek or Latin, with Italian translations opposite. In Part II (Iconografia), the career of each person is sketched, followed by an analysis of numismatic evidence. Portrait busts, reliefs and major gems follow; they are numbered consecutively, regardless of ruler, throughout the book (1-385). Under each ruler these monuments are divided into recognized identifications, attributions worthy of

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discussion, and uncertain or erroneous identifications. Bibliographies for each piece are given following its text. Indices, a museography, and photographic credits make the volume even more usable. Finally, the format is practical; the illustrations are excellent; and the book is free from annoying misprints, which plagued the same author's catalogue of portraits in the Museo

Nazionale Romano (A]A 59 [1955] 91).

The critic quoted in paragraph one and others like him will no doubt find points on which to differ with the author. No authority can write an encyclopedia of any phase of ancient iconography without taking a stand on difficult portraits. Since this book will be a basic reference for years to come, I offer the following notations and additional bibliography in appreciation of the scope and thoroughness of Felletti Maj's publication. They are arranged according to the format described above. General works and monographs (additions): B 3: M. Leeb, A Numismatic Approach to Stylistic Problems in Roman Portraiture of the Period 268 to 284 A.D., M. A. Diss., N.Y. Univ. 1950 (summary in Marsyas 7 [1953] 82); B 4: B. Schweitzer, Altrömische Traditionselemente in der Bildniskunst des Dritten Nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 5 (1954) 173-90 (bibliography 189f; portraits of most of the emperors are discussed); B 5: K. Wessel, "Römische Frauenfrisuren von der Severischen bis zur Konstantinischen Zeit," AA (1946-47) cols. 62-76.

Iconography (additional sculptures indicated by letters after the numbers): Alexander Severus ("Philippus II type"), no. 13 (Ince Blundell Hall): Schweitzer, op.cit. 179, note 26, keeps as Philippus II; Alexander as Augustus, no. 21 (Vatican): CAH XII, 552, Plates V, 186a,b; no. 22 (Naples): Strong, Art in Ancient Rome II, 159, fig. 500, "more probably a generalized portrait of Elagabalus"; no. 30 (Carnuntum): Mancini, BullComm 50 (1923) 198, no. 145; no. 43A (Leningrad, Hermitage) head in blue chalcedony, with the same slight beard seen in no. 39, a good likeness: W. Stegmann, AA (1930) cols. 11ff, figs. 10-15. Julia Mamaea, no. 57 (Museo Capitolino): Strong, op.cit. 160f, fig. 503; no. 59A (once Melchett collection) head: Strong, Cat., 33, no. 28, pl. 36. Maximinus, no. 76B: one of these, a somewhat reworked but characteristic portrait of Maximinus, is Boston 89.4, purchased from the Ludovisi Gallery in Rome through R. Lanciani in 1888; it has not been published since Schreiber's catalogue; no. 90A (University Museum, Philadelphia) cameo in emerald: Sommerville, Cat., 1889, no. 965. Maximus, no. 92 (Copenhagen): Schweitzer, 177; no. 94 (Museo Capitolino): F. Poulsen, NyCG Cat., under no. 745, "too restored to be certain."

Pupienus, no. 125A (Piraeus Museum, Garden and Storeroom) we can identify the plinth, feet, eagle as partial support, and possibly the mask of the head of the heroic statue which was the pendant to the Balbinus, no. 137; the existence of these fragments is a point of confirmation in identifying the complete

pendant. Balbinus, no. 136 (Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb): identification of this imperial sarcophagus has produced other supporters (Matz, Gnomon 16 [1940] 461; Schweitzer, op.cit. 183; von Heintze, RM 64 [1957] 91, note 172) and other sceptics (Hanfmann, AlA 45 [1941] 498; H. Jucker, AA [1955] 31f); no. 139 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston): few have noted the griffins of apotheosis on the sides of the support, a strengthening of the suggestion that this is a posthumous portrait of Balbinus (also Schweitzer, 183, note 40); no. 139A (Palma): F. Poulsen, Sculpt. ant. des musées de prov. espanols (1933) 29, figs. 34f; Schweitzer, 183, note 40; no. 139B (Conservatori): Stuart Jones, Cat., Scala vi, no. 11a, pl. 104; Schweitzer, loc.cit. Gordianus III, no. 147 (sarcophagus from Acilia in the Museo Nazionale Romano): the portrait of the youth is later and perhaps recut; H. von Heintze, RM 64 (1957) 91, note 171, dates the work A.D. 270-280; and I have suggested that this is the sarcophagus of Hostilianus (A]A 60 [1956] 209; see below, under no. 191); no. 148 (Berlin): CAH XII, 553, Plates V, 186c; no. 152 (Louvre) half-figure bust or possibly a statue made in two parts: the cuirass with scales confirms the dating (cf. Balbinus on his sarcophagus).

Philippus I, no. 198A (Louvre) a porphyry bust supported on a globe: Strong, Art in Ancient Rome II, 159; no. 198B (Institute of Arts, Detroit, 27.212, from the Roman market) head and neck: Bulletin 9, no. 3; Cat. of Sculpture, 35. This unknown Roman has heavier, softer features than the emperor. Otacilia Severa, no. 223A (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 23.206, from the Massarenti collection) head removed from a statue of Fortuna: D. K. Hill, AJA 48 (1944) 260-68; M. Johnston, Roman Life (Chicago 1957) 106. Miss Hill also lists and discusses the other portraits of Philip's wife, including an unpublished one at Amherst College. Philippus II, no. 229A (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti no. 493): Schweitzer, 179, note 26; Amelung, Cat., I, 632, pl. 67; Bernoulli II, 3, pl. 24; no. 233A (Louvre) pendant to no. 198A: Strong, loc.cit. (but see Delbrueck, Porphyrwerke, 52ff). Etruscilla, no. 246 (British Museum) head: Strong, op.cit. 159, states "attribution not entirely certain." Hostilianus, no. 191: the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, sometimes taken for that of Gordian's father-in-law Timesitheus, is identified as the sarcophagus of Hostilianus in a recent study by H. von Heintze: RM 64 (1957) 69-91. She argues that the scar on the general's forehead is a sign of consecration to Mithras. Trebonianus Gallus, no. 260 (Metropolitan Museum, New York) heroic bronze statue: E. B. Harrison, Agora I, 97; Schweitzer, 185, note 49; no. 263A (Museo Nazionale Romano) head: Toynbee, Roman Portrait Busts, The Arts Council (London 1953) no. 54: "possibly Trebonianus Gallus"; no. 269A (University Museum, Philadelphia) agateonyx cameo from the collection of Pope Gregory XVI and his family: Sommerville, Cat., no. 1029.

Valerianus I, no. 284 (Sassanian reliefs at Naqsh-i-Rustam): B. C. Macdermott, JRS 44 (1954) 76-80,

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suggests the dead emperor is Gordianus III, the emperor asking for terms is Philippus I, and the emperor held captive is Valerian; no. 287 (Bib. Nat., Paris) cameo of the battle between Valerian and Shāpūr I: Furtwängler, Gemmen, Geschichte, 371; Strong, Art in Ancient Rome, II, 164f, fig. 514; Berytus 12 (1956-57) 99, note 1, on the late date of the stone. Gallienus: E. Dusenbery, Marsyas 4 (1948) 1-18, and Leeb, Smith College Museum of Art, Bulletin 29-32 (1951) 8-10 (the latter cited by Felletti Maj in connection with no. 305) present relative chronologies for the portraits of this emperor. The sons of Gallienus, no. 330A (Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam) bronze head from Aphrodisias: G. A. S. Snijder, Critica d'Arte 1 (1935) 33, pls. 18ff, suggests Valerianus II; no. 336A (found at Niederbiber in Germany) bronze disc from a signum, the type of cuirass supports G. Nottbohm's recent identification of the prince standing in Virtus pose amid barbarian trophies as Saloninus rather than Caracalla: Festschrift B. Schweitzer, 364ff, pl. 82. The design has parallels on coins of Gallienus.

Claudius II Gothicus, no. 356 (Metropolitan Museum) glass cameo inscribed DIVO CLAUDIO IM-PERATO[RI]: some of the coins with this inscription are as late as the sons of Constantine, further explanation for the peculiar portrait of Claudius II on the glass and additional confirmation of Miss Richter's identification and dating of the ring (Cat. of Gems 1956, no. 657). Probus, numismatic iconography: add K. Pink, NZ (1955) 16f; Carus and his family: Pink, Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society (New York 1958) 553-62. Felletti Maj's handling of numismatic evidence and bibliography is particularly commendable throughout.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

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Die Stadtrömischen Männlichen Privatbildnisse Trajanischer und Hadrianischer Zeit, by Georg Daltrop. Pp. 131, figs. 64 on pls. 16. Privately published, 1958. Obtainable from Archäologische Seminar der Universität Münster (Westf.), Domplatz 20/22.

This well-produced monograph deals with portrait heads and busts in the years A.D. 90-140. D.'s essays are by-products of Das römische Herrscherbild II, 2-4 (Berlin 1939, 1940, and 1956). The volume on Trajan was by W. H. Gross, and Prof. M. Wegner of Münster wrote volumes on Hadrian and his family and the Antonines. Wegner has directed D. in the present work. The mechanical features of the book make it a useful reference, even if the material is somewhat circumscribed. The portraits thought by D. to fall within his sphere are catalogued by museums and other collections, and most of the examples listed are discussed in the text. The stylistic analyses are

good, and I see few places to disagree over dating. When the series Das römische Herrscherbild is finished, we can expect to find the imperial portraits published by established scholars in the principal volumes and a series of paper-backed Ph.D. theses on private portraits as supplement to the main program. It is too bad professional pressures require monographs for the latter material; long articles in learned journals would serve the purpose.

D. divides his portraits by decades, with extra groups of faces falling at the beginning and end of Trajan's rule and in the last years of Hadrian. As others have recognized, the shape and depth of the bust tell much in these years. The men who saw Trajan's advent to power are Romans in the late Julio-Claudian mold, in spite of so-called Flavian styles (centering around Domitian) in the years A.D. 75-95. D.'s men of A.D. 100-120 mostly wear their hair as did Trajan; otherwise the shape of the bust identifies those who did or could not follow the court styles. The decade 120-130 looks back to the Flavians and forward into the full-blown Hadrianic styles of the next ten years. By A.D. 140 large eyes and curly hair foreshadow the Antonine baroque.

A physical anthropologist could tell much about the new Romans of the second century from D.'s portrait galleries; the Roman or Latin Western element of the official population is certainly diluted with Greeks, Syrians, and Africans of various types as the decades pass. Cloaks and swordbelts on heroic busts proclaim established rank for many sitters, but loot from the Roman columbaria has long taught us that portraits of quality were common among freedmen of no more than average wealth. Save for the inscribed bust of Hadrian's brother-in-law, L. Julius Ursus Servianus, we cannot say how completely those portraits reflect the image of the aristocracies around Trajan and Hadrian; this particular bust (p. 129) was dedicated by freedmen of the Consul.

Study of semi-official private portraits in imperial Rome needs a chapter on the uses of portrait statues and busts, other than in tombs. Looking over excavation reports, one sees how citizens of rank systematically mixed their statues with those of the imperial family in such places as Lanuvium (equestrian attendants with the Antonine rulers: BSR 7 [1914] 66), Olympia (exedra of Herodes Atticus, ca. A.D. 156: Olympia III, pls. 60ff, etc.), Ephesus (library of Celsus: Ephesos V, 1, 83f), Perge (monumental gateway; Hadrian's official family, important local citizens, and heroes going back into semi-mythological times: AA [1956] 115ff), and Aspendus (exedra I: Lanckoronski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I, 94), to cite at random. Unfortunately, material from Italy is too often without records of precise provenance. D. has used internal evidence to its limits in evaluating his group of portraits.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

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LA CÉRAMIQUE SIGILLÉE D'ARGONNE DES II^e ET III^e siècles (Supplément à Gallia VI), by Georges Chenet and Guy Gaudron. Pp. 249, figs. 70, folding tables 5. Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1955.

This important study, which has been widely reviewed in European journals and is already standard in its field, deserves at least a belated welcoming notice in the United States. Its authors are the late Georges Chenet, from 1908 until his death a zealous contributor of papers on the Roman ceramic archaeology of the Argonne region and finally of La céramique gallo-romaine d'Argonne du IVe siècle et la terre sigillée décorée à la molette (1941), and M. Gaudron, now Inspecteur Principal des Musées de France, who organized the notes of Chenet and his father-in-law. Dr. Meunier, into publishable form. Unhappily, some of the finds and notes have not survived the devastation of two wars, especially during 1914-18 when the trenches ran right through the sites under excavation.

The net picture which emerges from the book is that of a regional segment of the important and wideranging Roman ceramic industry, put together from Chenet's basic preliminary articles and other sources of which Oswald's indices and the CIL are obviously the most important. The result is a cohesive and manageable synthesis which can now mean something to the non-specialist, the kind of thing that has been done for some regions and is in progress for others. Eventually they can be combined into a general overall master-study of imperial Roman pottery and its

commercial implications.

Some 94 to 124 potters are attested for the Argonne sites of Lavoye, Avocourt, Les Allieux, Pont-des-Rèmes, etc. in the period ca. 120-200. They manufactured plain sigillata as well as molded bowls and various forms decorated with trailed slip (barbotine), applied relief, rouletting and incision. Their heaviest export was to Rheims; in less degree to Arentsburg, Vechten, Le Châtelet and Mainz; still less to other northern Gallic and German sites, and even to Britain (London, York, Corbridge). Compared with their distribution to the north and northeast their export to the south and west was unimpressive-presumably because in these directions they were in keener competition with the Central Gaulish potters, a competition which would also explain their minor role as furnishers of Britain. Due east on the Rhine, especially south of Mainz, they made no pretense of penetrating the market of the Alsatian factories and Rheinzabern. They are a significant isolable element in the complicated mosaic of Antonine commerce.

To American institutions, which are not heavily endowed with Argonne pottery, Gaudron's chapter cataloguing the names, stamps, distribution etc., of the individual potters is of secondary interest compared to his section on "Technique de la terre sigillée." This is the most complete and reliable study of kilns, tools

and processes of Roman potters yet published; it is fully documented and it fills a very real need.

Chenet's drawings, supplemented by photographs, are numerous and good. One wishes, however, that there had been space to reproduce them all at half-size instead of cutting many of them down to quarter-size, which is really too small. By presenting whole bowls and molds rather than separating individual motives into a catalogue of the Oswald or Ludowici type Gaudron has given a new conspectus of the overall style of Argonne decoration which can now be combined with epigraphical evidence to assist in plotting out the migrational progress of these Argonne artisans from one center to another. And the book has other virtues which might be elaborated, such as its tabular matter, maps, indices, etc.

But its most striking and welcome ingredients are its readability and common sense. Chenet was notable for both; Gaudron continues the tradition by managing to deal informatively with the output of an active and varied ceramic center without losing himself and his reader in a morass of technical word-coinages. He deals briefly and deftly with chronology, on which he adds precision to Oswald; he is realistic in evaluating the importance of handling materials as distinguished from looking at pictures of them; his discussion of ovolos is short and sensible; his statistics are conserva-

tive and honest; his summaries are clear.

HOWARD COMFORT

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ROMAN SILCHESTER: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A RO-MANO-BRITISH TOWN, by George C. Boon. Foreword by the Duke of Wellington, Introduction by Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton. Pp. 239, pls. 8, text ills. 38, townplan. Max Parrish, London, 1957. £1 5s.

"Silchester is a place that the lover of antiquity will visit with great delight" (William Stukeley, 1724). With this description Mr. Boon begins his account of one of the most famous sites in Roman Britain and one which has attracted the interest of antiquarians since John Leland, King's Antiquary in the time of Henry VIII, visited and wrote about it ca. A.D. 1540. The speculations and investigations which have gone on there ever since could provide material for a history of antiquarian research in their own right and they are summarized by the author in his first chapter. They culminated in the great series of excavations undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of London between 1890 and 1909, many of the results of which were published in Archaeologia. In many ways this work was ahead of its time but to the modern archaeologist the frequent lack of any attempt to disentangle stratigraphy and chronology is very frustrating. Now that excavations are once again going on at Silchester, Mr. Boon has very wisely gathered together the most

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important facts revealed by his predecessors, discussed the knowledge gained from them and outlined some of the problems which it is hoped to solve in the future.

He starts with a survey of pre-Roman Silchester, the Belgic settlement about which little is known apart from the tantalizing coin issues possibly minted there. Comparisons with settlements at Camulodunum (Colchester) and Verulamium (St. Albans) suggest that there will be little to find in the way of buildings from this period and the problem of the date of the earthworks which may belong to it is one of the questions not yet completely answered. Clearer evidence for structural remains occurs with the beginning of Romanization in the first century A.D. and here we find one of the most useful and interesting sections of the book, an attempt to disentangle the maze of excavated buildings and sort them out into several chronological periods. The earliest town, here called the "Old Town," gradually developed from A.D. 45 onwards. It comprised some of the most important buildings including the Forum and Basilica, the Public Baths which probably date from the end of the first century, three or four temples, and various houses of increasingly Romanized type. Information about it was obtained partly from Mrs. Aylwin Cotton's 1938-39 excavations and partly by studying the plans of the old excavations and seeing which buildings underlay or were out of alignment with the later street system, a very effective piece of archaeological detection. The results suggest that the early town grew up haphazardly, with little in the way of streets apart from the main east-west road, the natural gravel surface of the site being hard enough and sufficiently well-drained for light traffic.

The adoption of a regular street-system and the alteration and replacement of many earlier buildings probably followed the Emperor Hadrian's visit to Britain, and here further research has extended the regular grid of streets familiar to us from the text books, replacing it with a fresh plan based on airphotographs published here for the first time. The third or "New Town" dates from early Antonine times and it occupied an area reduced to ca. 100 acres, defined at first by a bank and ditch which cut across outlying portions of the street-plan. At the end of the second or early in the third century was built the great defensive wall, which still survives up to 15 feet in height as the most noticeable feature of the site today. The later history of the town is uncertain and needs much further investigation. Probably it was gradually deserted and fell into decay.

The next chapter considers the public buildings in greater detail and here again further excavation is needed to secure a closer dating for the various alterations and refurbishings. The Public Baths seem to have had a complicated history including an extensive rebuilding in the mid fourth century and this suggests that urban life flourished in Silchester at a later date than used to be postulated for Romano-British towns; new evidence from the 1957 excavations at Verulamium supports this. Comparisons with the experiments conducted with a reconstructed hypocaust at the Saalburg

seven years ago lead Mr. Boon into some interesting speculations regarding the efficiency of the heating system. The chapter on religious life points out that Insula XXX apparently included a temenos or sacred enclosure which was respected throughout the Roman period even when its presence must have interfered with later town-planning. Three acres in extent, it included the sites of at least four temples and others may yet await discovery. Similar sacred areas are known from other Roman town sites including Gosbecks Farm near Colchester and Trier in the Rhineland. At least three further temples were identified elsewhere in the town as well as several lararia or domestic shrines belonging to private houses. The small apsidal building in Insula IV, which may or may not be a Christian church, receives further consideration.

The remaining chapters deal with Houses, Economic Life, Roads and Transport; and here the author has used the details mentioned in the excavation reports, together with his own unrivalled knowledge of the (largely unpublished) Silchester collections in the Reading Museum, to build up a very useful picture of town life. We read of the various ways of constructing timber houses and the precautions taken against dry rot, and of how the walls of later buildings were carried on piles or buttressed where they stood on damp or previously disturbed ground. Water supplies and heating are other subjects discussed; in some cases fireplaces were found built up against inside walls, a very unusual discovery. Such practical considerations give us an increasingly clear idea of Romano-British domestic life as do the well-preserved contents of the wells which included a basket, shoes, rope, and the sticks, leaves, seeds and insects which fell into the water with them. The Roman householder's taste may be seen reflected in his choice of mosaics and walldecorations and his wife's in her selection of cookingpots and pans and other kitchen furnishings. At this point the author remarks that many a dinner must have been spoilt by the earthenware pots cracking over the fire, probably on a gridiron over glowing charcoal. This seems an unnecessarily pessimistic observation as cooking experiments carried out with Romano-British pots show that the sturdier varieties can be successfully used on a modern gas-ring.

The book is well-illustrated by halftone plates, and by line drawings by Mr. T. L. Gwatkin which include interesting reconstructions of some of the buildings. The notes and the very comprehensive index are of great value to the student and will prevent many fruitless searches through the pages of the excavation reports in Archaeologia. Altogether the author is to be congratulated on a very useful book which we hope will be a prelude to a further account of new excavations at Silchester. Perhaps companion volumes on the Roman town at Caerwent or the civilian settlement at Caerleon may follow it in due course.

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Inscriptions Latines de L'Algérie, T. II, v. I, by S. Gsell, E. Albertini, J. Zeiller. Paris, Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1957.

Here is the second instalment of *ILAlg*. The first was brought out by S. Gsell in 1922; let us hope that the men who have overcome real difficulties to bring out this one will soon be able to give us the third and final volume.

The format of this volume is like that of the first one, which means that it is very like that of the Corpus, except for its remarkably light weight. The names of Gsell, Albertini, Zeiller, Leschi, and Pflaum appear on the volume. Apparently Pflaum was the one who actually brought the work of this distinguished company to the point of publication. He also undertook trips which yielded new inscriptions. The historical, geographical, and epigraphical introduction, along with the indexes, is to appear in the final volume. This part of the work, which presumably will be done on the generous scale which the Gouvernement Générale de l'Algérie allows for the publications which it sponsors, should be of great value.

The volume, which covers Rusicade and its region, Cirta, and some of the nearby castella, is not a spectacular one. The tablettes Albertini (the writings on wood of the Vandal era), which might be called spectacular, presumably will appear in the final volume. The many inscriptions which already have appeared in the Corpus have been inspected again, if they still exist. The commentary on them has in many cases been improved over that of the Corpus by editorial sagacity and by the use of scholarly work published in the interval. Certain older inscriptions are offered which for some reason were not included in the Corpus. There is a goodly number of new ones, mostly funerary inscriptions.

We have here a good variety of interesting material. There are some exuberant statements of benefits conferred on the cities, some interesting official careers, some good examples of imperial titles, and some useful data on the details of government at various levels. The names, as usual, are often very interesting. The name Sittius occurs very frequently in the new inscriptions as it did in the older ones, since we are dealing here with the region where the adventurer Sittius established himself.

The editing is soberly and thoroughly done. It does seem strained to take the H B Q of 1340 as H(ossa) B(ene) Q(uiescant) rather than the straightforward hic bene quiescat, (cf. 1773), although in 2669 we find the interesting form Horfitus, presumably for Orfitus. The name Zaplutius in 933 seems to call for a reference to Petronius 37.6: Ipse nescit quid habeat, adeo saplutus est.

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NIKOLAOS MESARITES: DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES AT CONSTANTINOPLE, Greek text edited with Translation, Commentary, and Introduction by Glanville Downey. Part 6 (pp. 855-924) of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 47. Philadelphia, 1957. \$2.00.

The pantheon church of the Byzantine capital, erected in the fourth century and rebuilt entirely during Justinian's reign, was described about the year 1200 by the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastic Nikolaos Mesarites. His ekphrasis was published, together with a German translation, by August Heisenberg in 1908, but Heisenberg's version has been out of print for some time. Professor Downey now makes this valuable document available to a wider circle of readers, and with his usual thoroughness appends to this edition very useful notes and indices.

Mesarites briefly notes the situation of the church and then calls attention to the surrounding baths and colleges. The curricula of the colleges form an important part of his text, but the major portion is taken up by a description of the mosaic decoration of the main building. In the manner of a guide, and using many Biblical allusions, he pauses before each scene and evokes its meaning and traditions in quite a lively fashion. Sometimes he includes information about the location of the scene in the church and the techniques of presentation and colors used by the artists. The final chapters include important descriptions of the tombs in the imperial mausolea attached to the church. These tombs had been opened in 1197 in order to obtain sufficient metal to meet the tribute imposed on Byzantium by Henry VI. Downey suggests that the ekphrasis was composed at the instance of the Patriarch John X, in the hope of counteracting the effect of these violations on public opinion and the pilgrim traffic.

Relevant questions of architecture and decoration are not taken up in detail, as that work is being prepared as another part of the joint study of the Church of the Holy Apostles in progress at Dumbarton Oaks.

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Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 11. Pp. 277, figs. 120. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1957. \$7.50.

Four articles and four notes make up this volume. The former are Philosophical Implications of the Theology of Cyril of Jerusalem by Harry A. Wolfson, Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: a Study in Ecclesiastical Relations by Dimitri Obolensky, Nicolas Cabasilas "Anti-Zealot" Discourse: a Reinterpretation by Ihor Sevčenko and Second Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at

Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute, 1955 by Paul A. Underwood. Of these only the last named falls within the scope of this Journal. It describes in great detail the frescoes of the fourteenth century found under the whitewash in the Parecclesion in the vaults and lunettes of the western bay and on the lower walls of the apse and bema at the east. Views taken before and after cleaning show how indecipherable these frescoes were and how much more can be seen today. Even more would be visible had it been possible to give color plates. Four poet-hymnographers on the pendentives sit in poses characteristic of the evangelists, reading or writing with scroll or codex, with architecture and occasionally landscape at the sides. In the dome above is the Virgin with her court of angels but these frescoes are described in the first report (DO Papers 9-10, 1956) with which this report must be read. One must also refer to that for general views and even for mention of the date. The scheme of the whole decoration is now apparent, scenes of the Old Testament which are in some way antitypes or prefigurations of the Virgin with the theme of Resurrection and

Paradise at the east end. Of the notes one only is not in the field of art history, The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059) by Speros Vryonis Jr. George H. Forsyth contributes Architectural Notes on a Trip through Cilicia. He visited and photographed early Byzantine churches at four sites checking what is visible today with the descriptions of Herzfeld and Guyer of 1907 and Headlam in 1890. He challenges Guyer's theory of domes on some of these and would reconstruct them with a pyramidal wooden roof but stresses that they need excavation for definitive study. They afford an important and vigorous chapter in the history of architecture of the 5th and 6th centuries, with a style which is not from Rome nor the Orient nor yet from Constantinople but rather is a Hellenistic survival. A. Alföldi's note on A Sassanian Silver Phalera at Dumbarton Oaks discusses a thin mask of a man's head which is quite close stylistically to a girl's head on a silver vase in the Hermitage. Imperial stamps on the chin were added later and these seem to date in the second half of the 7th century. They are studied and commented upon by Erica Cruikshank. Marvin C. Ross writes on A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks. A recent acquisition, this was formerly in Strzygowski's collection. It is reported to have been part of the Lamboussa Treasure from Cyprus along with the famous Morgan silver plates with scenes of David now in the Metropolitan Museum, which are dated by the control stamps of Heraclius (610-41). This medallion seems to have been made just before, between Justin II and Maurice Tiberius, from its close comparison stylistically with the consular medallion of the latter in the Metropolitan. It shows a seated Madonna flanked by angels with smaller scenes below and, on the reverse, the Baptism. Heretofore called Syrian, Ross proves it to be from Constantinople. Thus

the Dumbarton Oaks Papers continue with the scholarly and important articles one has come to expect.

MARION LAWRENCE

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GANDHARAN ART IN PAKISTAN, photographed by *Islay Lyons*, with introduction and descriptive catalogue by *Harald Ingholt*. Pp. 203, figs. 577. Pantheon Books, 1957. \$18.50.

This handsome and generously planned book is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on Gandhāran art. To experienced students it should prove an invaluable tool. The catalogue of sculptures which is its chief reason for existence is fully illustrated, and has apparently been documented with great care. The arrangement of the material along iconographical lines—first the scenes from the story of the Buddha in chronological sequence, then single figures or fragments in hierarchic order—is a reasonable and convenient one. For those familiar with the earlier literature it has the added advantage of continuing a format made authoritative by the most respected of earlier writers, Alfred Foucher. In that sense Ingholt's book provides a long-needed appendix to the classical Art gréco-

bouddhique of a half century ago.

For the beginner, on the other hand, the book seems to this reviewer a more dubious acquisition. The chief trouble lies in the other major division of the text, an introduction that the author himself disarmingly admits was written in less time than he had planned, because of the more pressing demands imposed by the catalogue. Here the shortcomings due to haste and some inevitable carelessness have been compounded by Ingholt's inexperience in the field. His historical framework, for example, must owe much of its persuasive simplicity to ignorance or disregard of the fearful tangle in which the evidence actually lies. There are more precise dates than ever before: 90 B.C. for the "fall" of the Greek regime in Gandhāra; "prob-ably about A.D. 99" for the conquest of Taxila by Vima Kadphises; A.D. 340 for the decisive battle in which Shapur II defeated "the last king of the dynasty, Vasudeva (III)"; A.D. 358 for the Sasanian recognition of the new Kidarite power; and so on. Most of these may be traced back to a variety of authorities (not the first, which appears without substantiation). That such predecessors have often been in disagreement with each other is not apparent, nor does Ingholt show any awareness that his most frequently cited source, Ghirshman, is a controversial one. The bluntly stated date of 358 is thus doubly precarious. Ghirshman himself had claimed nothing more than a likelihood for it; and the whole Ghirshman theory about Sasano-Kidarite relations has been seriously shaken by his successor in Afghan excavations, Schlumberger, who believes that the clash must be set almost a century later.

By a similar process Ingholt has raised his account of the Kanishkan dynasty into the clean air out of a morass of doubts and contradictions. Kanishka, tout court, was Vima's son; his dynasty lasted just 98 years because its known dated inscriptions end with the 98th (qua Ghirshman at his most imprudent). In setting a very important terminus for the great age in Gandhāra Ingholt has perpetuated an old error. His villains are of course "the White Huns or Ephthalites, who carried ruin and destruction wherever they went." The chief witness here, as in earlier historical summaries by Western writers, is the Chinese ambassador Sung Yün, who visited the region in 520 and recorded (as Ingholt quotes him) that "two generations had elapsed since Gandhāra had been devastated by the Ye-tha." Actually the key Chinese character in the passage has been mistranslated since Beal's time; it refers not to "devastation" but merely to defeat. Sung Yün's descriptions make it clear that he found the Gandharan and Afghan pilgrimage sites in flourishing condition; the foreign overlord, though tyrannical and an unbeliever, spent his time and exhausted his violence in frontier wars. (The widespread destruction recorded by the seventh century pilgrim Hsüan-tsang may well have taken place in the decade just after Sung Yün's departure, as the pressure applied by his neighbors exasperated Mihirakula into reprisals against the Buddhist "fifth column" in his own domain.)

Ingholt's few references to the state of Gandharan Buddhism in his period seem to be even more seriously affected by the conditions under which he wrote. In discussing the Kanishkan gold and copper coins that furnish the first datable Buddhist images from the empire, he puzzles over an apparent contradiction (p. 26): the fact that it should have been Kanishka, "a convert to Buddhism [who] favored the conservative Hīnayāna version" who authorized the making of an image that signalized the emergence of a revolutionary new creed. Could the coins have been cast before his conversion, and were they frowned on thereafter? A search in the footnotes reveals that the major authority back of this problem is not any of the fairly numerous specialists who have written about the age of Kanishka and his great Buddhist council, but the archaeologist Spooner, reporting on the find of the "Kanishka casket" in 1909; and that beyond his few sentences of hesitation the latter admitted that the differences between Mahāyāna and Hinayana in that period were probably not very

A much more fundamental misunderstanding has produced Ingholt's definition of the major iconographic patterns of the age. He explains one late piece in the catalogue (no. 242) as follows:

"According to Mahāyāna theology, there are five divine Buddhas who rule over the five cosmic ages. Each of these ages is created by a Bodhisattva, an intermediate between the divine Buddhas and human beings, and as human counterparts to these Bodhisattvas, there is in each of these ages a human Buddha. The cosmic age to which Buddhism belonged was the

fourth. It was created by a Bodhisattva named Avalokiteśvara, and his human counterpart was Śākyamuni Siddhārta [sic]. The characteristic attitude of both [A.] and [S.] was the *dhyāna mudra*, the pose of meditation. In a Buddhist text translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 186, the headdress of [A.] is described as "a heavenly crown of gems in which there is a transformed Buddha."

To anyone familiar with the north Indian Mahāyāna texts that were rendered into Chinese between the second and sixth centuries-or for that matter, with the actual look of Gandharan sculpture—this passage will bear every sign of total improbability. The theological system described is clearly a very late one, and can be used as a whole to explain neither the art of Gandhāra, even in its final phase, nor that produced in north China in the fifth century under powerful Gandharan influence. Ingholt's principal source in this case is the present-day specialist in the iconography of Avalokiteśvara; and her he has read so inattentively that he has failed to notice that she refers to the claim of an early date for this very iconographical pattern-made in the studies of Agrawala-only to refute it decisively. For her it is hardly thinkable before the eighth century. One other key item in Ingholt's précis is demonstrably mishandled. There was indeed a "Buddhist text translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 186" that bears on the beginnings of the cult of Avalokitesvara, the first known rendering of the Amitayus Sūtra by the Kushan monk Lokaraksa; but it was not until the early fifth, in the much more sophisticated version of Kālayaśas, that a description of the great Bodhisattva's physical attributes (including the phrase quoted) was given.

The greater part of Ingholt's introduction contains a methodical stylistic analysis of preserved Buddha figures. From this emerges an outline of the evolution of Gandharan style through four phases. The first began with the accession of Kanishka, and was terminated around 240 by the initial Sasanian conquest. The second lasted until around 300; the third covered the next century; and the fourth was brought to an end by the White Hun's "devastation" around 460. The results of this sort of exercise are much more difficult to evaluate than are statements of fact, and the attempt is as likely to expose the prejudices of the commentator as the weaknesses of the author. Your present reviewer must nevertheless record both major and minor areas of disagreement. Ingholt's analysis seems to him to have been carried out in vacuo by concentrating on one type of subject from one area, the Buddha figure, to the virtual exclusion of everything else: particularly to the development of relief compositions, the growing importance of ornament and architectural frames, and (from the geographical standpoint) the closely related evidence given by sculpture in Afghanistan. Membership in a given group is assigned almost mechanically on the basis of a few stylistic traits. A typical statement is this: "Characteristic of Group III [is] the way in which the sanghāti no longer covers the right knee." In concentrating on such criteria, which in themselves may offer no clear signs of earliness or lateness, Ingholt has overlooked others that do seem to mark a continuous change. Thus he pays only slight attention to the progressive enrichment and diversification of pedestal iconography, the one aspect of Gandharan sculpture that offers the strongest hints of the rapidly developing Mahāyāna cults. Where the traits whose importance he does recognize appear in unusual combinations his choice of the determining quality appears quite arbitrary. He is willing to include in a single Group III, for example, figures or heads whose hair is rendered in every fashion from a relatively close imitation of the traditional Hellenistic waves to the most formal, Guptan-style snail-shell curls. Conversely, though it is only under III that he comments on the gradually increasing scale of Buddha figures in relation to others, he ascribes to Group II reliefs in which the hero even as Prince Siddartha is shown at colossal size (nos. 31, 32).

Two final comments might be made in relation to the dating of the later phases. When so much else in Gandhāran art was carried to China, to be imitated in the great cave temples at Yün-kang from 460 or so on into the 480's, it is interesting to find two key elements of the late style quite lacking there. The Chinese sculptors tried out neither the elaborate lotus throne nor the teaching mudra; and their failure to do so perhaps means that those innovations, hallmarks of "Group III," were made in the West only in the last decades of the fifth century, in the period of Ephthalite rule. (It has not generally been noticed that the Chinese "Northern History" implies that the "Ye-tha" in their homeland at least were lavish patrons of Buddhism, since they had "many temples and pagodas, all decorated with gold.") Lastly, since the curious habit of rendering drapery folds by paired, incised lines turns up in China only around the middle of the sixth century, its period of adoption in Gandhara in "Group IV" may have occurred only a short time before; perhaps as a sign of technical decadence following Mihirakula's persecutions.

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PLEISTOCENE MAN AT SAN DIEGO, by George F. Carter. Pp. 400, figs. 96, tables 6. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1957. \$8.00.

In this book Carter endeavors to establish a case for Third Interglacial Man in the New World on a Lower Paleolithic level of culture. Reasons are given to date man's entry to America as early as 100,000 years ago. This is 4 to 10 times longer than most prehistorians are willing to accept as the arrival time of America's first immigrants, an opinion based on repetitive geochronological and other evidence that appears acceptable. It is generally held by workers in

the Early Man field that the task of supporting contentions of high antiquity increases, not with arithmetic progression, but in the order of the third or fourth power as one recedes before the present. To prove that man was here a hundred years ago is no task at all. To label a civilization a thousand years old requires considerably more mustering of the data and employment of kinds of information not necessary for the more recent period. It took many years of evidence-gathering and much acrimonious debate to gain general acceptance of 10,000 year old societies in the New World. Little wonder, therefore, that Carter's conclusions should be given the closest and most skeptical scrutiny.

The main outline of Carter's reconstruction runs successively, from late times to early, through four broad periods: 1) recent to 15,000 B.P., encompassing the Yuman pottery-producing sites and ranging to the lithic components of San Dieguito III; 2) 15,000 to about 40,000 B.P., the tool typologies of San Dieguito II and I; 3) 55,000 to 80,000 B.P., cobble core tools, the mano and metate, as represented at La Jolla, and 4) 85,000 to 100,000 B.P. (Third Interglacial) dubious core tools (metate probably absent) and other evidence of man.

The arrangement of the youngest human manifestations attributed to late Wisconsin and Recent times, as summarized on pages 320-21, is patterned after the sequences developed by Malcolm J. Rogers, the fundamental difference being, however, that the time factor is radically at odds in the minds of the two proponents of the sequence. For the three older horizons there are, as yet, few or no collateral controls.

Jumping to that part of the book which deals with the oldest evidence, the case is built upon the occurrence of presumed artifacts, hearths and hearthstones, mammal bones, and marine shells in deposits identified as Third Interglacial along the southern California coast. The argument rests mainly on the Texas Street exposures in San Diego. Two questions basic to the conclusions must be asked: 1) Is the Texas Street deposit actually Third Interglacial in origin? 2) Is the evidence of man acceptable? I cannot speak for the geologists with respect to the first question, but it would have been helpful to have the assessments of others, along with the author, on this important question. On the second point, experienced archaeologists have expressed extreme doubt as to the reliability of the artifactual evidence. With this opinion I concur. Neither the broken stones nor the hearths, etc., leave me with the feeling of confidence that man's spoor is actually involved. For one thing, the "tools" suffer by comparison with other lithic industries in failing to reveal even a simple chipping system or the kind of regularity that characterizes primitive typologies. That these "implements" are the product of natural forces cannot be dismissed. Similar reservations must be held about the other kinds of evidence presented.

Considerable importance is given to the mano and metate as a horizon marker and on page 292 is a

statement that reads, "The presence of manos and metates in positions suggesting an interglacial age is surprising." Surprising indeed, for, if true, this might well have far-reaching meaning in terms of the timing of man's subsistence advances as between the Old and New Worlds. But nowhere in the book can one find either an adequate description or illustrations of what these manos and metates were like.

Parts of the book will not stand much critical analysis. Credibility of the theme as a whole is sometimes impaired by such statements as, "For many of these sites I have a considerable fund of hearsay evidence" (p. 244). There is a disturbing difference between the drawn and photographed versions of the same stones (figs. 88, 89). And one wonders why fuller use was not made of the data compiled by com-

petent California archaeologists.

Carter did a prodigious amount of field work and he has wisely recognized that wide ranging data from geology, geomorphology, oceanography, soils, and the evidence of climatic change are all necessary to support and clarify the archaeological findings. I find myself in disagreement with him when he begs the question of developing an absolute chronology because "we have learned too much" (p. 374). It seems unlikely that we will ever be able to develop a universally acceptable absolute chronology but not for the above reason. Knowing too much is like eating too much: one recovers from the stupor by allowing plenty of time for digestion.

The negative tone of this review does not mean that I ignore the possibility of human entry to the New World in times far older than those now accepted. My position on that score has previously been stated and alluded to in Carter's "Acknowledgements." Carter has done us a good turn by giving conventional thinking about early Americans a jolt, but the case is far from proven. He would have done well to end

the book's title with a question mark.

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ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE MOUTH OF THE AMAZON, by Betty J. Meggers and Clifford Evans. Pp. xxviii + 664, figs. 206, pls. 112. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 167, Washington, 1957.

This impressive volume opens a new archaeological frontier. The Amazon Basin is one of the world's least known areas, and Meggers and Evans are the first to approach it with modern techniques. They spent an entire year at the mouth of the Amazon, from July 1949 to July 1950, and excavated sites in three areas, the Territory of Amapá, Marajó Island, and the islands of Mexicana and Caviana. Most of their volume is devoted to (1) a description and classification of

their finds, but they also (2) work out the main outlines of cultural succession in the local areas, (3) theorize about the effect of tropical forest environment on this succession, and (4) fit the succession into the prehistory of tropical South America as a whole. It will be convenient to review these four aspects of the work separately.

1. As a report of field work within three local areas, the work is excellent. The excavations appear to have been carried out thoroughly, systematically, and as carefully as possible in the face of adverse climatic conditions. The finds are succinctly described and unusually well illustrated. This will undoubtedly be a basic source in South American archaeology for many years to come and may well serve as a model for future work in other parts of the Amazon Basin.

The area around the mouth of the Amazon was previously known almost entirely for what Meggers and Evans term the Marajoara phase of culture, consisting of earth works, burial mounds, artistically painted and excised pottery vessels, burial urns, and numerous other objects of clay, including stools, spindle whorls, ear plugs, spoons, and tangas (genital coverings). Previous investigators were so attracted by these relatively elaborate remains that they failed to note the presence of simpler phases of culture consisting of shallow refuse deposits with practically nothing in them except crude pottery which is predominantly brushed, scraped, or incised. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the volume is its convincing demonstration that these simpler phases of culture are more widespread and more typical than the Marajoara phase, which had previously been considered the characteristic form of culture at the mouth of the Amazon.

In an effort to determine as much as possible about the non-material life of the prehistoric inhabitants, the authors pay special attention to settlement patterns and, wherever possible, interpret the remains in terms of ethnological data. In this connection, they make use of the threefold classification of cultural development which Julian Steward had worked out for the ethnology of lowland South America: (a) Marginal culture, which lacked pottery and agriculture; (b) Tropical Forest culture, which had developed those practices, but retained a simple form of political organization and religion; and (c) Circum-Caribbean culture, in which relatively complex political and religious developments accompany pottery and agriculture. The authors were not fortunate enough to discover traces of Marginal culture. They classify their simpler phases within the Tropical Forest stage of development and consider the Marajoara phase, with its more elaborate remains, to be Circum-Caribbean.

2. The shallowness of the sites made it difficult to establish a succession of phases, but the authors were able to get around this difficulty by skillful use of the technique of ceramic seriation. They demonstrate that four Tropical Forest phases, Ananatuba, Mangueiras, Acuan, and Formiga, were the earliest in the area

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and that the Circum-Caribbean Marajoara phase did not make its appearance until later. The Marajoara phase was present only for a relatively short period of time and within a restricted area, the eastern and central part of Marajó Island. It was replaced by a Tropical Forest phase, Aruã, which diffused from the Territory of Amapá. Aruã and two other Tropical Forest phases, Mazagão and Aristé, survived into historic time.

In the absence of charcoal for radiocarbon dating, the authors attempt to estimate the age of the phases by a study of rates of refuse accumulation. On this basis, they conclude that Ananatuba, the earliest, Tropical Forest phase, reached the mouth of the Amazon about A.D. 700. Gordon R. Willey (American Antiquity, vol. 23, pp. 364-65) considers this estimate too recent and the reviewer is inclined to agree, since his own radiocarbon dates for the first Tropical Forest culture at the mouth of the Orinoco River are 1500 years earlier.

3. To explain the discovery that the Circum-Caribbean Marajoara culture is neither so widespread nor so long-lived at the mouth of the Amazon as previously supposed, the authors invoke a kind of environmental determinism. They argue that the inhabitants of tropical forest areas such as those at the mouth of the Amazon were inhibited by their environment from advancing beyond the Tropical Forest stage of developinent into the Circum-Caribbean stage. If this is true, then the Marajoara phase cannot have originated within the Amazon Valley but must have intruded from a highland area, presumably somewhere in the headwaters of the Amazon drainage. The authors theorize that the Marajoara people migrated down the Amazon to its mouth but were able to persist there only in small numbers and for a short period of time because the environment was so unfavorable.

The reviewer is not convinced by this argument. Local developments within tropical forest areas, corresponding to that from Tropical Forest to Circum-Caribbean culture are well known from other parts of the world, e.g., Maya civilization in Yucatan, Taino culture in the Greater Antilles, Ife and Benin in West Africa, Dông-son in Indo-China, and Borobudur civilization in Java. One may argue, as Meggers has done in the case of Maya civilization (American Anthropologist, vol. 56, pp. 817-22), that some of these developments are the result of migrations from highland areas, but most of them appear to have originated in situ or in neighboring tropical forest areas.

This is not to say that Marajoara is a local development at the mouth of the Amazon; the authors have convincingly demonstrated that it is not. But the reviewer would not be surprised if future excavations should reveal that it originated in the middle of the Amazon Valley rather than at the headwaters. Its relative lack of stone and metal artifacts and its use of pottery to make objects which in the highland are made of stone or metal suggest an intensification of local, tropical forest culture rather than an intrusion

of highland culture. Work is urgently needed in the central part of the Amazon Basin to test this possibility.

4. In fitting their local cultural succession into the picture for tropical South America as a whole, the authors start with the assumption that not only the Marajoara phase but also each Tropical Forest phase has intruded from other areas. In other words, they view the mouth of the Amazon as an extreme example of a refuge area, into which people penetrated from other areas but in which no new phases developed, again presumably because of the unfavorable environment. They conclude that all phases reached the mouth of the Amazon as the result of migrations from other areas and attempt to determine the paths of migration.

Their procedure is to trace the distribution of individual traits distinctive of each phase. Clusterings of these traits are assumed to mark the paths of migration. For example, the Aruã phase is characterized by stone alinements; stone celts, beads, and amulets; clay griddles; and appliqué pottery decoration. Similar traits also occur in the Greater Antilles. Therefore, the Aruã people may have migrated from the Greater Antilles through the Lesser Antilles and along the coast of the Guianas to the mouth of the Amazon.

This conclusion has three weaknesses: (a) Aruā and Greater Antillean culture are dissimilar in most other respects; (b) the traits mentioned have not been reported from most of the intervening areas; and (c) these traits do not occur together in any phase of culture known for the Greater Antilles. For example, stone alinements are not associated with the appliqué pottery of the Meillac phase, which the authors cite as evidence of connection with Aruã. The authors are careful to note (a) and (b) but overlook (c). In other words, they compare on the basis of individual traits rather than phases.

In the reviewer's opinion, this is a blemish on an otherwise sound piece of work. By establishing a local succession of phases instead of limiting themselves to individual traits, as previous Amazonian archaeologists had done, the authors have made an important advance. But it is unfortunate that they did not carry through by also making their inter-areal comparisons in terms of the concept of phase, especially since the phase, being a formulation of the total culture of a people, is a much better indicator of migration than are individual traits, which may have diffused separately or have been invented independently. The authors acknowledge this but point out that to work with phases would have severely limited the scope of their conclusions, since so little is known of the rest of Amazonian archaeology.

The conclusions also suffer from inadequate coverage of the literature. For example, corrugated pottery at the mouth of the Amazon is compared with that of southern Brazil and Argentina but no mention is made of its widespread occurrence in Venezuela and Colombia. Similarly, in referring to "the frequent

utilization of two or more complex and technically distinct modes of decoration on a single vessel" in the Marajoara phase, the authors remark that "this is a situation almost without precedent in New World archeology" (p. 324). Yet it is characteristic of the Saladoid and especially of the Barrancoid pottery of eastern Venezuela and the Antilles. Other similarities with Saladoid or Barrancoid pottery, such as annular bases, pot stands, bell-shaped bowls, and white-on-red decoration, are also overlooked. In the reviewer's opinion, resemblances between Amazonia and the eastern half of the Caribbean are considerably stronger than this volume indicates.

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CHICHEN ITZA AND ITS CENOTE OF SACRIFICE. A Comparative Study of Contemporaneous Maya and Toltec, by Alfred N. Tozzer. 2 vols., pp. viii + 316, frontis., figs. 709, tables 27. Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vols. 11 and 12, Cambridge, 1957. \$25 paper, \$35 cloth (sold only together).

Since the sixteenth century it has been known from Spanish writings that the ancient Maya of Yucatan customarily cast offerings of valuables as well as human victims into one of the cenotes (natural "wells" caused by the falling in of the surface crust above large underground deposits of water) at the great archaeological site of Chichen Itza. Between 1904 and 1912, Edward H. Thompson, U.S. consul in Yucatan and very amateur archaeologist, recovered a part of this treasure, dredging it up from the mud at the bottom of the cenote. This material, now in Peabody Museum, Harvard University, comprised objects of metal, jade, obsidian, pottery, and wood, as well as human remains, rubber, balls of copal incense, etc. The collection is of extraordinary interest because the cenote mud preserved objects of vegetal origin which very rarely survive normal exposure to the climate of Central America, and it saved from man-made destruction much of beauty and interest.

These two volumes form an introduction to the report on the collection, of which only the section on metals has yet been published; others are to follow. Tozzer, an outstanding leader in Maya research for fifty years and a member of the Department of Anthropology at Harvard from 1913 almost until his death, was deeply interested in Chichen Itza and its cenote from his first visit there in 1902 (he was there also in 1904 when the dredging first started) until the end of his life (he died in 1954 shortly after completing this report).

Tozzer was a great teacher, and these volumes reveal the excellent qualities which enabled him to digest, abstract, and then expound general progress in his profession. Presentation of the complex material is

lucid, straightforward, and excellently arranged; the stream of knowledge flows, like Arethusa, shepherding the bright fountains of duly annotated quotation or paraphrase.

Tozzer was intensely interested in the geographical distribution of traits, and accumulated a heavy file on the subject which he utilized extensively in his lectures to generations of sophomores. This file, with additions, now reappears as the greater bulk of the text and almost all the 710 illustrations. Practically all the latter are taken from accessible publications-no less than 94 are from Morris, Charlot, and Morris, The Temple of the Warriors; 57 from Ruppert, Chichen Itza Architecture: Notes and Plans (almost half the original text figures); about 100 from Maudslay's and Seler's studies on Chichen Itza, and so on. This is the approach of the teacher who wants to put everything on the blackboard-cram the boys with solid factsand so we find the hackneyed and often somewhat irrelevant pictures of human sacrifice, shells, water lilies, imbricated year symbols and so on, from Tepic to El Salvador. Many of the distributions serve only to emphasize the incontrovertible—the general unity of Middle American culture. The absences of traits from key sites, which are often of far greater importance, are largely ignored. Tabulated sherd counts from Mayapan, burial rites in the Alta Vera Paz, all known spindle whorls from Chichen, bridges throughout Middle America, trade, currency, and dances are among published materials here republished.

The section which will most interest Maya students is that in which Tozzer offers a new reconstruction of the history of Chichen Itza. His scheme is an expansion of a thesis recently advanced by Ralph Roys that the Itza occupation of Chichen was contemporaneous (with a slight head start) with the period of Mayapan's domination, that is to say, it ran from about A.D. 1244 (11.1.0.0.0) to A.D. 1450 (11.11.10.0.0), the end being brought about by the capture and destruction of the site by Hunac Ceel. Tozzer assigns the period 980-1145 to the Toltec; a period of Maya resurgence (example, the Temple of the Chac Mool) until 1225; then a Mexican resurgence (example, the Temple of the Warriors) until approximately 1285.

I feel that two most important assumptions on which his scheme rests are open to serious question. One is that a predominance of Mexican figures in a building is evidence that Mexican influences were in control when it was erected, and similarly a predominance of Maya figures marks a Maya resurgence. An alternative explanation is that the type of figure shown indicates not the dominant faction, but the function of the building in a fused culture. For example, if the Chac Mool temple was dedicated to the Chac cult, as the murals would indicate, it is natural to find there a predominance of portraits of Maya priests, for the Chac cult was Maya. On the other hand, if as the friezes indicate, the Warriors temple was for the rites of the Toltec warrior orders of Eagles and Jaguars, it is natural that Toltec warriors should predominate. With this interpretation we avoid this Virginia reel of alternating Maya and Mexican regimes, and we can avoid the necessary deduction from Tozzer's scheme that the Itza erected splendid edifices, notably the Warriors group, in the first 60 years of their sojourn at Chichen, and then, for no apparent reason, lived like gypsies amid the ruins for the next 260 years. Similarly the Castillo and the High Priest's Grave, with almost identical although unusual plans, need not be placed two centuries or more apart because one has

Toltec, the other Maya figures.

The second assumption I question is that because the pottery (almost entirely used as containers of copal cakes) is of the Mayapan period, therefore the cenote cult did not start until then. Many of the carved jade pieces are unquestionably of much earlier date, and I find it hard to believe that the Itza cast these pieces, some centuries old, as well as gold disks, almost certainly antiques, into the cenote between A.D. 1280 and the Spanish conquest, when Mayapan was dominant. Ceramic evidence shows conclusively that the occupants of Chichen at that period, whether they were the renowned Itza or not, were campers out in a city falling into ruin. No building construction except little shacks can be definitely assigned to that period. Yet, if we are to accept the suggested outline, these Itza, instead of saying Ichabod, were casting this wealth of jade, gold and so forth into the cenote at a time when archaeological evidence shows that the politically far more important Mayapan, capital city of all the land, had very little jade and less gold. It doesn't make sense. Tozzer included the evidence against a real occupation of Chichen Itza during the Mayapan period, as he did everything about the site, but he ignored its implications.

More reasonably, one may suppose the cenote cult had endured for centuries (there is evidence for rites at springs in Early Classic at latest), and that the Mayapan red ware containers merely mark a late fashion, perhaps introduced by pilgrims from Mayapan

Evidence unearthed by Vaillant over 30 years ago conclusively showed that buildings at Chichen Itza were sacked and destroyed while X type Fine Orange pottery and plumbate pottery were still in use, and I pointed out the significant fact that the Caracol was falling into ruin before plumbate went out of use. As those two wares ceased to be manufactured not long

after A.D. 1200 (absent from Aztec II and probably from much of Aztec I), it is clear that Chichen Itza was sacked around that date. As history tells us of only one sacking of the site, it is surely more reasonable to place the Hunac Ceel ravishment of the city then, and not at 1450. In fairness, it should be noted that Tozzer makes no claim that his scheme is infallible. Yet, his reputation is such that the proposals are likely to be accepted unless the most obvious flaws are noted. On the other hand, one must admit that objections to alternative arrangements can easily be

Some day the Warriors complex will be surely dated. That is a structure which was deliberately destroyed, and was visited by campers or by pilgrims to the cenote in Mayapan times, as finds of Mayapan pottery above the collapsed debris show. The key to its dating is the pipe from under the top floor of the northwest colonnade, for it is of such an involved and rare type that eventually its chronological position will be pinpointed. It is worth noting, since Tozzer missed it, that this pipe almost surely originated in northern Michoacan, as Muriel Porter demonstrated many years ago. Its arrival at Chichen Itza marks perhaps the longest journey known for any artifact in the Maya area; it is some 1500 km. from northern Michoacan by direct overland line, considerably more by road or by road and coastal canoe.

One wishes the author could have been induced to tell us more about the actual dredging of the cenote and of life at Chichen Itza hacienda while it was going on. Eduardo Thompson was a rich character, and Tozzer, who knew him so well in those days and could tell a good anecdote, was the person to paint those scenes. Alas, the chance is now gone for good.

All will be thankful that Tozzer was spared to finish compilation of this veritable enciclopedia mayatolteca. Because of its textual and illustrative comprehensiveness, this study on the late periods of Middle America should be of particular value to the nonspecialist, and especially to those who know the Maya only in terms of the Classic period, the "Old Empire" as it was called when Thompson's dredge was hard

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ASHDON, SAFFRON WALDEN ESSEX, ENGLAND



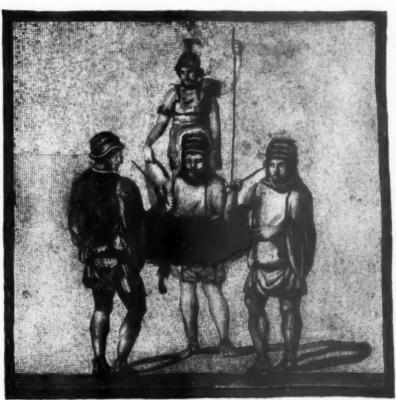
Paris 2. Collection V. J. E. Ryan, no. 2021. 3. Private coll., Italy.
 Paris. 5-6. New York. 7. Ant. Münzen Nordgr. III 1, T.3,7. 8. ibid. III 2,
 T.19,11. 9. ibid. T.19,10. 10. BMC Cyrenaica pl. 43,5. 11. New York



1-11. Vatican. 12. Münzen and Med. A. G. Basel



1. Cippus from Chiusi



2. Mosaic pavement. Rome, Borghese Gallery



Paris. 2. Coll. Niggeler, Baden. 3. Bologna. 4. Coll. Leuthold,
 Milan. 5. Coll. Niggeler. 6. New York. 7. Rome, Mus. Naz. 8-9. Paris.
 Coll. Niggeler. 11. Coll. Leuthold. 12. Rome, Mus. Capitol.



H. B. Walters, Cat. Engr. Gems² (1926) no. 2271.
 New York.
 Denarius of Livincius Regulus, Berne.
 Bologna.
 Vatican.
 New York.
 Mus. Capitol.
 Vatican



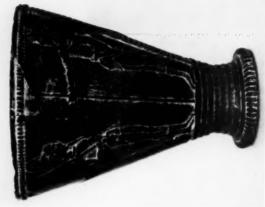
1. Br. Mus. 2-2a, 6. Firenze. 3-4, 7-8, 10. Vatican. 5. Coll. Leuthold, Milan. 9. New York



1. Relief found under the Palazzo Cancellaria, Vatican



2. Trajanic relief in the Arch of Constantine



2. Steatite cup from Hagia Triada





1. Relief from the Arco di Portogallo



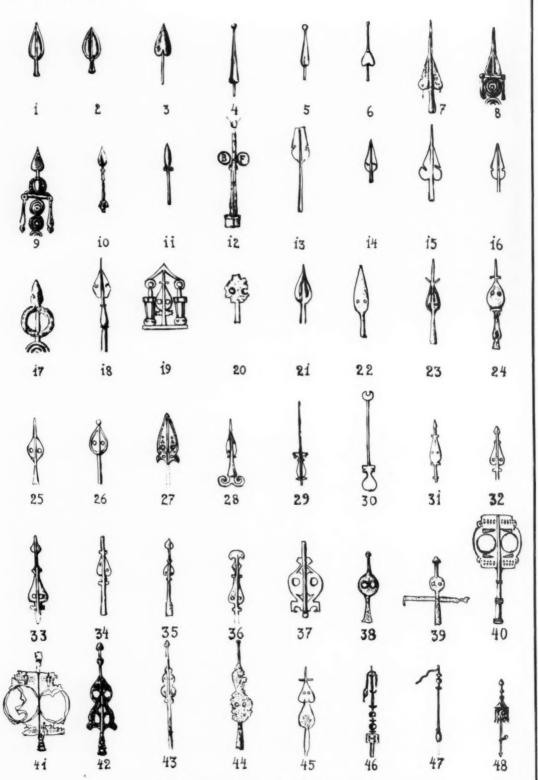
2. Tombstone of a speculator in Belgrade



3. Denarius of Porcius Laeca

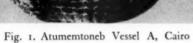


1. Tombstone of Pintaius in Bonn



Figs. 1-48. Types of hasta as emblem of power





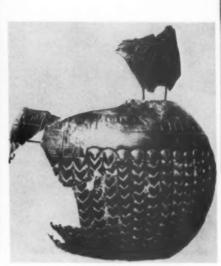


Fig. 2. Atumemtoneb Vessel B, Cairo, with handle, Berlin



Fig. 3. Atumemtoneb Vessel A, Cairo, engraved scenes



Fig. 4. Atumemtoneb Vessel B, fragments of engraved scene in Cairo, Berlin, and New York

Fig. 1. É. Vernier, Bijoux et orfèvreries (Cairo Catalogue) pl. 105. Fig. 2. Vessel from C. C. Edgar in G. Maspero, Le musée égyptien, II, pl. 44, 2. Handle from A. Scharff, "Altes und Neues von der Goldschmiedearbeiten der ägyptischen Abteilung," BerlMus 51 (1930) 114, fig. 2. Fig. 3. C. C. Edgar, "Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta," ASAE 25 (1925) pl. 1, figs. 1-2, following p. 258. Fig. 4. Left: drawn from W. K. Simpson, "The Tell Basta Treasure," BMMA, New Series 8 (1949) 6.3, lower left. Second from left: W. Fr. von Bissing, "Ägyptisch oder Phoinikisch?" [dl 25 (1910) 195, fig. 1. Right and second from right: sections in New York drawn from photographs, sections in Berlin from Scharff, op.cit. 114, fig. 1 (left and center)



Figs. 5-7. Atumemtoneb Vessel C, New York



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

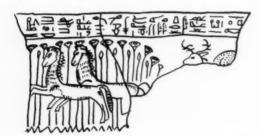


Fig. 8. Atumemtoneb Vessel C, New York, engraved scenes





Fig. 9. Atumemtoneb Vessel A, Cairo, presentation scene



Fig. 11. Rim fragment with cartouches of Tawosret as king, New York



Fig. 10. Atumemtoneb Vessel B, Cairo, presentation scene with upper fragment in New York

Figs. 5-7. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Detail of fig. 6 previously published by W. K. Simpson, op.cit. 64, lower left. Fig. 8. Traced from original. Fig. 9. C. C. Edgar, op.cit. pl. 2, fig. 3, following p. 258. Fig. 10. P. Montet, Les reliques de l'art syrien . . . , 141, fig. 179, with upper fragment traced from original. Fig. 11. Traced from original



Fig. 12. Repoussée bowl, New York, with three registers on sides and single register and central design on base

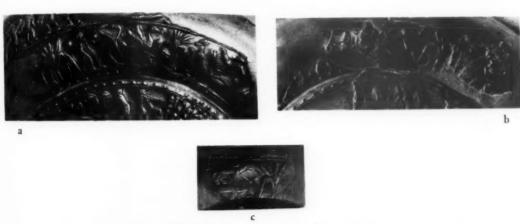


Fig. 13. Third register: scenes on the desert margin. a) bird tending; b) lion hunt; c) animals foraging

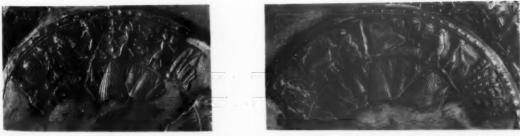


Fig. 14. Fourth register, on base: a) treading in the press, bringing in the grapes; b) animal scene, gathering papyrus and grapes

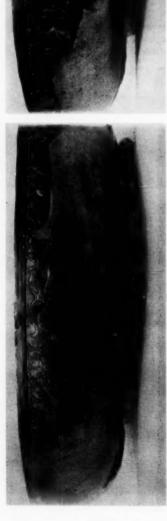


Fig. 15. First register: confronting files of cattle. Second register: battle between crews of two skiffs



Fig. 16. First register: fish handlers, the lassoing of horses. Second register: fowling scene with clap-net



Fig. 17. First register: the lassoing of horses in front of a windbreak. Second register: fowling scene



Fig. 18. First register: catching, cleaning, and carrying fish

Figs. 12-18. Courtesy of the Trustees, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Detail of fig. 13 a previously published by W. K. Simpson, op.cit. 61

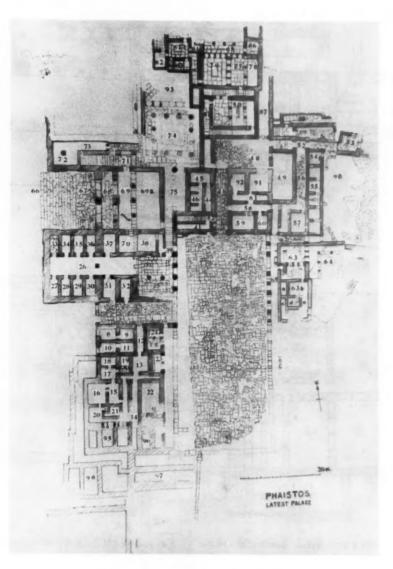


Fig. 1. Plan of the last palace at Phaistos (adapted from Festòs I, pl. 11)

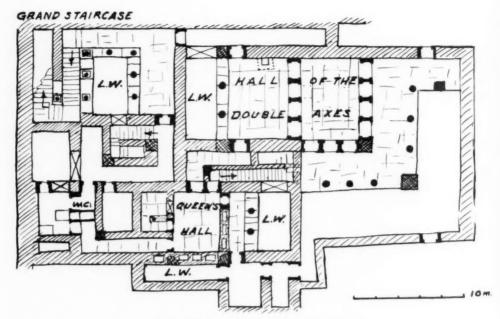


Fig. 2. Plan of Knossos Residential Quarter

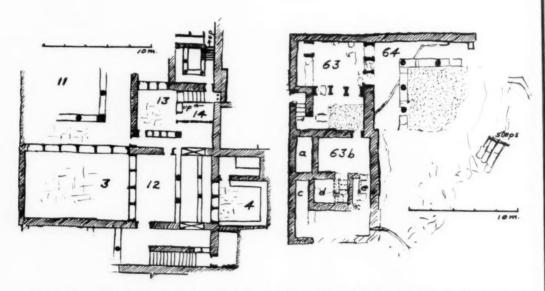


Fig. 3. Plan of Hagia Triada Residential Quarter Fig. 4. Plan of Phaistos southeast Residential Quarter North at top

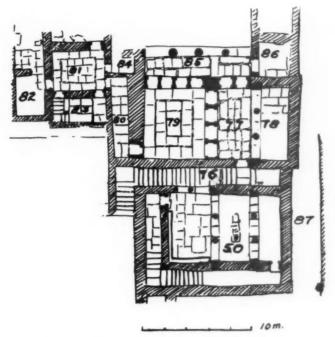


Fig. 5. Plan of Phaistos north Residential Quarter

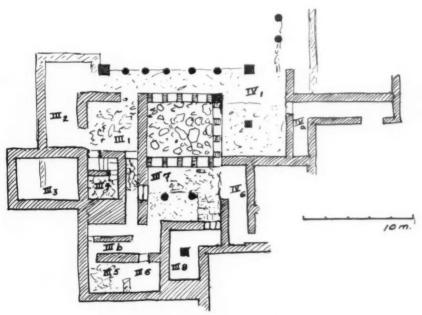


Fig. 6. Plan of Mallia Residential Quarter

North at top



Fig. 10. Mallia Residential Quarter from south

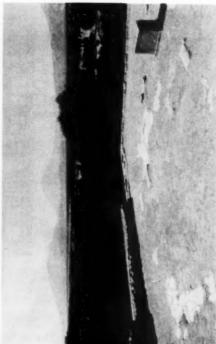


Fig. 9. Hagia Triada Residential Quarter



Fig. 7. Phaistos north Residential Quarter from east

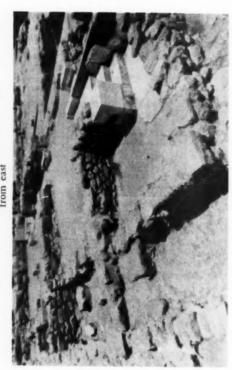


Fig. 8. Phaistos southeast Residential Quarter from southwest



Fig. 1. Wide-mouthed bowl from grave Nr. 177, Budakalász cemetery; ht. 10.8 cm

9. Hagia Triada Residential Quarter

southeast Residential Quarter from southwest



Fig. 2. Pedestalled bowl from same grave; ht. 8.3 cm

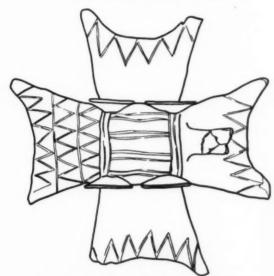


Fig. 3. Decoration of the Budakalász wagon



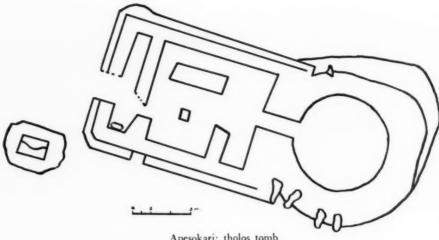
Fig. 4.



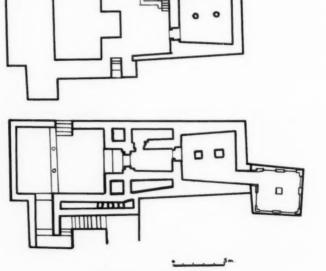
Fig. 5. Scoop from grave Nr. 158, same cemetery



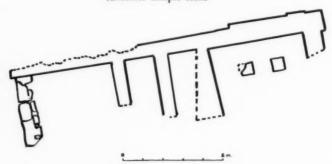
Figs. 4 and 6. Wagon model from grave Nr. 177, Budakalász cemetery; ht. 8.1 cm



Apesokari: tholos tomb



Knossos: temple tomb



Ayia Triadha: tomb 5

Orientation: north is at the bottom of the plate



Fig. 1. Horoztepe, sistrum from Early Bronze Age tomb



Fig. 2. Beycesultan, "horned altar" of level XIV. Socket of wooden pillar in foreground



Fig. 3. Side, theater, stage-building. Door in center, frieze below



Fig. 4. Side, detail of frieze on stage-building

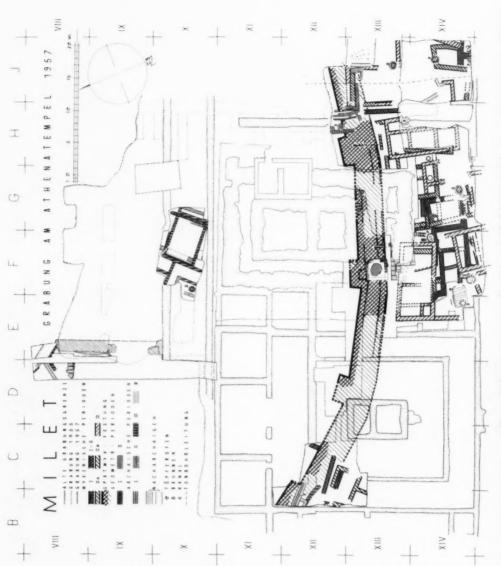


Fig. 5. Miletus, new excavations in area of Athena temple

Fig

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Fig. 6. Perge, relief from column: Artemis



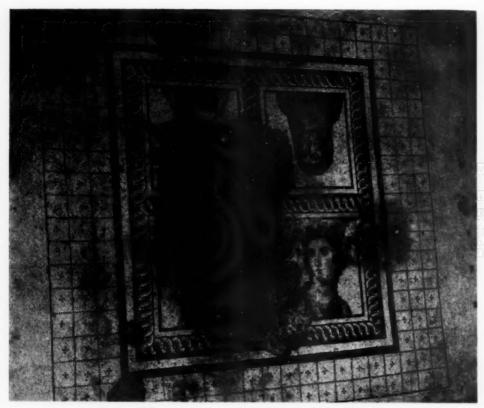
Fig. 7. Ephesus, portrait bust of third century A.D.



Fig. 9. Ephesus, reconstruction of temple of Hadrian



Fig. 8. Ephesus, statue of the physician Alexander



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Fig. 10. Ephesus, season mosaic in dining-hall of paidiskeion



Fig. 11. Ephesus, reclining satyr from Nymphaeum

The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1958 Part I

CARL W. BLEGEN

PLATES 25-34

WITH the generous financial support of Professor and Mrs. W. T. Semple the University of Cincinnati Expedition was enabled during the summer of 1958 to continue its excavations in and about the Palace of Nestor in Western Messenia. This seventh campaign extended through some twelve weeks, from May 9 to 3 August. As explained in preceding reports, the Cincinnati undertaking forms the American part of a joint Helleno-American archaeological exploration of Western Messenia in which my Greek colleague is Professor Spyridon Marinatos of the University of Athens.

The staff of the expedition consisted of Mrs. C. W. Blegen, Miss Marion Rawson, Professor Mabel Lang of Bryn Mawr College, George Papathanasopoulos, Curator in the National Museum, David French, and Lord William Taylour. I am glad to have an opportunity to acknowledge the industry, patience, and devotion of these indispensable colleagues. We are especially indebted to John Travlos, Architect of the Agora Excavations, who came to Messenia from Athens, measured all the walls uncovered during the season, and incorporated them in the general plan of the building complex (pl. 25, fig. 1). The original survey, which was laid out by D. Theocharis, had already been supplemented through additions drawn by Piet de Jong in 1956 and by Lloyd Cotsen in 1957.

As in preceding years, we are under obligations to many friends who have helped us. Dr. J. L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, and Professor Homer A. Thompson, Field Director of the Agora Excavations, have shown us innumerable courtesies and favors. We owe warm thanks likewise to Dr. Christos Karouzos, Director of the National Museum, who kindly arranged the necessary leave for G. Papathanasopoulos to spend more than seven weeks as a member of our staff. We are much indebted also to Alison Frantz who photographed the inscribed tablets and some of the

seal impressions recovered during the season. I am grateful, too, to my colleague, Professor Marinatos, who obtained for us the services of a vase mender, Costas Pavlatos, for nearly two months.

The principal objective of the campaign was to round out, so far as possible, the exploration of the northeastern, northwestern, and southwestern borders of the palace. A glance at the plan of 1957 (AJA 62 [1958] pl. 38, fig. 1) will reveal that in those areas comparatively large blank spaces mark still unexcavated ground. Considerable further digging was thus necessary to enable us to recover the complete plan of the whole palatial complex. Following our usual method this work was carried out slowly with a relatively small force of workmen, ranging from 12 to 25 in number. Our foreman was Dionysios Androutsakis, veteran of six seasons, on whom we have learned to depend.

The largest section of those to be examined is the one that lies to the northwest of the Palace Workshop (as we now call the Northeastern Wing), which was discovered in 1957, and to the northeast of the central block, which contains the Megaron. The undug part of this area had a width of some 25 m. from southwest to northeast and a length of 35 m. from southeast to northwest. Miss Rawson took charge of this sector, and in the northwestern part of it speedily exposed the remains of a building some 1840 m. long and 8.50 m. wide, which we were soon able to identify as a storeroom for wine. Transferring her attention to other parts of her large sector early in June, Miss Rawson turned the "wine cellar" over to David French, under whose supervision it was cleared to its floor by the end of July. Mr. French also measured and drew a detailed plan of the establishment, which seems to have been built parallel to and close beside the steep northwestern edge of the hill. Its orientation consequently diverges appreciably from that of the central block of the palace.

¹ AJA 57 (1953) 59-64, 58 (1954) 27-32; 59 (1955) 31-37; 60 (1956) 95-101; 61 (1957) 129-135; 62 (1958) 175-

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The Wine Magazine comprises two rooms (pl. 32, fig. 2), namely a vestibule-like apartment, ca. 3.20 m. wide, at the southwest end and the store-room proper, ca. 12.40 m. long, toward the north-east. The only recognizable entrance is at the north-west end of the vestibule, where there is a doorway, ca. 1.50 m. wide. Strangely enough it opens to the northwest, directly above the precipitous verge of the palace site. Perhaps the ridge on this side has suffered considerable erosion since Mycenaean times. No stone threshold was found in place: the space it might have occupied was filled with burnt earth and clay in which we recovered some 14 clay seal impressions and fragments. Otherwise the vestibule yielded nothing of interest.

The storeroom itself, which was entered from the vestibule through a central doorway ca. 1.40 m. wide, contained an impressive array of large jars (pl. 32, fig. 2). They had been set firmly, in most instances sunk deeply into hollows cut in the clay floor, in fairly regular rows, one along the southeastern wall, and a double row down the middle of the room, though not exactly centered. There may once have been a fourth row alongside the northwestern wall, but the remnants surviving were too scanty to make this certain (pl. 32, fig. 3). Two jars also stood along the southwestern wall on each side of the doorway.

The pithoi to the right of the entrance and alongside the southeastern wall had been bolstered both in front and behind by an irregular line of thinnish stones set on edge and supporting a filling of clayey earth (pl. 32, fig. 4). This arrangement corresponds roughly to the much more elegant stuccocoated stand in which the jars of the Oil Magazines behind the Throne Room had been embedded. In the wine room we found no indication that the longitudinal double row of pithoi down the middle had ever had a similar support.

The jars vary appreciably in size, shape, and state of preservation, but in almost every instance neck and mouth were lacking, having presumably been cut away by the plow when the ground was cultivated; and the bodies are badly cracked. In the southeasterly row six pithoi have survived in large part, and from the setting-hollows or substantial fragments the original position of six further vessels can be recognized. In the central double row we have on the right (or southeast) seven partially preserved jars and indications of two more, while on the left (northwest) eight survive and two others

are indicated. Beside the northwestern wall no pithoi remained in place, and no distinctive hollows were certainly identified, though many fragments of pithoi lay scattered about the area. The total number of jars contained in the building is therefore not accurately determinable, but we can say that at least 35 still stood in place on the day the palace was reduced to ruins in the great fire, and there may have been a good many more. One complete lid (pl. 32, fig. 4) and fragments of several others were recovered, and numerous badly crushed pots of various shapes were also collected. stemmed drinking cups being well represented. One of the most interesting pottery utensils is a grill with raised edges notched as spit-rests, perhaps for broiling souvlakia on skewers over a charcoal fire.

In a restricted area beside the jars at the right of the entrance and behind the southeastern row of pithoi were found-perhaps fallen from niches in the wall-some 40 or more clay sealings, complete or fragmentary, representing a good many different seals of varying artistic quality. Four of these sealings (pl. 31, Wr 1358-1361) bear on the obverse an inscribed ideogram which Ventris and Chadwick, following Sundwall, have recognized as designating wine (Documents in Mycenaean Greek p. 50, no. 131). The appearance here of this sign confirms the identification of the building as a wine store. Was it perhaps in this very wine cellar or in another much like it, that one of Nestor's maids, at the king's order, broached a jar of sweet wine in its eleventh year to offer the company in honor of Telemachus' visit?

The pithoi that were well enough preserved to retain their shape were of course full of earth. Almost all were carefully emptied to the bottom by Mr. French, and samples of the dark-colored deposit found in each were kept for examination. Apart from a large shattered stirrup-vase in one jar and a high-handled cup in another, nothing of any consequence came from these vessels. Here and there in the upper part of the earth filling them, and scattered about generally in the deposit covering the room, as well as on the floor itself, were collected a good many fragments of frescoes. Since the wine cellar, with its floor of beaten earth and its walls, probably of crude brick, only roughly plastered, presumably lacked wall paintings, we may conjecture that this widely dispersed material either represents debris washed in after the destruction or fallen from a more elaborately decorated upper story. The walls are thick enough to support it, and the location would be suitable for the quarters of an official, such as the chief wine steward. If one may judge from the vast number of wine cups found everywhere in the palace, that position must have been one of high importance.

Digging in the extensive area to the northeast and to the southeast of the wine storeroom was supervised by Marion Rawson who uncovered a veritable maze of walls (pl. 32, fig. 5) difficult to disentangle and to understand, but obviously representing at least two, if not three, phases. The walls of the earlier stratum seem almost everywhere to have been demolished down to the level of the floors associated with them (pl. 32, fig. 6). It might be conjectured that the demolition was carried out deliberately at the time the Wine Magazine was being built in order to ensure adequate room for the latter and to provide alongside it a spacious, fairly level, open plaza. The buildings that were pulled down seem to have been for the most part relatively small and divided into diminutive rooms. Perhaps they were the residences of minor officials of the king's household, or of artisans and craftsmen, or even of servants and slaves. Traces of at least one narrow lane or passageway could be followed a considerable distance through many sharp dogleg angles.

Since these houses were destroyed down to their very floors and the old ground level continued to be used beside the new wine storeroom, no undisturbed deposit had survived to give decisive ceramic or other evidence as to the date of the small structures. It seems reasonable to conjecture, however, that they were contemporary with the initial phases of the central block of the palace, when pottery of Mycenaean III B was already characteristic. Many fragments of pottery of that phase were collected throughout the area, and there were also innumerable small bits of painted plaster scattered about everywhere and frequently embedded in the stucco pavement. For a time the plaza flanking the wine cellar probably remained open; then as the ground level rose some 0.30 m. to 0.40 m. through the accumulation of debris, two or three new houses of no great size appear to have been erected. With them were associated some Mycenaean pottery in a rather thick red ware, including a large stirrupvase. The houses could not have been long occupied before the great catastrophe, so often mentioned, brought a violent end to the entire palace

complex. The whole history of this royal establishment in any event almost surely played itself out within the period during which pottery of Mycenaean III B was being made and used, and the style of III C had not yet begun to prevail.

Farther to the southeast, beyond the labyrinth of razed walls, Miss Rawson resumed investigation of the area along the northwestern end of the building we have called the Palace Workshop. In this place in 1957 she had followed the course of a street which, after ascending from the southeast in a paved ramp between the central block of the palace and the workshop, turned sharply around the corner of the latter toward the northeast. Under this roadway she had uncovered a line of pi-shaped terracotta pipes, evidently belonging to a conduit that brought water to this point, and she had found scanty remains apparently of a small reservoir nearby toward the west. Further digging revealed traces of a second or a branching channel that led southwestward, and one fragment of an open tile seemed to be in place. This line appears to have ended in a cylindrical terracotta pipe (pl. 32, fig. 7) that ran through to the inner southwest face of the stone wall enclosing what we have taken to be the king's private court outside the northeast portal of the megaron block. Evidence of frequent renewal of the plaster on the wall, and of the stucco floor of the court in this area suggests that a water tank was installed here in the latest phases of the palace. The earlier reservoir, previous to the building of the wall that enclosed the court in the latest phase, was unquestionably the one, of which scanty remnants were mentioned above.

Despite their exiguous nature, there can be no doubt that these remains are those of an aqueduct that once brought water to the palace. In a series of seven or eight exploratory soundings Miss Rawson tracked the course of the channel northeastward some 140 m. almost to the declivitous end of the citadel. Each trench disclosed a continuous line of stones-sometimes irregularly or carelessly thrown down, in other instances properly built to form a wall-filling a narrow ditch or channel that had been cut in stereo. In one place a larnax had been sunk into position directly in the line of the channel, with a second tub of the same kind set beside it (pl. 33, fig. 8): these must have been intended as basins from which water could be dipped, or perhaps as drinking troughs for animals. Since the ground sloped gradually downward toward the

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northeast end of the ridge, it is clear that water could not have run up hill in the channel cut in stereo: the actual conduit must therefore have been built, either of wood or other material, properly graded, and perhaps supported on a stone foundation.

The ultimate source of the water supply was surely the predecessor of the spring which still gushes out of the ground beside the highroad to Chora at a place called Rouvelli, about one kilometer distant from Epano Englianos. Rouvelli is appreciably higher in its elevation above the sea than the palace site, and the water could be conveyed by gravity without difficulty in an open channel to the northeastern foot of the citadel. But how it could be carried across an intervening valley to the level of the palace is a problem that has not yet been solved. Mycenaean builders were surely capable of constructing an open aqueduct to bridge a gap. But very little is known about Mycenaean hydraulic engineering: perhaps further investigation along the northeastern border of the Englianos ridge may shed some fresh light on the matter.

In the high scarp that forms the abrupt northeastern edge of the Englianos hill Miss Rawson uncovered a roadway paved with large stone slabs (pl. 33, fig. 9). The upper layer of black earth covering it contained great numbers of curved terracotta tiles, mediaeval or relatively modern; but in the firm reddish brown earth directly overlying the pavement no sherds later than Mycenaean could be recognized. We seem therefore to have here a paved section, descending from the plateau, of the street mentioned above. Before the king's private court was enclosed the street evidently led directly to and from the northeast portal of the main block of the palace, and it must have been one of the principal approaches.

Miss Rawson also conducted a supplementary investigation in the Palace Workshop, which she uncovered last year. It was the doorway leading into the small chamber behind the conjectural shrine, and part of the floor inside that room, that we reexamined in the hope of finding additional pieces of a large fragmentary stemmed krater unearthed in 1957. The effort was highly successful: from a pocket in the floor Miss Rawson recovered not only some key pieces of the krater, but 14 clay sealings, complete or fragmentary.

Excavations in the area directly to the northwest of the central block of the palace (pl. 33, fig. 10)

were carried out under the supervision of George Papathanasopoulos. He began by restudying the North Magazine, exposing its exterior wall on all sides, and emptying all the pithoi to see if they contained anything of interest. Samples of the earth from the bottom of each jar were kept, and a small broken deep bowl was recovered in one of the vessels. The outside wall was found to be very substantially built, with foundations going down to virgin soil. A rectangular slot through the northwestern foundation had evidently served as a drain: in the bottom of it was a heap of broken pottery. Outside this substructure were two successive parallel walls perhaps intended as supports for narrow terraces in the steep edge of the hill. No traces of a fortification wall came to light in an exploratory trench on this side; but there is still a possibility that there was one farther down the slope.

To the southwest of the North Magazine Mr. Papathanasopoulos opened a broad exploratory trench, more than 20 m. long, running parallel to the rear wall of the Megaron (pl. 33, fig. 10); it was soon widened at its northeasterly end, and greatly enlarged in its southwestern section. Near the towerlike projection of the North Magazine a larnax (pl. 33, fig. 11) came to light, probably having served as an outdoor basin, where water could be obtained: and in the same general neighborhood were two or three stone-built drains, no doubt of different phases. It is hoped that there will be time next year for a wider investigation of this whole area. In the southwestern sector Mr. Papathanasopoulos exposed to view a circular foundation (pl. 33, fig. 12) and some rooms of a fairly large rectangular building, part of which had been uncovered in 1956. Both of these structures seem to have been erected during the final phase of occupation of the palace, and both perished in the catastrophic fire.

The circular foundation is of particular interest, since round buildings, apart from tholos tombs, are certainly not very familiar in Mycenaean domestic architecture. The circle has an over-all diameter of little more than 3 m. The wall, barely 0.30 m. thick, consists for the most part of only two irregular courses of undressed stones, with no support underneath. It could not have held up a very heavy superstructure. A transverse row of small flattish stone slabs set on edge divides the interior into two not exactly equal sections. There is nothing to show that the space enclosed was ever covered by a real roof, nor is there any trace of an entrance.

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Nothing was found on the trodden earth floor to cast any light on the use of the structure. Perhaps it was merely a low pen to hold rabbits or other animals, or a place to store straw or hay or other agricultural products.

The rectangular building farther to the southwest (pl. 33, fig. 10), though not without its problems, represents a more conventional type. It was presumably a dwelling or a storehouse, but its purpose has not been more specifically determined. Consisting of several rooms, large and small, it spreads over a considerable area, at least 11.50 m. long. The southwestern part of it was superposed over a large chamber (cleared by Mrs. Blegen in 1956) that was possibly attached to the older wing of the palace. We thus have good evidence for a sequence of phases in this quarter. Unfortunately, because of erosion, the earth covering these remains is so shallow that the clay floors have everywhere been disturbed by modern cultivation and no real habitation deposits have survived. But there can be no doubt that this house must be assigned to the last stage in the history of the palace. It is our hope that when the contiguous areas to northwest and southeast are excavated next year more information may be obtained regarding these late structures. Detailed plans and sections of all remains that have so far been exposed have been drawn by Mr. Papa-

In his exploration down the northwest slope below the North Magazine and in his long trench behind the Megaron Mr. Papathanasopoulos had an opportunity to test the deeper strata of the debris accumulated here. He ascertained that beneath the late Mycenaean deposit which is associated with the palace, there is a layer containing Mycenaean pottery of the Palace Style of Late Helladic II. Some sherds of Late Helladic I have also been noted; and still deeper we seem to have a thick stratum of pure Middle Helladic character. Whether anything still earlier is to be found at a greater depth is yet to be determined.

The evidence from this quarter and observations made in other areas have led us to believe that the whole center of the site was probably occupied by modest houses from early in the second millennium. In preparation for the building of the great palace in the period characterized by pottery of Mycenaean III B, we think all earlier buildings along the middle part of the ridge were destroyed, and the ground itself cut down in leveling operations on a wide

scale, the earth removed being dumped over the northwestern edge of the hill. As a result of this treatment undisturbed prepalatial deposits can now be found only in the deeper levels to the northwest of the palace. The stucco floors of the latter, where-ever it has been possible to examine what lies beneath, seem almost everywhere to rest only a few centimeters above stereo.

The third major area of investigation during the past season lies at the extreme western end of the Englianos ridge. Here, under the supervision of Mrs. Blegen, we resumed our digging, which had been left unfinished in 1956, to find the northwestern and southwestern limits of the older wing of the palace. The high mound of earth, which two years ago obstructed work on the decisive ground, had in the meantime been removed, and we speedily exposed remains of a massive wall built of large irregular limestone blocks. It formed what looked almost like a rectangular tower, some 7.20 m. wide, constituting the western angle of the building.

Though the wall has suffered no little damage from the depredations of the marauders who quarried so much stone from the ruins of the palace, it still preserves at least in its lower courses the exterior line of the southwest corner. Our conjectural restoration, which appeared in the plan published in 1956, has proved not to be correct, and it is now superseded by the new survey of 1958 that we owe to Mr. Travlos. Some details still require more study and clarification, but the early palace does not extend so far toward the northwest as we had thought, and it is likely that the large chamber at the north angle was an added appendage, perhaps not accessible from inside the older wing.

Toward the northwest the building seems to terminate in two parallel foundation walls, only some 0.80 m. apart (pl. 34, fig. 13). The exact relation of one to the other has not been satisfactorily determined, but the inner one evidently supported a superstructure built of large squared limestone blocks, many remnants of which lay where they had fallen along the line of the wall. What we have called the tower projects ca. 2.45 m. northwestward from this wall, then turns at a right angle to the southwest (pl. 34, fig. 14).

At the western corner the wall swings, in another angle of 90°, toward the southeast; in this direction, running approximately along the middle of the steep, jungle-covered edge of the hill, it has been followed and partially exposed to a distance of

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nearly 20 m. (pl. 34, fig. 15), in the course of which it exhibits two projecting vertical offsets (pl. 34, fig. 16) of the kind familiar in Mycenaean constructions. The first, ca. 4.10 m. from the corner, is apparently aligned with the northwest face of an inner partition wall, which has been uncovered on the other side of the thick vegetation that flourishes along the border of the site. The second, nearly 4.60 m. farther on, seems likewise to coincide with the line of an internal division. Though its exact thickness is not yet known, the exterior wall has a monumental character; even in its lower courses, it was obviously meant to be visible. It is the solid southwestern side of the older wing of the palace, not the fortification wall of the citadel; but it may have had a supplementary defensive function at this westernmost point of the acropolis. The continuation and end of the southwestern wall have not yet been found. We hope next year to complete the digging along this line and also to bring to light the southeastern limits of the earlier wing of the palace.

In the debris that had accumulated along the two flanks of the building, so far as excavated, Mrs. Blegen collected a great deal of discarded pottery, chiefly of the types represented in the pantries, stemmed goblets being particularly common. Apart from a few remnants of animal figures of terracotta, there were also disjointed pieces of frescoes, and a fragment or two from the decorated stucco coating of a large hearth. Of special interest is a clay sealing, baked hard by the fire that wrecked the building; it bears a scene of three human figures, apparently dancing, in a style that looks oriental.

Three small investigations that were carried out inside the palace deserve brief mention.

Near the northwestern end of the long corridor that flanks the Throne Room on the northeast the Service of Restoration and Conservation had last year cut a hole in the stucco floor in preparation for laying foundations for a concrete pier to help support a protecting roof. Work was stopped when stereo had not been reached at a depth of 0.75 m. below the floor. Taking advantage of the opportunity to explore more deeply, without causing any further damage, we dug to virgin ground at 2.45 m. below the stucco flooring. From top to bottom we found a uniform deposit of light brown clay showing no recognizable strata or striations, but containing a good many potsherds and some animal bones. It was a pure Middle Helladic deposit in

which Gray Minyan, Mattpainted, and coarse wares are well represented. We enlarged on all sides the area dug but no enclosing walls came to light. What we have is probably the filling of a pit, or possibly a plundered tomb, of pre-Mycenaean times.

Between the southeast Propylon and the Archives Rooms the "chasm," as we have called it, the trench filled with loose earth marking the line of a wall that had been removed by seekers of building material, was cleaned out thoroughly. The rough stone bedding of the foundations was exposed, and Mr. Papathanasopoulos recorded it in a stone-for-stone plan. From the disturbed earth were recovered 20 fragments of inscribed tablets, which Professor Mabel Lang is publishing in Part II of this report.

On the opposite side of the Propylon toward the northeast there is an enclosed space, which in the latest phase of occupation was bounded on the southeast by the exterior wall of the palace, and partly shut off toward the southwest by the anta of the Propylon. We conjecture, without real evidence, that it might have served as headquarters of the palace guard, which presumably had to supply sentries to man the platforms beside the doorways in the Propylon, the Portico, and the Vestibule to the Throne Room. The Guardroom had been excavated before, but we cleared away the loose earth and revealed again three or four lines of parallel foundations which presumably once supported exterior walls in successive earlier phases. Here, too, Mr. Papathanasopoulos measured and drew the walls for our records in a stone-for-stone

During the month of July Lord William Taylour devoted his time to exploration in search of tombs. Having learned from practical experience that the surviving hump or stump of the clay tumulus that normally once crowned a Mycenaean tholos has long been a favorite place for the installation of a modern *aloni*, or bed for drying currants, we visited and inspected a number of the latter, looking for superficial indications of underlying stone structures. In two instances we optimistically believed that the prospects were good.

In an *aloni* belonging to E. Vayenas of Chora, walls of a small rectangular building containing Mycenaean pottery were brought to light. In another *aloni*, owned by E. Deriziotis, Lord William discovered remains of two successive circular or apsidal houses, with which were associated a marble spool, other miscellaneous objects, and pottery, all

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apparently assignable to the Early Bronze Age. This will be of some interest, if the identification is verified, since Early Helladic deposits are still relatively rare in western Messenia.

Subsequently Lord William shifted his activities to the lower reaches of Kato Englianos, where he excavated the surviving half of a very small tholos (pl. 34, fig. 17), ca. 2.35 m. in diameter, the other part of which had been sliced away vertically when the highroad to Chora was constructed in 1895. Digging into the steep scarp alongside the road he cleared what was left of the tholos. On the floor were remains of several burials, many bits of bronze and iron, and fragments of four or five Protogeometric pots, some of good style.

Some 50 m. above the diminutive tholos, in land belonging to the Kokevi family of Chora, clandestine diggers had somehow discovered the dromos of a chamber tomb and had begun to probe into it. When the matter was reported to us they were apparently frightened away. Lord William on 24 July commenced operations in the dromos, but when he ascertained that the chamber itself had collapsed, it became clear that there was not enough time to complete the excavation this season. We look forward to discoveries of some interest next year, since the pottery found in the dromos included many fragments of two large kraters which were decorated with scenes of animals-one shows dogs pursuing a lion (pl. 25, fig. 18 left), and a stag with antlers (fig. 18 right)—and some pieces of another capacious vessel bearing abstract designs.

Professor Mabel Lang arrived early in June and gave her chief attention during the ensuing eight weeks to the cleaning and study of the frescoes. She was able not only to keep up with the current incoming material, but to deal with some of the large accumulations of 1955 and 1956 from the

eastern quarter of the central wing, among which she made many interesting discoveries.

From the upper levels of the debris that lay in and about the bathroom came in 1955 fragments of two different scenes. One, on thick plaster, shows, in miniature style, two files of kilted spearmen, moving respectively to right and left, accompanied by dogs and evidently pursuing hoofed beasts. The other, laid out on a larger scale, on thinner plaster, represents lions and dogs. There are also fragments probably of a third composition, featuring griffins. These wall paintings must have fallen from apartments in the upper story.

The material recovered in 1956, chiefly in the corridors and rooms adjacent to the Queen's Hall, yielded many joins to Miss Lang's discerning eye, giving some interesting border patterns of streamers and beam-ends, and some bits of animals belonging to the lion family.

The fragments of painted plaster brought to light in 1958 benefited enormously from Miss Lang's study. She succeeded in joining together enough pieces to reconstruct a decorative frieze from the southwest wing, two tables of offering from the area behind the Throne Room, and to differentiate remains of at least six similar tables of offering from the sector between the Wine Magazine and the Palace Workshop, to mention only a few of her achievements.

In addition to her work on the frescoes she found time to clean, mend, catalogue, and photograph the clay sealings, some 65 in number, that came to light during the season. She has likewise cleaned and mended the new tablets, joined them, wherever possible, to pieces recovered in earlier campaigns, transcribed them, and is publishing them with a commentary in Part II of this report.

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Several of the fragments of tablets found in 1958 join previously published fragments and appear here with the earlier (or earliest) number. The others are numbered from 1344 to 1362, following on the tablets found in 1957 (AJA 62, 181-91). In cases where new fragments seemed, probably but not certainly, to join or belong to either another new fragment or a published fragment, individual numbers have been assigned on the principle that it is easier to combine two differently numbered fragments than it is to separate and identify two pieces with the same number.

For this small group of tablets it has been possible to provide both photographs and drawings. The latter were traced from the photographs with the tablets in constant view. The larger tablets (281-1351) appear on plates 26-29 at two-thirds actual size; the smaller ones (1352-1362) on plates 30 and 31 are actual size. Transcription of the texts follows the code set by Ventris and Chadwick (*Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 155-56) with regard to syllabic values, use of brackets, dotted letters, etc. There is one exception: ideograms are not used in the transcription here, so that weights and measures are referred to by their asterisked numbers. Possible alternate readings and incidental information on the

form of writing or of the tablet are given in an apparatus beneath each text. When the condition of the tablet is poor, this is noted.

In several cases the new fragments merely confirm suggested restorations and require no comment. Where comment seems desirable it is set below the particular text, since the miscellaneous nature of the group does not lend itself to a connected account. Since all of the present tablets are closely parallel or similar to texts translated in *Documents* and elsewhere, no translation is given.

The word-list includes only the words or parts of words which appear on the fragments published here for the first time. Words on the previously published joining fragments are listed only when some part of them appears on the new fragment. Complete words which are already known are followed by an indication of their previous appearance, e.g. KN PY MY. Complete words which appear for the first time on these fragments, even if they seem to be only variant spellings or forms closely related to known words, are in italics. New words which are clearly related to known words are followed by the known word and its provenance in parentheses.

E0281

ra-ku-ro-jo] ki-ti-me-na ko-[to]-na WHEAT 1 *112 1 *111 3 i-ra-ta] te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to / pa-ro ra-ku-ro / WHEAT *111 3 2: There is no word-divider between te-o-jo and do-e-ro.

Ki-ti-me-na and ko-to-na are reversed from the usual order and from the parallel version in En659.15. I-ra-ta is now seen to be a masculine name, so that do-e-[ro] should be restored in En659.16.

Eb495,833

ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e / e-me-de te-[re]-ja to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 10 *112 1

edge

2: The numbers are written over erasures; under 10 are what seem to have been eight or nine unit strokes.

edge: Between mu and to a small scratch may conceal a word-divider.

• Again I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Blegen both for the opportunity to work at Pylos and for the privilege of presenting these tablets. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the staffs of both the National Museum in

mu-to-wo-ti

Athens and the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora who granted me every facility and kindness for the work on these and previous tablets.

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From the coincidence of numbers and formula this tablet must provide the parallel version of Ep617.1.2, which can now be restored:

ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du]-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e

e-me-de te-re-ja to-so-de pe-mo] WHEAT 10 **112 1

In this formula the genitive case of the name is unusual, since elsewhere either a man has a ka-ma or an o-na-to of ka-ma or he has holdings as a ka-ma-e-u. It is puzzling because o-pe-ro as a participle can not be genitive. If it is a participle, as the parallel o-pe-ro-sa(-de) of Eb338.2 and Ep704.7 suggests, it must qualify ka-ma, which must then be masculine (cf. Un718.11 where ka-ma may be masculine): N.E.'s ka-ma being under an obligation, etc. The alternative is o-pe-ro as a noun, either with ka-ma (if feminine) as genitive (the obligation of N.E.'s ka-ma is, etc.), or with understood verb or punctuation: N.E.'s ka-ma (has or :) the obligation, etc.

Since the (all but two) restored or preserved amounts in the following lines of Ep617 add up to 8/7/4, it is conceivable that the amount in line 2 represents a total of all the others, with the not unreasonable restorations of 1/3/0 in line 5 and 0/0/2 in line 20, which will bring 8/7/4 up to 10/1/0. This would imply that whatever the relation of Ep617.11.12 to E0173 (see Bennett, AJA 60, 116) they also belong here and that the two parts of this list do, as their combination on this tablet suggests, belong together, with the first two lines serving as a heading. The erasure and corrections of the numbers on the new piece may perhaps be taken as another indication that the amount represents a sum of several small amounts, not all of which had at first been reported.

Jn605,942 a-pi-no-e-wi-[jo] ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

to-ri-jo BRONZE *117 1 *116 2 e-do-mo-ne-u BRONZE *117 1 *116 2 mi-ka-ri-jo BRONZE *117 1 *116 2 pu-ra-ta BRONZE *117 1 *116 2 u-wa-ta BRONZE *117 1 *116 2 ka-ta-wa BRONZE *117 1 *116 2

5 vacat

a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we wi-ti-mi-jo 1 ma-no-u-ro 1 a-we-ke-se-u 1

vacat

to-so-de do-e-ro

10 pe-re-qo-no-jo 2 ai-ki-e-wo 2 mi-ka-ri-jo-jo 1

pu-ra-ta-o 1

The numbers accompanying the slaves' owners indicating the number of slave smiths confirm what the definiteness and position of the "word-dividers" in Jn lists of men without bronze or of slaves already suggested, that the number "one" appears after each man's name. This will make the use of to-so and its various forms completely consistent, in that they are always followed by numbers. Of the ten names appearing on the new fragment, pu-ra-ta is new in both nominative and genitive cases, wi-ti-mi-jo is new, and u-wa-ta was previously known only at Knossos.

Aa764 me-re-ti-ri-ja WOMEN 6 ko-wa 8 ko-wo 1

Traces at both ends indicate that this complete tablet was the middle part of a longer tablet from which the ends were snapped off after vertical scoring. At the left end appears what may have been part of a symbol; perhaps the scribe started with a wrong entry and simply broke off the beginning to make a new start.

Sa8

Eb8

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Sai

Eb

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E

Compare Ab789 with its alternate spelling (me-re-ti-ra₂) and different numbers of (girls) and boys: 6 and 3.

Sa767 a-pa-si-jo-jo wo-ka we-je-ke-e WHEEL+TE ZE 1

Aa783,1263 re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo WOMEN 38 ko-wa 13 ko-wo 15 DA 1 TA 1 Compare Ab553.

Jn832 ro-u-so ka-ke-we a-ke-te-re
e-ke-ro 1 si-mu-ta 1 ra-u-ta 1
vacat
a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we

5]-ka-no 1 ma-ri-ta 1 ka-ra-u-ko 1 wo-ti-jo 1 traces

wa-na-ta-jo ka-wi-jo[
vacat (?)

a-to-mo ka-ke-we a-ke-te

10 pa-qo-si-jo 1 pi-ro-ka-te 1 e-wi-ţe-[u
me-ra-to 1 a-*64-jo 1 a-e-ri'-qe' 1 pa-[ra-ke]-te-e-u BRONZE *117 2
vacat
a]-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we

a-ri-pa₂ I o-na-jo I si-pa-ta-no I

The lower edge of the tablet was cut off.

7: wa-na-ta-jo written over erasure; clay from the line below was rubbed up so that present traces could be either ka-wi-jo or ka-u-jo.

8: erasure; the rubbed up clay can be seen in the photograph.

9: -ke-te written over erasure; after a-ke-te the preserved surface shows no upright for a possible -re and also no word-divider; traces in the break at the right may or may not be the remnants of writing.

11: -ra- of me-ra-to written over erasure; -qe written in afterwards above number.

The third paragraph of this tablet is even more irregular in formula than the first paragraph. Its first word seems not to be a place-name but rather a collective noun (Docs. s.v. "In groups e-qe-(a)-o a-to-mo, i-za-a-to-mo, apparently names of groups of men.") to which ka-ke-we is in apposition. Since it is unlikely from the spacing that a-ke-te had a further syllable to make it plural, it also seems to qualify $d\rho\theta\mu\delta s$. The list of names has one comparatively small quantity of bronze apparently divided amongst them as a group, and the singular nature of this group is further emphasized by pa-[ra-ke]-te-e-u. That this last word sums up the whole group is suggested by the way in which -qe is squeezed in over the number (without regard either to space or syntax) to mark the end of the list, as if pa-ra-ke-te-e-u was sometimes a personal name and so likely to cause confusion. A possible translation, with the word order indicated by numbers in parentheses: active (3) guild (1) actually working (10): smiths (2): 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The guild then is contrasted with the active smiths in the first paragraph who have no bronze.

Of the fourteen names which appear on the new fragment, six are new (pi-ro-ka-te, me-ra-to, a-e-ri, a-ri-pa₂, si-pa-ta-no, pu-wa-ne) and one was known previously only at Knossos (o-na-jo).

Sa843,(Xa)1190,1270

to-sa we-je-ke-a2 ne-wa WHEEL+TE ZE 20

Chadwick had suggested that 1190 might bring together Sa843 and Sa1270 several weeks before the new piece was cleaned and seen to be part of a tablet.

Eb871

ai₂?-ke-ja e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na WHEAT [pa-ro da-mo

This supports the reading ai_2 ?-ke-ja on Fn187.19 even though no other name in that miscellaneous list appears on Eb tablets. The only place in the extant Ep tablets where the parallel version of this text might appear is Ep617.18. Even there the spacing demands some designation of servitude, no indication of which appears here.

Na1041

ke

ko-ro-du-wo we-da-ne-wo LINEN 10

The right end was broken off after vertical scoring. For the formula compare Na856.

Sa1267,1268 e-te-wa-jo wo-ka we-je-ke-e WHEEL+TE ZE 2

Eb1344

re-ka te-o-[jo do-e-ra pa]-ro da-mo [Swollen and cracked.

For re-ka see Eb886 and Ep212.1. If it is the same re-ka on both Eb tablets, she may be like e-ko-to, who appears on two different Ep records (212.3-705.8) and so presumably had two Eb records. Or re-ka may be like we-te-re-u, whose two Eb records (472,477) seem to be added together in Ep539.13. In the latter case Eb886 should not be restored with the full amount which appears in Ep212.1. And since Eb859, with its *112 2, is a very probable part of Eb886, it is possible to conjecture that Eb1344 (with the almost certain addition of Eb1345) is one of the two records (Eb) combined in Ep212.1.

Eb1345

]WHEAT *112 2[

Swollen and cracked. The fabric, shape and condition make it almost certain that this fragment belongs to Eb1344.

Eb1346

] ke-ke-me-na [

Fabric, thickness and general appearance suggest that this piece may belong to Eb835 and Eb838, which certainly belong together on the basis of an internal channel which appears in the broken end of both. The reading would then be:

ka-ra-du-ro te-[o-jo do]-e-ro e-ke-qe [o-na-to] ke-ke-me-na [ko-to-na] pa-ro da-mo [WHEAT *112 2]

Eb964 may belong to the right end of this piece, but the actual join is dubious.

Eb1347

do-e]-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ko-ţu-ro2-ne pa-da-je-we
] WHEAT *112 2

1: erasure under tu.

Ko-tu-ro₂-ne pa-da-je-we is apparently the dative of ko-tu-ro₂ pa-da-je-u (Eb892.1), thus making ko-tu-ro₂ Κοτύλων. There is some difficulty in

E

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classifying this tablet; the presence of e-ke-qe and the two lines with WHEAT on the second make it Eb rather than Ea, but pa-ro with a personal lessor points to Ea. Since it seems to be an individual entry like those which were copied into Ep539.5.7, where there is a personal lessor, it can best be classed with other individual (Eb) entries which are copied into Ep records. The parallel with Ep539.5.7 makes it likely that ko-tu-ro2 is a ka-ma-e-u; since it is possible on Eb839 to read [..]-ro2 instead of [..]-ko, we should perhaps read there [ko-tu]-ro2 ka-ma-e-u mi-ka-ta pa-da-je-u, etc. On no extant Ep tablet is there a place for an Ep version of this text.

Eb1348

] e-ke-qe o-na-to [

2: The short horizontal line extending from the left break appears not to have been made with the writing implement.

It is probable that this fragment belongs to Eb915, both from general appearances and traces of an internal channel which appears in the broken end of both. See also Eb1349 for a possible join.

Eb1349

] ke-ke-me-[na

Surface almost gone. This may belong to Eb1348; it is too swollen and corroded to make a certain join.

Eb1350

i-pa-sa-na-ti [te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo [WHEAT *112 3 Somewhat swollen and cracked.

1: The form of the *i* is unusual and may possibly indicate the uncertainty of the vowel. For the alternate spellings of *i-pa-sa-na-ti* see En74.13 E0247.4 Ep212.5.

The text above is restored from Ep212.5. But this fragment should, from size and general appearance, be the beginning of Eb916, to the right end of which Eb1352 -1353 may also belong. The text of these four fragments reads as follows:

i-pa-sa-na-ti [te-o-jo do-e]-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo WHEAT *112 6

Since Eb916 records more wheat than Ep212.5, the link with Eb1350 requires the assumption not only of another Eb tablet to parallel Ep212.5 but also another Ep record with the copy of this combination of Eb1350 and Eb916. The incomplete and fragmentary state of the Eb tablets makes it possible and even probable that another *i-pa-sa-na-ti* tablet once existed, especially since the spelling of Ep212.5 (e-pa-sa-na-ti) is not a copy of this tablet. The assumption of another Ep tablet which has not survived is more difficult. We have already seen, however, that Eb871 may require such an assumption and that Eb1347 certainly does.

Eb1351

e]-ke-ge

WHEAT 2

to-so]-de pe-mo

Only Eb152 and 839 employ the same formula, with *e-ke-qe* at the end of the first line. Of these Eb839 certainly has its parallel version in Ep617.13, and Eb152 is very probably paralleled in Ep617.7, both among the holders of

ka-ma. But these early lines of Ep617 provide no parallel for Eb1351, since the only lines with an unknown amount of wheat (4.5) are almost certainly the parallel version of Eb940. As far as other Ep texts are concerned, both the formulas used in Eb tablets which parallel them and their comparatively small amounts of wheat (except for the Eb versions of Ep705 which have no place for this fragment) make it unlikely that Eb1351 should have been the original for any of these. It may, like Eb871 -1347 -1350, require the assumption that at least one Ep tablet is missing.

Eb1352

] o-na-to []

Surface badly eroded, especially at right end.

This fragment should perhaps go with Eb916, but it is too swollen to join. See above under Eb1350. Eb1353 probably belongs at the right of this piece, but both are too swollen and corroded to make a certain join.

Eb1353

ke-ke-me]-na ko-to-na [

Surface almost completely gone. See Eb1352.

Eb1354

ke]-ke-me-na ko-to-[na

Surface badly eroded. This piece may belong with Eb464 or, less probably, with Eb884.

Fr1355

te-o-i a-ro-pa pu-[

By comparison with Fr1225 -1226, etc., this should be restored with the oil ideogram and perhaps with pu-[ro-de.

Na1356

]-de wa-na-ka[]-ko e-re-u-te-[

Surface worn. The first sign in each line at the left is very doubtful; if *de* were more certain, we might restore *to-sa*]-*de*.

For the formula, compare Na334. Na1013 appears to fit the line of the break at the right end, but neither text nor join is really satisfactory.

Nn1357

to]-sa-de e-ma-a2 e-re-[u-te-ra

to]-sa-de e-po-me-ne-we [

to]-sa-de ka-ke-we e-re-u-te-[ra

to sa-de ko-re-te-re e-re-u- te-ra

E-po-me-ne-we, ka-ke-we and ko-re-te-re all appear in the nominative singular on Nn831, presumably as persons giving LINEN. The forms here, if e-ma-a₂ is the dative of Hermes as in Tn31677 and Un219.8, must be dative singular. To these four, apparently, certain amounts of linen are being assigned or remitted as a free allowance. Possibly this record brings together four of the Na type.

Wr1358

obv. WINE

Surface worn. The ideogram is peculiar in that the upper part is closed by a line at the right, so that it is like the sign wa with internal strokes in the lower part. The ideogram is not at right angles to the string-hole, as is more usual. There may have been one or two signs on the reverse, but the surface is so worn that they are not legible.

Xa

a-e

a-1

a-1

a-1

a-1

da

do

di

Wr1350

obv. WINE

rev. e-ti-wa-no

The ideogram is peculiar in that the upper part is closed by a line at the right, so that it is like the sign wa with internal strokes (different from those on W11358) in the lower part.

If e-ti-wa-no is the same as e-te-wa-no, a name in the dative case on C913.1, it should perhaps be a name. But since the seal itself should identify the sender or maker of the wine, it is hard to see what purpose a name would have. If, as Ventris and Chadwick suggest (Docs. p. 418), e-te-wa-no may be derived from eravov, this may be an adjective from the same word describing the wine as "genuine."

Wr1360

obv. WINE

rev. me-ri-ți-jo

The ti is like a broken-barred alpha. Before jo a possible erasure of mo.

If the word on Wr1359 reverse is a name, this should perhaps be taken as such, but in that case, since the seal is the same, the name certainly can not signify the seal's owner. It is tempting to see in *me-ri-ti-jo* a reference to a kind of wine $(\mu\epsilon\lambda i\tau\iota o\nu)$.

Wr1361

obv. WINE

The four inscribed clay sealings all have string-holes. Since many of the uninscribed sealings were fragmentary, it was often possible to see the impressions left by the string or cord inside. Sometimes the impression is of a knot, more often it is of two meeting or overlapping ends. The problem is what besides the ends was being sealed and how the sealing of the string-ends, whether free or knotted, effected that sealing. That even the examples with knots belong to string-ends rather than to a knot tied up against something is clear from the presence of fingerprints on the two faces not occupied by the seal. It will easily be seen that if anything is secured with a knot and the two free ends are sealed together by a bit of clay, the knot can not be untied without breaking the seal; it may, of course, be loosened, but if the ends are fairly short nothing can be effected by this loosening.

The sealing of jars presents rather a different problem: a lid is inserted corkwise or coverwise and secured with some hardening substance like clay or wax which can be stamped with a seal. That seal-impression will not resemble our pinches of clay around string-ends. These sealings must have been used with vessels which were tied shut rather than corked or lidded. Hence leather bags or, more properly in view of the ideogram, wine-skins. It is therefore reasonable to assume that wine was brought to the magazine in skins, that those skins were sealed by a variety of what are presumably personal seals, that when the skins were emptied into the pithoi the sealings were either discarded behind the pithoi or carefully put there to serve as a record of the source. Whether the wine-skins represented taxes in kind, feudal contributions, some type of cooperative produce, or purchases, is not clear, but there remains the problem of how the sealings were identified with the names of the various contributors. Only a few are inscribed, and it hardly seems possible that anyone knew the "armorial bearings" of even so many different sealings as have survived. Still another kind of sealing perhaps provides the answer: this is the simple finger-pinch of clay without stringhole. Since this was fastened to nothing, it seems more like a token than anything else, perhaps a token to identify the messenger or representative of the seal's owner. Perhaps the sealed skins of wine were delivered to the magazine while the representative went around to the archives room (where the overwhelming majority of records was kept, if not also written), reported the name of his principal and the number of skins and gave up the pinch-sealing as token for the identification of the skins. A minion was sent around with the token to check the accuracy of the representative's statement and a check mark (such as appears on various lists) was put against each item on the relevant record. In the magazine the skins were opened by cutting the string, and the wine was poured into the pithoi; the intact sealings, still with their strings, were perhaps hung on convenient pegs in the wall behind the appropriate pithoi.

For an analysis of the way in which sealings were inscribed, see Bennett, Mycenae Tablets II pp. 103-04. Wr1359 and 1360 were inscribed in what Bennett describes as the normal or traditional way.

Xa1362

]o[
The surface is badly damaged; the sign may be sa.

WORD-LIST

a-da-ma-o PY Jn832.15
a-e-ri-qe Jn832.11
ai₂?-ke-ja PY Eb871.1
ai-ki-e-wo (ai-ki-e-we PY) Jn605.10
a-ke-te (a-ke-te-re PY) Jn832.9
a-no-ra-ta PY Jn832.15
a-ri-pa₂ Jn832.14
a-ro-pa PY Fr1355
a-ta-ra-si-jo PY Jn605.6 [-832.13]
a-to-mo KN PY Jn832.9
a-we-ke-se-u PY Jn605.7
a-*64-jo KN PY Jn832.11

da-mo KN PY Eb871.2 -1344.2 -1350.2]-d¢ Na1356.1 do-e-ro KN PY [Eb1347.1] Eo281.2 Jn605.9 du-wo-u-pi PY Eb495.1

e-da-e-wo (e-da-e-u PY) Eb495.1
e-do-mo-ne-u PY Jn605.2
e-ke-qe PY Eb871.1 -1347.1 -1348.1 [-1351.1]
E0281.2
e-ma-a₂ PY Nn1357.1
e-po-me-ne-we PY Nn1357.2
e-re-u-te-ra PY [Nn1357.1.3.4]
e-re-u-te-[Na1356.2
e-ti-wa-no (e-te-wa-no KN?) Wr1359r
e-wi-te-[u PY Jn832.10
i-pa-sa-na-ti PY Eb1350.1

ka-ke-we KN PY Jn605.1.6 -832.9.13 Nn1357.3
ka-ma KN PY Eb495.1
ka-ta-wa PY Jn605.4
ka-wi-jo PY Jn832.7
ke-ke-me-na KN PY Eb1346.1 [-1349.1] [-1353.1]
[-1354.1]
ki-ti-me-na PY E0281.1
ko-re-te-re PY Nn1357.4
ko-to-na PY Eb1353.1 [-1354.1] [E0281.1]
ko-tu-ro₂-ne (ko-tu-ro₂ PY) Eb1347.1
ko-wo KN PY MY Aa783
]-ko Na1356.2

ma-no-u-ro PY Jn605.7

me-ra-to Jn832.11

me-re-ti-ri-ja PY Aa764

me-ri-ti-jo Wr1360r

mi-ka-ri-jo-jo (mi-ka-ri-jo PY) Jn605.10

mu-to-wo-ti Eb495e

o-na-jo KN Jn832.14 o-na-to PY Eb1347.1 -1348.1 -1352.1 o-pe-ro KN PY MY Eb495.1]o[Xa1362

pa-da-je-we PY Eb1347.1 pa-qo-si-jo [KN] PY Jn832.10 pa-[ra-ke]-te-e-u (pa-ra-ke-te-e-we PY) Jn832.11 pa-ro KN PY MY Eb871.2 [-1344.2] -1347.1 -1350.2 pe-mo PY Eb495.2 -1351.2

193 Sb

Sb

Ub

Ur

U

W

XI

X

X

X

pe-re-qo-no-jo PY Jn605.10 pi-ro-ka-te Jn832.10	te-o-jo PY [Eb1344.1] Eo281.2
	te-re-ja-e PY Eb495.1
pu-ra-ta Jn605.3	to]-sa-de PY Nn1357.1.2.3.4
pu-ra-ta-o Jn605.11	to-so-de PY MY [Eb1351.2] Jn605.9
pu-wa-ne Jn832.15 pu-[Fr1355	u-wa-ta KN Jn6054
re-ka PY Eb1344.1	wa-na-ka[Na1356.1
si-pa-ta-no Jn832.14	wa-na-ta-jo KN PY Jn832.7 we-da-ne-wo PY Na1041
ta-ra-si-ja KN PY MY Jn605.1	we-je-ke-e Sa1267
	,
te-o-i KN PY Fr1355	wi-ti-mi-jo Jn605.7

IDEOGRAMS

*31	LINEN	Na1041	*117	Weight	Jn605.2.3.4 -832.11
*74	ZE	Sa767	*120	WHEAT	Eb495.2 -1345 -1347.2 -1351
*102	WOMAN	Aa764	*131	WINE	Wr1358 -1359 -1360 -1361
*112	Volume	Eb495.2 -1345 -1347.2	*140	BRONZE	Jn605.2.3.4832.11
*116	Weight	Jn605.2.3.4	*243	WHEEL+TE	Sa843

APPENDIX

It was fortunate that Mr. John Chadwick had an opportunity in the summer of 1958 to study the Pylos tablets of 1957. His corrections and additions to the readings published in this journal (AJA 62, wn

181-91) WI	il be of interest and importance to readers of the tablets and so are here appended in his ow
words. In	the few cases where Mr. Chadwick's readings do not seem to me possible I enclose my ow
views in pa	arentheses.
Xn1262	Uncertain which way up; possibly]ro-ja[; cp. a-ro-ja.
	P 1

Ac1276	Probably n	o entry	lost.		
		9	2	9	

An1281.2	[do-so]-mo?	o-pi-ke-de-i is certain.
2	aha	

.3	u-nu
-4	*85-ke-i-ja-te-we [i-qe MAN nn] The -i is probably part of a deleted entry; its removal
	also in line 10, brings the form of this name into line with Ub1318.1.2 and the genitive
	*85-[ke-i]-ja-te-wo on Fn 50.11. (The -i has been partially erased, but not so thoroughly as
	what followed.)

	William Torio !!		
.6	[po]-so-ro	Restoration	doubtful.

.7	erasure at end of line	
.8	to-ze-u or alternatively to-te-u	

[[]po]-ti-a-ke-e Last sign very doubtful, but cp. An298.2 -610.11. (If the last sign is -e, it is miswritten, since it has no apex.)

.II	ma-ra-si-jo	Cp. Jn706.9
	10	

.11	7744-31-70 Cp. 311/0029
.14-15	two lines erased
Cn1286	vacant lines show erasures
Cn1287.2	te-re-do certain

Ja1288	ka-ra-wi-so (-ne or -so may be read, but -so sounds better)
Qa1291	e-ka-sa-te-u[Exantheus ?
Qa1292	e]-ke-ri-ja-wo Break fits e or pi; if the name is equal to e-ke-ra ₂ -wo, this can not be

Qa1292	Ekhelawon.
Qa1308]-pa-ke-u Cp. e-ro-pa-ke-u Kn Aso493.2
Sa1313	Almost illegible.

- Or perhaps do-we-jo-qe. (In appearance the sign is not jo, but the line is badly cramped Sb1314.3 so that it may have been miswritten.) The sign transcribed WHEEL is too cramped to be identifiable with certainty, but does not look to me like WHEEL.
- Sb1315.1 First word]-wo-ja or]-ri-ja; ja appears to have been omitted in error and added over the divider; or the divider may have been superimposed on ja. The sign preceding wo seems to have a straight upright at the right hand side, and is therefore not ru; the restoration [ra-pte]-ri-ja would be possible.
 - ne-wa a-ni-ja a-na-pu-ke 5 'dwo 2' a-pu-ke 9 a-ni-ja-e-e-ro-pa-jo-[.]2. Dwo 2 was inserted .3 in small characters after a-pu-ke had been written.
- 'a-pu-ke a-pe-ne-wo 1' Entry added after ne-wa was written, 1 above line for lack of space. Ub1318.2 o-pi-de-so-mo equals epidesmos. The left-hand stroke of the -so- is too long, but this may be accidental.
 - pe-di-ro e-ra-[pi-ja E nn ? .5
 - we-re-ne-ja is certain, but we- overlies an erased ka.
- .7 Un1319 The right hand end of every line is very badly preserved, and all readings to the right of the break are almost illegible.
- Un1320 Unknown number of lines lost at beginning. Line 4: ru-na is clear.
- Poor condition. Line 1 o-ra-qe-te; line 2 OR -qe-we Un1321
 - Readings mostly doubtful.
- Un1322 Tablet badly preserved and reading difficult; the following transcript is partly conjectural:
 - [.]-no-pe-o-no-ke WHEAT 6 FIGS []
 - de-ku-tu-wo-ko [...] [?] WHEAT 2 FIGS 2 2
 - i-te-we o-re-[ne-jo?] WHEAT 12 [?] .3
 - we-a2-no [ri]-no re-po-to to *146 WHEAT 5
 -]*146 WHEAT 16 .5
 - Despite some very puzzling features, it seems clear that the general context is textiles and rations; the adjacent ideograms *146 and WHEAT are suspect. Mühlestein had already proposed emending line 2 to diktuworgoi, which may gain some support from line 3 if i-te-we is histewei "weaver" (cp. fem. gen. plur. i-te-ja-o Ad684). o-re-ne-jo is suggested on the basis of o-re-ne-ja KN Ld579, etc. In line 4 the to after re-po-to is very doubtful, and may be a divider accompanied by accidental cracks.
- Va1323 a-ko-so-ne ka-zo-e 32
- The numeral 2 is written on the back of the tablet in Va1324.2 pe-di-je-wi-ja 20 a-ko-so-ne 2 line with the ne, which is already on the edge.
- Wr1326 rev. de-mi-ni-jo
- Xa1336]-jo *146 II[
- Xb1338.1 e-u-me-ne Cp. Ea822, Jn825.15
 - di-pi-si-jo-i
-]-ja 120 [60] 7 Xc1139.1
- Xn1340 Virtually illegible
- Xn1341 Badly cracked and mostly illegible; readings unreliable; beginning and end lost. Line 1]-ja-ra-e-ro. Line 3 to-ge-te-[...]ja-ro[. Line 5]ko-wa-ra-j. Last sign possibly 5.
- Last sign much bigger than preceding two. Xn1342.1
 - e-jo a-pu-ki
- Xn1343.2 ka-re-pa-u

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Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain

Part Three: 1*

C. VERMEULE AND D. VON BOTHMER

PLATES 35-38

This study of antiquities in British collections continues those in AIA 59 (1955) 129-50 (Part I) and AJA 60 (1956) 321-50 (Part II). Related studies published since Parts I and II appear under their pertinent headings. So much old and new material has turned up as a result of Parts I and II that we postpone an Index to the Parts until completion of the series as a whole, after one or two further installments. This section (Part III) includes fuller discussion of collections mentioned in Part I (e.g. BROADLANDS, COBHAM HALL, HOLKHAM HALL, INCE BLUNDELL HALL, and MARGAM PARK). Notes on the two principal University collections (the Fitzwilliam Museum in CAMBRIDGE and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) continue the practice of Michaelis; notices of other collections in these cities also appear. Mr. R. P. Wright of Durham University has provided information on inscriptions of non-Romano-British origin.

Those thanked previously have continued their assistance; in addition we thank the Trustees, Curators, and owners of the collections discussed here for permission to study, photograph and publish sculpture and vases. A joint trip to most of these collections was made in 1956; study of the sculptures was aided by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. Further information resulted from trips in 1956-58 to Cuba and California (D.v.B.) and the midwest and Toronto (C.C.V.).

Prof. Pierre Amandry has put at our disposal a collection of Michaelis' papers belonging to the Archaeological Institute of the University of Strasbourg. These comprise an interleaved copy in seven parts of *Ancient Marbles* with much information useful to a future edition entered in appropriate order. There is a folio of correspondence, including reviews, in connection with publication of the book. Eight field notebooks contain descriptions of monu-

ments, sketches, and epigraphic notes on material in *Ancient Marbles* and on monuments (in the British Museum, etc.) not in the book. These notebooks were used toward the end of Michaelis' work in England, and therefore the notes on the Parthenon, for instance, belong among his later writings on the subject.

ALNWICK CASTLE (Part I, 130).

The collection of Egyptian and Mesopotamian antiquities, for more than a century at Alnwick Castle, was assembled mainly by the 4th Duke of Northumberland, who, as Lord Prudhoe, visited Egypt in 1826. His successors made important additions (S. Birch, Cat. of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, London 1880). Most of the collection has been obtained by Durham University, to be exhibited in Hatfield College (I. E. S. Edwards, BMO 16 [1951-52] 15ff; J. Vergote, Cd'E 26 [1951] 319f). Two of three Egyptian antiquities acquired by the British Museum are published in Edwards' article: a painted limestone statuette of the Lady Ninofretmin, IVth Dynasty (no. 65430), and a glazed steatite commemorative scarab of King Amenophis III (no. 65428), narrating construction of a pleasure-lake for Queen Tiy. C. J. Gadd published the Babylonian acquisitions of the British Museum (BMO 16 [1951-52] 43ff): a stone relief of Enannadu, Governor of Lagash ca. 2500 B.c., an inlaid agate eye from a statue of Shamash the Sun-god, patron of Sippar, and a deed of sale from Erech, 666 B.C., a memorial tablet in black stone.

BROADLANDS (Part I, 131).

Michaelis (pp. 217-26) described thirty-three sculptures, mostly acquired in Italy in 1764-1766 by Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802). We are indebted to Mrs. Bloise, the

[•] Part Three: 2, London-York, will appear shortly.

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Curator, for furnishing a typescript inventory of these antiquities and those added by purchases on the part of Lord Mount Temple (Hon. Wilfred Ashley), Lady Mountbatten's father. The inventory numbers are listed below after the numbers given by Michaelis. Some pieces have moved to new locations, and changes are noted after the inventory numbers.

The head of Apollo (no. 1) was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 (Cat. 1904, pl. 33, no. 49) and has been identified as a good example of the Palazzo Vecchio type (Lippold, as EA 4850; idem, Handbuch 268, n. 12; M. Vianello, BullComm 71 [1943-45] 1947, 123ff, esp. 128, n. 16; M. Marella, Ricerche e studi sulla scultura greca del sec. IV [Rome 1940] 9ff, no. 17). No. 2 (inv. no. 28. Outer Hall) is a low relief in the shape of a round disc and showing a Satyr; the relief was purchased by Lord Palmerston in Italy in 1764 (Hauser, Neu-attische Reliefs 89ff, no. 10; Amelung, Vat. Cat. II, 80, under Belvedere no. 28). Nos. 3 (inv. no. 29. Outer Hall), a fragment of a relief with a female flute-player, and 4 (inv. no. 31. Outer Hall), an oval relief fragment with a figure of "Hygieia," are of elegant workmanship but much restored. The first was bought by Lord Palmerston in Italy in 1764, and the second was purchased through Gavin Hamilton from the Barberini Palace in 1766 (for £ 100, together with nos. 28 and 29, below).

No. 5 is a fragment of a relief representing three Maenads dancing (inv. no. 30. Outer Hall). It is a replica of the example in the Villa Albani (Zoega, Bassirelievi II, pl. 83; cf. Lansdowne no. 58) and belongs to the cycle of Winter Maenads (Hauser, Neu-attische Reliefs 12, no. 7, types 30, 25, 32; also published by Lippold, as EA no. 4851; idem, Handbuch 198, n. 15). The relief was purchased by Lord Palmerston from the Barberini Palace in 1765 for 165 crowns, Gavin Hamilton being the agent. No. 6, head of Aphrodite, is 96.694 (Catherine Page Perkins Collection) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Caskey (Cat. 155f, no. 78, and bibl.) listed the head as "formerly at Broadlands, later in the possession of Lord Ronald Gower." Broadlands has an exceptionally fine collection of Roman grave altars, cinerary chests, and decorative urns. No. 7 (inv. no. 36. Orangery) is a cinerarium with eagles, and a bird seizing a lizard, among its decorative details (cf. Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi 30, n. 61, for similar motifs); it comes

from S. Alessio Monastery in Rome (CIL VI, no. 2503). No. 8 (inv. no. 32. Foot of the South Staircase), a large rectangular cinerarium (CIL VI, no. 9973) has two Ionic spiral fluted columns connected by a garland; the deceased and his wife joining hands within open portals below.

No. 9 (inv. no. 3) is the head of Hermes of the Ludovisi type, on a restored terminal bust. The head, acquired by Lord Palmerston in 1764, has been much studied since Furtwängler included it in his monumental study Meisterwerke (86, fig. 6; Masterpieces 57, 3) and since its exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 (Cat. 1904, 12 pl. x, 9; Lippold, EA nos. 4852f; idem, Handbuch 179, n. 1; E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 26f, under nos. 28, 29; Picard, Manuel II, 2, 245f, fig. 109; EA nos. 270f, 2110f; V. Poulsen, ActaA 11 [1940] 35). No. 10 (inv. no. 4) is no less well known than the Broadlands Hermes. It is an early second century A.D. copy in the form of a terminal bust of the Polyelitan discobolus ("head of Herakles"). The bust was brought from Italy in 1764 (Lippold, EA no. 4854; idem, Handbuch 164, n. 2; Idl 23 [1908] 204, fig.; Blumel, 90 BWPr 24, no. 14; Anti, MonAnt 26 [1920] 550ff, no. 19); it was also exhibited in 1903 (Burlington Cat. 1904, 8, pl. x, 1; Furtwängler, Meisterwerke 428, fig. 66; Masterpieces 234ff, fig. 96). No. 11 (inv. no. 13. Hall), a triangular candelabrum support or decorative altar in marble, was purchased by Lord Palmerston through Gavin Hamilton in Rome ca. 1764. The three drawings of its faces commissioned by Cassiano dal Pozzo are evidence of its presence in Rome ca. 1650 or earlier; the drawings all bear the Dal Pozzo collection no. 66. Windsor no. 8689 shows the Silen, no. 8690 the Maenad with fawn and no. 8691 the woman at an altar (see further, Cumont, AJA 37 [1933] 240, 250f).

The so-called "Melpomene," no. 12 (inv. no. 5), is a copy of an Aphrodite or a nymph with her foot raised and set on a rock. The body is Lysippic, with influences from the Aphrodite of Capua; no copies preserve the head (Lippold, as EA no. 4855 left; idem, Handbuch 283, n. 7; idem, Vat. Cat. III, 2, 234f, under Candelabri III, no. 11). The "Ceres" (no. 13; inv. no. 8. Hall) is a statuette of a Hygieia type (Lippold, as EA no. 4856 right); the motif is close to the Hygieia Corsini (Amelung, RM 24 [1909] 191; Matz-Duhn no. 857; Ph. Alinari 27457). This piece was secured in Italy from Cavaceppi. No. 14 (inv. no. 24) is a statue of Hygieia,

restored by Cavaceppi but known by its correct designation since the eighteenth century (Reinach-Clarac 294, no. 2). The statue is a copy of a widely diffused type (Lippold, as EA no. 4856 left; idem, Handbuch 265; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 68f, replica no. 1; Neugebauer, Milet I, 9, 98, on no. 2; W. Wroth, JHS 5 [1884] 99); Lord Palmerston purchased the piece through Gavin Hamilton from the Palazzo Barberini in 1766. Nos. 15, 16 (inv. no. 6. Hall), 17 (inv. no. 23), and 18 (inv. no. 19) are heads of no exceptional quality. No. 16 is a double terminal head on a restored bust; the faces, beneath Dionysiac and Apollonian wreaths, are of a male and female (?) satyr. Nos. 17 ("Scipio Nasica") bust of a young Roman of the late Republic, and 18 ("Titus"), head of a Roman of the time of Nero, were purchased by the third Viscount at the Sir William Temple Sale, Moor Park, in 1824. No. 19 (inv. no. 9. Hall) is a small head of Africa (not Alexandria) with the elephantskin cap (Lippold, as EA no. 4857 left; Antonine work, cf. British Museum, Bronzes, no. 1524 and the marble terminal bust in the Cooper Union Museum, New York, 1953.39.1). The head was purchased from Cavaceppi by the Second Viscount in 1764. No. 20 (inv. no. 18. Hall), also purchased in Italy in 1764, is a youthful head of Bacchic character; it is heavily restored.

No. 21 (inv. no. 15. Built into the rear wall of the Hall) is the front of a Meleager sarcophagus with scenes from the Calydonian Hunt (Robert, Sark.-rel. III, 2, 83, p. 312, no. 242; Reinach, Rép.rel. II, 437, no. 3; García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas 255ff, no. 264; P. C. Sestieri, RivIstArch 8 [1941] 117, fig. 8, no. 3, note 29). This example belongs in Robert's Class II and is dated by him at the end of the second century A.D. (cf. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 122). No. 22 (inv. no. 16. Hall) is a Graeco-Roman, early imperial funerary (?) relief showing a draped woman seated to the right and a togate man standing opposite. No. 23 (inv. no. 22) is a bust of a Roman boy of the later Hadrianic period. It was bought in Italy in 1764. Nos. 24 (inv. no. 25), bust of a child, and 26, terminal bust of a female satyr, are earlier imperial decorative marbles of no great importance. The same can be said for the "Grazing Goat" (no. 27; inv. no. 37. Orangery), bought by Lord Palmerston during the Rome trips of 1764-66. No. 25, the "Terminal Bust of the Winged Dionysos," on the other hand has been identified by Lippold as possibly representing a

wind god (EA no. 4857 right). In no. 28 (inv. no. 20), a statuette of a woman seated on a block of rock, Lippold has identified a "Urania" of the Malaga type (EA no. 4855 right; Handbuch 295 n. 21; RM 33 [1917] 66; cf. Ashmole, Ince no. 83c, and Kaschnitz-Weinberg, VatMag. no. 118, pl. 30). No. 29 (inv. no. 26) is the statuette of Eros sleeping on a rock covered by the lion's skin of Herakles.

The inscribed cinerary urn no. 30 (inv. no. 35. Orangery) has a long Renaissance history (CIL VI, no. 8915; the same person appears in the inscriptions recorded as CIL VI, nos. 8673, 8704). No. 31 (inv. no. 1. Hall), the statuette of Athena in the pose of the Velletri statue in the Louvre, BrBr, no. 68, is unfortunately heavily restored (Lippold, EA 4858; idem, Handbuch 173, n. 4; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 120, replica no. 4 under no. 8; Pfuhl, Idl 41 [1926] 17, n. 4; Furtwängler, Masterpieces 141, n. 2). Save for no. 35, a reworked Roman head of Aphrodite based on the Capitoline type, nos. 32 to 39 are marble Piranesi-type decorative vases (32,33), a cinerary vase from DEEPDENE (no. 34, Part I, 131), the three cinerary marbles from Felix HALL (no. 36=CIL VI, no. 10,922; no. 37=CIL VI, no. 14,971; all also Part I, 131), and a cinerary vase with a scene of Bacchic sacrifice (no. 39; inv. no. 7). Some fragments of the frieze appear to be ancient, but this vase is heavily restored and worked over in the Piranesi fashion. It was brought from Italy by the second Viscount Palmerston in 1764.

BROOMHALL (Part I, 132).

Early in 1957 the Greek vases in Lord Elgin's collection appeared on the London market. The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford acquired three small vases (Report of the Visitors 1957, pl. 4, a, b, c): a squat lekythos by the Achilles Painter (1957.30; ARV 640, no. 91), a squat lekythos by Polion (1957.31; ARV 798, no. 15), and an odd black-figured chous (1957.32; not in van Hoorn, Choes and Anthesteria). The chous looks Boeotian, but has been pronounced Eretrian by Mrs. Ure; two men are shown carrying what looks like inverted thyrsoi or swarms of bees. Mr. K. J. Hewett presented a fragment of a white lekythos to the Ashmolean Museum (Report 1957, p. 18; 1957.33: Achilles Painter).

After the collection had left England, the British Museum acquired a Lucanian squat lekythos attributed by Trendall to the Primato Painter (London 1958.2-14.1; to be published by Webster).

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Three small vases have been offered for sale by the firm of Kricheldorf in Stuttgart (Liste 22, Nov. 1957, nos. 22, 28, 29); and fifteen small vases are listed in Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Liste 179 (May 1958) 13f, nos. 402-16. A few vases were sold to private collectors in England, but the bulk of the collection has found its way to the Paris and Basle markets. Three lekythoi are now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts: the red-figured lekythos with a woman balancing a stick, in the manner of the Meidias Painter (Beazley, ARV 839, no. 66), a white lekythos by the Bird Painter (ARV 811, no. 5), and an unattributed white lekythos with a woman seated beside a column holding a bird in her hand (BFAC [1904] pl. 93, no. H 33). Five other white lekythoi were sold in Basle last November (Münzen und Medaillen Auktion XVIII, 29 November 1958, nos. 129-133, frontispiece, pls. 41-42).

Cambridge (Cambridgeshire), THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (The University Collections).

Michaelis, Anc. Marbles 241-272; Handbook to the Fitzwilliam Museum 1952.

Michaelis visited the Fitzwilliam Museum and described 108 marbles from Greece and Italy, comprising the Clarke and the Disney-Hollis-Brand collections. He and Conze also listed sculptures at Trinity College (q.v.) and a Romano-British "ara" or stele at St. John's College (no. 118; CIL VII, pp. 218)

Most items described by Michaelis as in the several collections of the Fitzwilliam or the colleges are either displayed in the Museum with labels giving the M.(ichaelis) number or are stored in the basement. (Mr. N. C. Rayner of the Museum has provided information in this respect.) In 1957 the following Michaelis numbers were in the galleries:

Nos. 1 (G. Libertini, Annuario 2 [1916] 201-17; Dinsmoor, Architecture of Ancient Greece 286f, dated 50 B.C.), 2, 4 (Brommer, PW Suppl. VIII, col. 979; Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 67, 1), 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16 (Wroth, JHS 5 [1884] 89f, n. 4; Ashmole, BSR 10 [1927] 6, fig. 33), 18, 20 (Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs I, 61, no. 277), 21 (Conze III, no. 1820), 22 (Conze II, 230, no. 1065), 23, 24, 29, 30 (Altertümer von Pergamon VII, 2, 345f, no. 439b), 31, 32, 33, 36 (Reinach, op.cit. II, 245, 5), 37, 41 (bust ancient), 44, 45, 46 (Sarapis: L. Budde, AA [1952] cols. 117f, figs. 8f), 47 (Hermes: Furtwäng-

ler, Ueber Statuenkopieen 572f, pl. 9), 48, 49, 53 (copy of the Pergamon type, attributed to Alkamenes), 54 (Plato, Roman copy of a fourth cent. portrait: Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 43; Boehringer, Platon no. 15, pl. 9, and bibl.), 57 (a young man of ca. A.D. 125; restored and worked over), 58 (Roman portrait of ca. A.D. 180-200), 61 (Roman work, perhaps from Egypt), 63 (Roman portrait, ca. A.D. 150-175; back of head restored), 64 (provincial, ca. A.D. 150-200), 67, 63 (ca. 350-250 B.C.), 72, 76, 77, 78, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93 (mediaeval pilaster enrichment).

In the Museum basement are stored nos. 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85 (Cumont, Le symbolisme funéraire 398, n. 1), 89, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 101, 109 (Pfuhl, Idl 20 [1905] 124, no. 4), 110. No. 3 (Graillot, Le culte de Cybèle 506) could not be found.

Several bronzes (Michaelis nos. 103, 104, 107) have been stored or transferred to other departments since they are Florentine Renaissance or later. A collection of bronzes is displayed near the marbles. Gifts from Miss Winifred Lamb include W. Cook coll., Smith-Hutton, Cat. nos. 33 (cista lid) and 51 (late sixth cent. B.c. patera with figured handle). In 1953 Sir Robert Hyde Greg bequeathed five Greek bronzes from Egypt: Hellenistic statuette of Herakles and Antaeus, two Graeco-Roman statuettes of griffins, and three of pantheresses.

We give a brief list of marbles not in Michaelis; Dr. L. Budde has prepared a catalogue, a copy of which is on deposit in the Museum. The order followed is *roughly* from the smaller to the larger gallery, clockwise in the latter.

I. Westmacott athlete head, Vincent or D'Abernon copy, presented by Viscountess D'Abernon in 1948 (Hafner, AbhHeidelberg [1955] 1, 13, fig. 15 [wrongly as British Museum]; E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 36, under no. 48; Picard, Manuel II, 1, 276f; D. M. Robinson, ArtB 18 [1936] figs. 12-15; Angiolillo, ArchCl 1 [1949] 128f; BFAC Cat. [1904] 28f, no. 45, pl. 33).

1a. Cast of the Chatsworth Apollo, in bronze (1948) (bib.: Part II, 325f; the original passed to the British Museum in 1957).

2. Four marble legs from a throne of Zeus, ex Hope coll. (1917) (*Cat. Christie*, 23-24 July 1917, no. 205; Richter, *Anc. Furniture* 121, fig. 286; Gerassimov, *BIABulg* 13 [1939] 279, fig. 313).

3. Relief, head of a yoked ox, Pentelic marble (H.:0.41 m.) (1886).

4. Grave relief of (Th)eokles, ca. 400-375 B.C. (1884) (Conze II, 195f, no. 912).

5. Two Greek antefixes, in marble (1885).

6. Marble diskos (CIG II, 2654; Jacobsthal, 93 BWPr [1933] 26, no. 4).

7. Altar to Cybele, Roman ca. A.D. 100-125 (1938) (Tillyard, *JRS* 7 [1917] 284ff; *CAH Plates* V, 158f, b).

8. Roman portrait bust, ca. A.D. 138-161 (C. Brinsley Marlay, 1912).

9. Torso of a statuette of Sarapis seated, probably from Eleusis; Parian marble (H.:0.42 m.) (1907; see also below, no. 21).

10. Roman marble copy of a fifth century bronze head (Ricketts and Shannon Bequest, 1937).

11. Statuette, Hellenistic or Roman copy of an original resembling the Erechtheum Caryatids (W. R. Lethaby Bequest, 1931).

12. Statuette of Aphrodite and Eros, from Paphos; Hellenistic decorative sculpture.

13. Torso of Eros standing (Salamis, 1890: JHS 12 [1891] 125; V. Karageorghis reports [10 Jan. 1956] discovery of the legs and a hand holding a mirror). 14. Statuette after a young Apollo of ca. 490-460 B.C. Restored by Flaxman in Rome, 1793, "after the Apollo Philesios of Miletus" (Furtwängler, Ueber Statuenkopieen 49f [573f] ill.).

15. Head in a Phrygian cap, possibly from a large Amazon sarcophagus (H.:0.20 m.) (1906).

16. Head from a small herm of Zeus or Hermes, fourth cent. B.c. (H.:0.185 m.) (G. D. Hornblower, 1036).

17. Head of a youth, elongated features. Hellenistic period (H.:0.16 m.; very crystalline marble); from Eski-Shehir (Dorylaion, Phrygia) (1906).
18. Male head, first-second cent. A.D. copy of a Hel-

lenistic original (Marlay Bequest, 1912). 19. Sarcophagus with griffins, ca. A.D. 120 (Lord Carmichael, 1920) (AJA 61 [1957] 242, n. 154).

20. Torso of the Praxitelean Sauroctonos, Greek marble (Ricketts and Shannon Bequest, 1937) (Chittenden and Seltman, *Greek Art* 36, no. 154, pl. 42).

21. Headless statue of Sarapis enthroned, ca. A.D. 100-150; grey-black marble, r. foot of island marble (Salamis, 1891) (JHS 12 [1891] 125ff, fig. 1).

22. Torso of a replica of the Belvedere Hermes; Parian marble (Salamis, 1890) (Amelung, Vat. Cat. II, 135, under no. 53). Probably adapted as a por-

trait statue, as C. Ophellios in the Delos Museum (Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors 304, 613, fig. 767). 23. Upper part of a sepulchral stele, ca. 400 B.C.; Sophocles-like bearded, himation-clad man standing facing (Poli in Cyprus, 1889) (Archaeology 8 [1955] 13, ill.).

24. Stele of Aphrodeisia (called Epilampsis), daughter of Aphrodeisios of Leukonis in Attica, ca. A.D. 150 (1919; *IG* II-III², pt. 3, 470, no. 6725). 25. Fragment of a figure from the Erechtheum frieze (1908). Cf. Soane Museum, *Cat.* no. 278; Fowler, *Erechtheum* 265f, no. 98.

26. Filleted head of a young girl; ca. 325 B.C.; probably from a sepulchral statue (Ricketts and Shannon Bequest, 1937).

27. Fragment of a marble loutrophoros, fourth cent. B.C. (Thomas Worsley, 1885) (Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* III, 362, no. 1703a, ill.).

28, 29. Torsos of Aphrodite; Hellenistic work in Greek island marble (H.:0.24 m.; 0.23 m.). From Egypt (Sir Robert Hyde Greg, 1953).

The collection of sixty-four Greek inscriptions in all media includes items from Greece, the islands, Asia Minor, Egypt, Rome and Britain (F. M. Heichelheim, JHS 62 [1942] 14-20; AJA 48 [1944] 191). The Museum is also rich in terracottas (see Part I, 138), pottery and painted vases of all periods, cameo and intaglio gems, coins and other objects of antiquity.

Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, Little St. Mary's Lane.

This Museum contains a well-displayed collection of casts; the following concern objects from British private collections. In addition to the late archaic Attic predella of a funerary stele (Cottenham relief) now in the Getty Museum, Malibu (Guidebook 1954, 22, no. 5, ill.; Chittenden, Seltman, Greek Art 26, no. 45, pl. 10; A. B. Cook, IHS 37 [1917] 116ff), casts include the Broadlands-Boston head of Aphrodite (Michaelis no. 6; Caskey, Cat. no. 78), the Brocklesby Niobe (M. 5), the Girl with Doves (M. 17), the head of the Cook-Ashmolean statue of Apollo (Strong no. 5), the "Parthenon" head of Aphrodite at Holkham (M. 37), the Lansdowne head of Hermes (Michaelis-Smith no. 88), head of an athlete (idem no. 62), the Ashmolean head of "Sappho" (Langlotz, Aphrodite in dem Garten [1954] passim), and a small marble head of Aphrodite found in Egypt by Lord Ronald Gower and afterwards in the possession of Sir John

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Millais. This head is a Hellenistic work, related to the Praxitelean adaptations (H.:ca. 0.08 m.; cf. the Dresden head, AA [1891] 25, fig. 12, also from Egypt; a cast is exhibited beside the Gower Aphrodite).

In the Main Gallery is the (marble) upper part of a large Attic funerary stele, in the form of an acanthus palmette; from Trinity College (M. 113; Conze, III, no. 1053; Möbius, *Die Ornamente* 39).

There are marbles and terracottas mainly from the Cyprus excavations, and a study collection of painted vases of all periods. Among the fragments are two unpublished scraps of Chalcidian (UP 105 and UP 108) from a neck-amphora by the Vienna Painter. Some years ago the Museum of Classical Archaeology acquired the vases formerly shown at Leicester, keeping some of them and selling the rest to the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. A black-figured oinochoe came from the collection of Sir Charles Dilke and bears the number 238. The subject is an Amazon in combat with a warchariot; the vase should be added to the list of such subjects in Amazons in Greek Art on p. 85 as no. 144 ter: Class of Würzburg 346.

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

The collection of Greek and Roman antiquities is exhibited in the library and can be seen by the public at certain hours during the week or on application. It was bequeathed by the Rev. Samuel Lewis, M.A. (1836-1891), a Fellow of the College. Additional antiquities were left by Mrs. Lewis in 1926 and by the Rev. Lewis' niece, Mrs. Paton-Thorez, in 1949.

The marbles comprise: 1. Statuette of Aphrodite holding drapery in right hand, left hand on breast (H.:0.18 m.; alabaster, with color on the draper,).

2. Statuette of Sarapis, the back of the chair serving as support (H.:0.57 m.; Pentelic marble. From the Demetrion collection, Alexandria). Of the usual Bryaxis type (cf. above, Fitzwilliam Museum nos. 9 and 21).

3. Statuette of Cybele, enthroned with patera in right hand, tympanon in left, and a lion on her lap (H.:0.34 m.; Greek marble). Cf. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum nos. 13, 51, 52.

4. Fragment of a decorative relief of the "ventilator panel" type. On the left, Pan approaching altar; on the right mask of silen in high relief (H.:0.32 m.; W.:0.22 m.; broken on the right corner and the left side).

The bronzes include an Etruscan statuette of

Turan (or a kore) in the later archaic Ionian style, four Etruscan and one Italo-Etruscan engraved mirrors of which one is published by Gerhard and Körte (Etruskische Spiegel 5, pl. 151, pp. 197-201, from Palestrina). An Etruscan mirror case comes from the collection of Camille Lecuyer (Vente Drouot, 26-28 avril 1883, p. 70, no. 444; King, Cambridge Antiquarian Communications 4 [1883] pl. opp. p. 187; photograph 31.2363 in the German Institute at Rome). The relief is of the common type showing Dionysos with Eros and a maenad (cf. Züchner, Griechische Klappspiegel 149).

Among the twenty-one terracottas the finest is the relief of a youth and a girl, with Eros, in an arbor (pl. 35, fig. 3) (GazArch 4 [1878] pl. 11; on the type see BMMA 30 [1935] 165). The collection of coins includes Greek rarities and a choice of Roman aes. The cameos and intaglios are catalogued by Middleton (The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings in the Possession of Corpus Christi College Cambridge [London 1892]). There are also three Early Christian lamps. Of the vases four are published by Bicknell in IHS 41 (1921) 222ff; a partial list is given by Philippart in AntCl 4 (1935) 208-09. The earliest vase, a Cycladic kernos, is published by Bicknell (op.cit. 231). Attic geometric is represented by a pyxis. The Attic black-figure includes a panathenaic prize amphora (ABV 405, very close to the Kleophrades Painter, no. 2), a big lekythos with alien foot (warrior between two chariots; Leagran), another lekythos from Rhodes, a small skyphos (on each side, in silhouette, fight), and a collection of fragments, mostly from cups and skyphoi. Of the Attic red-figure a skyphos should be mentioned first, as it is the name-piece of the Lewis Painter (ARV 517, no. 15; the obverse republished in The College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary 1352-1952 [Cambridge 1952] 30). Equally well known is a cup by the Foundry Painter (ARV 264, no. 12). Of special interest for their subjects are the neck-amphora with twisted handles (ARV 700, Group of Polygnotos no. 82) and the stemless cup by the Painter of Ruvo 1346 (ARV 859, no. 1). A small nuptial lebes of type 2 is called a lekanis by Philippart, loc.cit. There are also two plastic oinochoai in the shape of a female head and a squat lekythos from Kerch with figures in relief (seated woman, Eros with thymiaterion, and phiale, Aphrodite [?] with dove). South Italian pottery is represented by a Lucanian skyphos (Nike with wreath, running woman), three Apulian redfigured vases (pelike, hydria, stand, the last published by Cambitoglou in *JHS* 74 [1954] pl. 6d), and a Gnathian kantharos. A Ptolemaic oinochoe from Cyprus has been published in *RN* 33 (1901). There is also a series of Cypriot vases and thirteen plain vases, the latter lot presented in 1949 by Mrs. Paton-Thorez.

Cambridge, Queen's College.

In a panelled niche overlooking the balcony of the Library is a lifesize diademed head of Aphrodite, with the bust worked for setting in a statue. The diadem is enriched with a series of crescents. Parian marble; only the tip of the nose is restored. The head and part of the neck is broken off, but the break corresponds with the balance of the neck and the join of the tresses.

Prof. A. B. Cook purchased the head formerly in the Harland-Peck collection at the Sotheby Sale, 18 July 1934, no. 48, and published it as Juno Lucina (Zeus III, 2, 1117, pl. 79). The running drill in the hair over the ears suggests work of ca. A.D. 100-150. Cf. the head of a complete statue in the Louvre, with half-moons on the diadem (Reinach-Clarac I, 173, no. 2; Furtwängler, Masterpieces 323, fig. 138, n. 4, head and r. shoulder modern), also the head of the Vatican group of the half-draped Venus (Reinach-Clarac I, 327, 1), where the evidence of de Rubeis, Icones (1638) II, pl. 86, indicates that the head is ancient.

Cambridge, TRINITY COLLEGE.

Michaelis, 271f, nos. 114-117; see under FITZWIL-LIAM MUSEUM and MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAE-OLOGY for other marbles formerly in Trinity College (Michaelis, 268-71).

Still in Trinity College are (quoted by Michaelis nos.): no. 111, fragment of an Attic grave relief, with a loutrophoros (Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs II, no. 1006; K. Friis Johansen, The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period 30; IG II-III² Part 3, 546f, no. 7839a). No. 112, lower part of an Attic grave relief, with two lekythoi (Conze, op.cit. I, no. 268). No. 114, statuette of Asklepios, is a replica of a type known in over forty copies (Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 146, no. 11, replica no. 11; Waldhauer, Ermitage I, 16f, replica no. 5; Reinach, Rép. stat. III, 228, no. 3; see also Cobham Hall, no. 21, a larger replica). No. 115, Attic Hekateion relief, of ca. 350-250 B.C., is republished by Furtwängler, Ueber Statuenkopieen 573 (49). No. 116 is

a small statue of Ceres, seated and holding a cornucopia and a bunch of corn ears and poppies. No. 117 is a fragment of a statue of Silenus, only the upper part of the body with the head being preserved; this piece comes from Smyrna.

The ten vases in the Library are mentioned by Philippart (op.cit. 211). Of his two Italiote vases, one (T 3) is an Apulian hydria with Achilles and Penthesilea; the other, not Italiote but Boeotian, has now been published (IHS 77 [1957] pl. 4). It is a small rf. bell-krater: on the obverse, nereid riding a hippocamp, carrying a shield (excerpt from an arming of Achilles); on the reverse, female head facing left. Of the Attic bf. vases, T 2 is listed by Beazley in Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum, 25: the subject of the principal group is not "deux lutteurs." To and T 10 are neck-amphorae; the pictures on T 9 are in panels. The lekythos T 4 is listed by Bothmer in Amazons in Greek Art 44, no. 64; the Attic red-figured stamnos by the Tyszkiewicz Painter is no. 17 in Beazley ARV 186.

Canterbury (Kent), Canterbury Royal Museum and Slater Art Gallery (High Street).

A visit to the Museum in 1956 permitted examination of the collection presented by Viscount Strangford in 1844 (Anc. Marbles 272-76), and a few noteworthy additions. Most of these items are exhibited in a large glassed case in the centre of one of the upstairs rooms of the Museum and Beaney Institute. The exhibit includes Michaelis nos. 4 (and no. 1), 5 (Royal Museum Loan 1212), 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 27, 35 (RM 4182), 113, 116 (from Athens, 1811; RM 4105), 125, 131 (Athens, 1821; RM 4217), 135 (RM 4190; the inscription, broken on the left side, is actually ... AOA/ ... EPOS/ ... TNOI), 136 (RM 4219; Hermes?), 137 (RM 4192; JHS 61 [1941] 39; from Adrianople, 1821), 140 (RM 4266; Diomedes?), 143 (RM 4194; a terminal bust, Graeco-Roman work, more likely a representation of an early philosopher), 144-48 (RM 4193, 4205, 4208; three, of excellent quality, are from statuettes of Zeus, Asklepios [Pyromachos type: Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 107] and Aphrodite), 149 (RM 4267; JHS 61 (1941) 39f, fig. 1; early first cent. A.D.), 150 (RM 4218, hollowed for an offering to Zeus Olbios: "Kallistos for his son Alexandros to Zeus Olbios as a thanksgiving"), and 167 (Campanian). Nos. 172 (RM 4270) and 174 (RM 268) are shown separately. RM 4269, from Brussa 1823, is shown in the case but is not listed by

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Michaelis. It is a Greek marble gravestone of the Smyrna type showing a girl seated to r. on a footstool, playing a rectangular lyre, all in a curved aedicula. The inscription reads ZΩΣΙΜΗ[O]ΤΡΑ / NIA ΧΡΗΣΤΗ / ΑΛΤΠΕΧΑΙΡ[Ε]. Another unlisted marble in the case is the lower half of a small statue of Pan, in Greek mainland marble (H.:0.22 m.; cf. the Hope-Melchett Pan, Deepdene no. 27 [241], Strong, Cat. no. 19). Also RM 4191, a Greek marble relief fragment of a wreathed head facing to r., perhaps from a Julio-Claudian historical relief (H.:0.18 m.; Th.:0.094 m.). No. 155, late Campana relief with Achilles dragging Hector's body, has been published in IHS 61 (1941) 40, fig. 2.

Two fragments of a large sarcophagus of the late second to third century A.D. show revelling putti or children (RM 4250). The major parts of three children are preserved, one on one fragment, two on another (cf. the examples in Athens: Toynbee, Hadrianic School pl. 52). A lifesize, diademed head of a Hellenistic ruler, carved in island marble, is to be identified as a portrait of Ptolemy III, Euergetes (247-222 B.c.). There are holes in the fillet for the spikes of a metal radiate crown (pl. 36, fig. 9). The bust is the exact counterpart of Ptolemy III's portrait on gold coins, showing aegis and the radiate crown identifying the ruler with Helios (cf. British Museum, A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks 60, no. 24, pl. 34). One may even identify the curious fringe of garment at the base of the neck as the top of the aegis, which was made separately if there were originally more to the bust or statue. The portrait possesses those "heaven-gazing" qualities much discussed in likenesses of Hellenistic kings and their Roman imperial successors, especially Nero whose features in later life were like those of Ptolemy III. A second portrait (H.: 0.41 m.; Greek island marble), is a splendid Sarapis-like likeness of the full-bearded Commodus, with a wreath of vine leaves in the hair and the remains of the fillets on the back of the head (cf. for facial type: Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 256, pl. 56, in Cairo; also Copenhagen no. 520a, Commodus as Zeus ?). This representation of the emperor as Bacchus (pl. 36, fig. 15) recalls the Salting bronze in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where he appears as Dionysos Sabazios (Part I, 141) and forms a fitting iconographic complement to the portrait of Ptolemy III.

Prof. Ashmole brought the busts to our attention. Mr. F. Jenkins, Hon. Curator of Archaeology, sup-

plied photographs and information. The Commodus is published in the Quarterly Bulletin of the Canterbury Museum and Public Library, no. 6, Autumn 1948. The marbles (including the sarcophagus fragments) were brought to England by Mr. Joseph Bliss of Court Lodge Cottage, Hastingleigh, Kent; he presented them to the city in 1926. The Ptolemy III was found in the theatre at Nysa ad Maeandrum, and the Commodus came from excavations near the Great Gate of Tralles. It is logical to have portraits of Ptolemy III set up in western Asia Minor during his lifetime (D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor I, 98f, II, 929ff). The two heads were originally reported to have come from Egypt, but the testimonials of provenance in Mr. Bliss's own hand make them important documents of the ruler cult in Asia Minor.

A note on the vases appeared in JHS 57 (1937)

CAPESTHORNE HALL, Chelford, near Macclesfield and Knutsford (Cheshire) (Open).

Lt. Col. and Mrs. W. H. Bromley Davenport.

Mrs. Bromley Davenport has furnished photographs, and the collection was studied in June 1956. Most of the classical antiquities now at Capesthorne were collected in Italy by Edward Davies Davenport (1778-1847). For the family and the collections, see L. (Mrs. W. H.) Bromley Davenport, History of Capesthorne Hall, Cheshire (1955) 28 pp. The marbles have been described in Guide to Capesthorne Hall, Including a Description of the Special Exhibition "Treasures from Italy" (first ed. 1956, pp. 5-7, nos. 1-14; 2nd. 1958, pp. 14-17, nos. 1-17). These descriptions include a number of Neo-Classic copies of antiquities; only ancient sculptures and three later copies are mentioned here.

No. 1. Replica of the Hermes Propylaeus of Alcamenes, a good copy of 50 B.C.-A.D. 50 (Guide II, no. 1; H.:0.38m.; Greek island marble). The nose and chin were restored and are now missing (cf. examples in the list, D. M. Robinson, A]A 59 [1955] 20ff). No. 2. Head of a young Faun or Satyr (Guide II, no. 2; H.:0.28m.; top of head restored). Roman copy of ca. A.D. 100 of the "Young Satyr Playing the Flute," attributed to Lysippos on the authority of Pliny (NH 24.64; Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 38, fig. 86). The ears have been reworked; the copy is larger than most, which are generally closer to half life size. No. 3. Head, probably of a Greek philosopher (Guide II,

no. 6; heavily restored). There are similar types (cf. AJA 59 [1955] 28, pl. 21, 322, pl. 94), but no other Roman copy comes to mind; the original was made ca. 350 B.C. No. 4. Bust of a man of ca. A.D. 50 or later (Guide II, no. 10; H.:0.60m.; restn.: neck, ears, patches in drapery). The head of this clean-shaven man of lean features appears to belong with the draped, half-figure bust, perhaps placing the portrait as late as A.D. 120. For the features, cf. the so-called young Claudius in the Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester (E. Suhr, AJA 59 [1955] 319ff). The Capesthorne Hall portrait wears an ample himation or pallium, marking him as a man of Greek origin or a Roman intellectual fond of Greek customs and dress.

The two best portraits follow. No. 5 (pl. 36, fig. 11) Portrait of a Roman lady of the later Flavian period (Guide II, no. 12; H.:0.43m.). This bust is a replica of an unknown portrait in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome (Hekler, Greek and Roman Portraits pl. 236b). The name "Julia," daughter of Titus, derives from similarity to two busts, one in the Museo Nazionale Romano and the other in the Uffizi, identified from comparison with coins struck by Titus (West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 30ff, nos. 1, 7; Mattingly, BMCCRE II, pl. 53, nos. 5-8); Julia, who was born about A.D. 70, died about the age of twenty-five (see Felletti Maj, Ritratti 86ff, no. 156, and especially 88, no. 160, for another head of the Palazzo Barberini type). The pile of hair above the forehead is restored after the corresponding, ancient portion of the Barberini portrait; the correctness of the restoration is borne out by the fact that traces of this hair style are apparent below the break. The likenesses were made at the earliest in the closing years of Domitian's rule (A.D. 81-96; cf. similar shape and drapery in a number of busts of this period: Hekler, op.cit. pls. 243ff). No. 6 (pl. 36, fig. 12; Guide II, no. 11, fig. 3). Bust of a lady of the Flavian period, probably Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian (H.:0.54m.; nose, patches of drapery restored). Cf. the busts identified as Domitia in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and the Museo Capitolino (F. Poulsen, Cat. 460f, no. 661; Hekler, op.cit. pl. 239b). Poulsen identified ancient replicas of the Copenhagen Domitia in two diademed heads in the Louvre and a resemblance in another head in the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 147, no. 20, pl. 37; see also West, op.cit. II, 34ff), which appears to show her in later life, with a headdress of the Trajanic period.

No. 7 is a bust of Pan (Guide II, no. 3; H.: 0.40 m.). The ends of the goat, horns and a section of the bust across the chest are restored. The features copy the Hellenistic tradition of representing the natural, somewhat vulgar aspect of the god (cf. Herbig, Pan passim, and esp. Vatican, Sala dei Busti, no. 316; Amelung, Vat. Cat. II, pl. 32). Three Neo-Classic portraits copy well-known ancient sculptures; the Augustus (Guide II, no. 8) copies the head on a modern bust, set on the Scala of the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, op.cit. 85, no. 7, pl. 17); the "Claudius" (Guide II, no. 9) copies a late Julio-Claudian head joined with a Hadrianic bust, the ensemble now in the Stanza degli Imperatori of the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, 190f, no. 12, pl. 48); and the Antinous (Guide II, no. 13) is a replica of the bust in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican, found at Hadrian's Villa in 1790 (Lippold, Vat. Kat. III, 1, 124f, no. 545, pls. 42, 44). The principal bronze (Guide II, no. 17; H.: 0.095 m.) is a Greek statuette of kouros type, to be dated 550-530 B.C. (cf. the bronze in Boston, 03.996 from Olympia, which has been placed with the marble kouroi from Tenea and Volomandra [Richter, Kouroi 142, no. 62], and the slightly later kouroi of the Anavysos-Ptoon 12 Group [op.cit. 189ff, esp. no. 114f]). The collection also includes gold necklaces and a fibula of ca. 400 B.c., found in a tomb at Canino, near Vulci (cf. Victoria and Albert Museum, Webb Colln. 8840, 8841-1863), and a group of Italo-Etruscan terracotta (mostly votive) heads (Guide I, 16f, fig. 6). These heads are similar to those in the Galleria Superiore of the Conservatori, from excavations in the so-called shrine of Minerva Medica (Stuart Jones, Cons. Cat. 305ff).

Of the vases some can be traced back to the Basseggio sale at London in 1838, and no. 9 in the following list is alluded to in *A Whitsuntide Ramble to Capesthorne Hall* (published for the benefit of the Macclesfield Public Baths and Washhouse) s.d. (ca. 1845) p. 53. In the following list of the vases the numbers of the *Guide to Capesthorne Hall* (1957 edition) are put in parentheses. Charlton publishes our nos. 5, 8, 10, 7, 14, 16, 15, 19 in *JHS* (1958), pls. 7-12.

CORINTHIAN

1 and 2. Two alabastra.

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

3. Pyxis lid, Swan Group (cf. ABV 656, nos. 46-57). 4. (7) Amphora A, ex Basseggio (Cat. Sotheby 13

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July 1838 no. 37). A, young archer, charioteer and hoplite in chariot, running hoplite, woman. B, Dionysos mounting chariot with Ariadne, satyr playing kithara, maenad, goat, maenad.

5. (4) Neck-amphora with lid, ex Basseggio, op.cit. no. 28). A, Guide to Capesthorne Hall (1956) 10, fig. 4; second edition (1957) 27. A, Herakles and the lion. B, Dionysos between two satyrs. Attributed by Charlton to the Antimenes Painter. Intact.

 (8) Neck-amphora. A, two mounted hoplites, accompanied by bitches; B, two mounted bearded archers wearing pointed caps, dogs. The foot is modern.

7. (11) Neck-amphora. A, nereid Peleus and Thetis. B, two maenads. H.:26 cm. Attributed by Beazley to the Red-line Painter (*Paralipomena* 14, no. 8 bis).

8. (6) Hydria, ex Basseggio (op.cit. no. 34). On the shoulder, pair of boxers, trainer, discobolos, boy, flute-player, two runners. For the bloody imprint of a hand on the body of one of the boxers compare the red-figured fragment Berlin 2276 (ARV 930, no. 37) and the cup Villa Giulia 50535 (ARV 72, no. 11). On the body, hoplite mounting chariot, man, charioteer, and another hoplite steadying the horses. Attributed by Corbett to the Leagros Group (ABV 365, no. 64) (pl. 37, fig. 18).

9. (5). Hydria. On the neck, panel with suspended lotus, and palmettes and ivy. On the shoulder, two duels. On the body, set off from the shoulder by four rows of checkerboard pattern, Athena, Herakles and the lion, Iolaos. On the sides, ivy; on the predella, upright lotus. The foot is modern.

10 (10). Kalpis, the picture on the body. Herakles and Cerberus, Hermes, Persephone. The heads are restored; the mouth of the vase is alien. By the Eucharides Painter (attribution confirmed by Beazley, *Paralipomena* 2631).

11. Oinochoe. Ares and Athena in gigantomachy. H.:22.5 cm.

12. Lekythos. Palmette-lotus pattern. Neck and mouth missing.

13 (12). Cup. Interior, woman. A and B, Ajax and Achilles playing. H.:7.3 cm.; D.:19.1 cm. A small piece on B is missing. Attributed by Beazley to the Leafless Group (*Paralipomena* 14, no. 201 bis).

ATTIC, SIX'S TECHNIQUE

14 (9). Neck-amphora. A, satyr playing the flute; B, satyr running with ivy-branch and cup. Com-

pared by Corbett with London B 691 and put by Beazley with a neck-amphora in Florence (ABV 672, s.v. Peisandrides).

ATTIC RED-FIGURE

15 (13). Nolan amphora. A, flying Eros with lyre and flute-case; B, boy to right. These Attic fragments are incorporated in a Campanian black neckamphora of the Owl-Pillar Group. Attributed by Beazley to the Berlin Painter (no. 47 quater: Paralipomena 2514).

16 (16). Nolan amphora. A, youth with lyre; B, woman with phiale. H.:31 cm. Attributed by Corbett to the Sabouroff Painter (no. 66 bis: *Paralipomena* 1806).

17 (17). Pelike. A, youth and woman; B, woman. H.:12.4 cm. Attributed by Beazley to the Capesthorne Painter, his name-piece (*Paralipomena* 2520, no. 2). 18 (18). Bell-krater. A, maenad between two young satyrs. B, two youths. H.:22.4 cm. Attributed by Corbett to the Upsala Painter (no. 5 ter: *Paralipomena* 1822).

19 (15). Askos. Two horses. Attributed by Beazley to the Painter of London D 12 (no. 43 ter: *Parali-* pomena 2514).

20 (14). Lekythos. Nike flying with phiale toward altar. Neck, mouth, and foot missing. Attributed by Beazley to the Scireniske Painter (no. 29 bis: *Paralipomena* 2514).

21. Lekythos. Nike walking with phiale toward altar. The mouth is missing. Height, as preserved, 11 cm. Attributed by Beazley to the Painter of London E 636 (no. 5: *Paralipomena* 2520).

ATTIC BLACK

22. Glaux, with ring-handle. One half of the vase is missing.

SOUTH ITALIAN

- 23 (19). Sicilian lekane with cover. On the cover, head of woman (twice).
- 24. Apulian nestoris. A, seated Eros; B, seated woman. Height, as preserved, 16 cm.
- 25. Campanian black hydria.
- 26. Campanian black dish.

ITALO-CORINTHIAN

27. Oinochoe. Animals and monsters, in three zones.

ITALO-LACONIAN

28. Column-krater. The designs are modern.

ETRUSCAN BUCCHERO

29. Oinochoe. Animals and monsters.

ETRUSCAN BLACK-FIGURE

30. Kyathos. Two youths, between two sphinxes.

There remains to be mentioned the foot of a black-figured hydria with a long graffito which does not seem to belong to any of the Capesthorne vases and may be the remnant of a vase now destroyed or lost. The graffito resembles that of Munich 1716 (J. 118), illustrated by Hackl, Münchener Archäologische Studien, pl. 2, no. 551.

CHARLECOTE PARK, Sir Montgomery Fairfax-Lucy (Warwickshire).

A copy of Sir John Beazley's notes on the vases, taken during a visit to the house in June 1956, is in the library of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The following list is based on these notes.

r. Attic bf. hydria. On the shoulder, Herakles and Triton; on the body, departure of a warrior in a chariot. On the predella, lion and boar, twice.

2. Attic bf. hydria. On the shoulder, chariot race; on the body, Herakles and the lion, with Athena and Iolaos looking on.

3. Attic bf. hydria. On the shoulder, warrior leaving home with a chariot; on the body, Apollo, Leto, Artemis, Hermes, a goddess, Poseidon.

4. Attic bf. hydria. On the shoulder, Herakles and the lion, with Athena and Iolaos; on the body, youth in a chariot, with Athena, Hermes, and a woman.

5. Attic bf. hydria. See Bothmer, Amazons in Greek Art 228, addendum to Chapter V, no. 131 bis.

6. Attic bf. neck-amphora. See Bothmer op.cit. 227, addendum to Chapter IV, no. 109 bis.

7. Attic bf. neck-amphora. A, two warriors fighting, a third warrior fallen, Athena. B, chariot in three-quarter view.

8. Attic rf. neck-amphora. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*², 146, s.v. Kallias II, no. 2; attributed by Beazley to the Oionokles Painter as no. 28 bis.

9. Attic rf. pelike. A, youth with sword pursuing woman; B, woman running to youth. Attributed by Beazley to the Agrigento Painter as no. 51 ter. 10. Attic rf. hydria. Three women. Attributed by Beazley to the Barclay Painter.

11. South Italian rf. calyx-krater. A, two satyrs boxing, maenad looking on. B, youth and woman. About 400 B.C.

12. South Italian bell-krater. A, seated maenad and young satyr. B, two youths. A.P. Group.

13. South Italian rf. Panathenaic amphora. A, woman seated in aedicula. B, seated Eros. A. P. Group.

14. South Italian rf. Panathenaic amphora. A, youth and woman at tomb. B, two youths. A. P. Group.

COBHAM HALL (Part I, 133).

A few further notes on this collection of sculptures, not seen by Michaelis, may be added here. No. 5, the second half of the table support from the Villa Montalto-Negroni-Massimi (Part I, pl. 42, fig. 8), is the example sketched by Sir A. van Dyck during his youthful sojourns in Rome (1622-23), in the sketchbook at Chatsworth (G. Adriani, Anton Van Dyck, Italienisches Skizzenbuch 51, no. 49). No. 10 is an unbroken bust of Hadrian, nude save for a cloak over the left shoulder (pl. 36, fig. 14). The outer part of the nose is restored, and there are patches in the hair, neck, and drapery. Comparison with Hekler, Portraits pl. 247, gives the shape of the bust (Vatican) and the portrait style (Naples). No. 12 is a fine example of a Roman twisted column of decorative rather than architectural type, restored as a candelabrum (cf. Soane Museum Cat. nos. 187, 213ff). The central part may have terminated in a double pinecone finial (cf. Ashmole, Ince 91, no. 241; Gusman, Art décoratif II, pl. 104; Ward Perkins, [RS 42 [1952] 27f); Piranesi, Vasi candelabri, pls. 96, 100, 101, 107, 108 show comparable restorations in the Neo-Classic decorative manner.

No. 13 is a bust of a plump, older woman of the middle of the Hadrianic period (ca. A.D. 120-125), with her hair, natural and otherwise, braided in tight curls around the crown of the head and knotted in a bow above the forehead (cf. in this respect: Felletti Maj, *Ritratti* 104, no. 198; Richter, *Roman Portraits* no. 65; Ashmole, *Ince* no. 91). The form of the draped bust is that developed in the midsecond cent. and later, but it is found for Sabina (e.g. Felletti Maj, *op.cit.* 102f, no. 195). The Cobham head is connected to the bust by a modern neck, but the bust belongs; the nose is restored.

No. 15, the small Romano-Egyptian table fountain, perhaps reflects the original architectural setting of statues such as the Nile group in the Vatican and the Louvre Tiber (Part I, pl. 42, fig. 10; Du Jardin, MemPontAcc 3 [1932-33] 50 etc.). The Cobham ensemble, comparable to small decorative fountains in the British Museum (Smith, Cat. III, 408f, nos. 2535f; Reinach, Rép. rel. II, 483, nos. 3-5,

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517, no. 1) and the Villa Albani (EA no. 3591), was published by Montfaucon in L'Antiquité expliquée (Paris 1719-1724), from a drawing sent him by M. Fritsch (III Suppl. pl. 63; for Fritsch, see II, 113f). No. 18 is the head of an elderly man of the late Flavian or Trajanic periods, set on a bust which, although reworked to present misunderstanding of the tunic beneath the paludamentum, is ancient and probably belongs (pl. 36, fig. 13). We have a portrait of an important official, perhaps M. Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor (cf. West, Porträt-Plastik II, 74, no. 1, pl. 19; Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 213, Imperatori no. 80, pl. 52; stylistic parallels for head and bust, the Trajanic general at INCE: Ashmole 80, no. 217b, pl. 36; Poulsen, Portraits 68, no. 50).

No. 19 is a torso, with the legs to the knees, of a lifesize statue of a young athlete, in pose suggesting a pugilist or an apoxyomenos (pl. 35, fig. 5). The statue seems to be a Hellenistic original of about 150-50 B.c., a work which transcribes Lysippic athletic statuary in terms of the post-Pergamene period, without the exaggeration of the Borghese warrior (Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 162, figs. 686, 688, 689; cf. the relief of athletes scraping themselves, 32, fig. 77). Finally, no. 21 (pl. 35, fig. 6) is a late second cent. A.D. two-thirds lifesize copy of an Asklepios originating in Athens in the late fifth cent. B.C. and adapted by Phyromachos for the cult statue of Asklepios at Pergamum (Bieber, op.cit. 107). A list of replicas in all sizes and a variety of styles is given by Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 146f, under no. 11.

The classical antiquities were sold on 23 July 1957 by Sotheby & Co., in a sale conducted on the premises (lots 383-404). The sale catalogue also mentions two South Italian bell-kraters (lot 399).

DEEPDENE (Part I, 134-35; Part II, 327-29).

More than a dozen marbles from the Hope collection are described below under PORT SUNLIGHT; others are mentioned under OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE (q.v.).

A cylindrical marble urn and cover was illustrated by Thomas Hope in *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807) pl. 1, in the foreground on the left; it was no. 197 in the Christie sale of 1917 (illustrated on the plate facing page 31). Twenty years later it was given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Mrs. Frederick E. Guest, and has since been published in *BMMA* 33 (1938) 52, fig.

3 (acc. no. 37.129). The type is mentioned by Lenormant in *GazArch* 7 (1881-82) 173.

The Christie Sale Catalogue also has the Egyptian antiquities formerly at Deepdene. Lot no. 167 was bought by Schweiger and thus presumably went to Budapest. The Canopic jars, no. 172, are mentioned below under Port Sunlight. No. 173 is in the Gulbenkian collection and was for many years on loan in the National Gallery at Washington. No. 174 is now in the British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, 65443 (BMQ 17 [1952] 71-72, pl. 27 b). The Ptolemaic lion, no. 176, was bought by Kevorkian and is still in his collection in New York.

The present location of the Hope vases was given, as far as known, in Part II, 327-29. Since then three more lost vases have been identified: Tillyard no. 241 is now, as Professor Trendall tells us, in Cassel (T 561); Tillyard no. 317 is in the Paris market; Tillyard no. 319 was acquired in 1957 by Mr. Otto Popelka of New York. For the distribution of the Hope vases bought for Lord Lever see below under Liverpool and Port Sunlight. A fragmentary bf. lekythos at Oxford (1929.463) is reported on the label to be from the Hope collection: it is not in Tillyard and must have been omitted by him.

DERBY, The County Borough of Derby, Museum and Art Gallery, Wardwick.

Mr. David Clarke of the Leicester Museum directed our attention to an Attic relief in the Derby Museum. Mr. A. L. Thorpe, Curator, furnished a photograph and wrote that the relief was found at the time of the Little Chester excavation in 1926 (IRS 16 [1926] 222). The fragment is the right end with the pilaster of the aedicula of a votive relief or a relief with sacrificial procession, ca. 350-250 B.C.; the surface is much abraded and weathered (no. 27-26; H.:0.38m.; W.:0.25m.; Th.:0.12m.) (pl. 38, fig. 2). A small hole in the centre of the break along the left side suggests the slab was reused as building material. Two women walk to l, the first with r. hand raised in gesture of adoration, the second carrying a chair with cloth or a cushion, in the manner of the Parthenon frieze, on her head. Parallels are collected in Reinach, Rép. rel. II: e.g. 318, 2 (Athens, from Rhamnus); 363, 2 (Athens, from Piraeus); 367, 2 (Athens, direction reversed); etc. (see also EA nos. 1222, 1225, 1245 etc.). Examples in England include BROCKLESBY PARK, Michaelis no. 39; Reinach 439, 1. Similar groups also appear in the corners of funerary banquet reliefs, but in these cases the scene usually goes from 1. to r. (as Reinach 412, 1).

Mr. Roy Hughes sent photographs of twelve vases. A black-figured lekythos on white ground is Haemonian and should be compared with Beazley ABV 539, nos. 1ff. Three aryballoi are Corinthian. A red-figured bell-krater is Boeotian and belongs to the class dealt with by Mrs. Ure in AIA 57 (1953) 245, nos. 1-8. A calyx-krater may also be Boeotian (A, Dionysos seated between maenad and Eros; B, two youths). Three other vases are Boeotian pyxides with palmettes in silhouette. Nine vases are reported to have come from graves near Thebes. A terracotta statuette is said to have come from Tanagra.

DURHAM, Cathedral.

The large collection of vases was sold in 1935. Twenty-two vases in the collection of the late William Randolph Hearst at San Simeon were formerly in Durham and include, beside much South Italian, the name-piece of the Durham Painter (Amazons in Greek Art 185, no. 75 bis).

FAIRFIELD (near Glastonbury, Somerset), collection of the first Lord St. Audries.

The first Lord St. Audries died in 1917. His ninety Greek vases were sold at Sotheby's on 24 February 1920. The descriptions in the sale catalogue are accurate and complete, and several of the vases are illustrated. The information there given will not be repeated here, but the following list will mention new locations of some of the vases, and the attributions. The numbers are those of the sale.

No. 225 (ABV 87, Painter of London B 76 no. 14): now New York 56.171.16. No. 226 (ABV 313, St. Audries Painter no. 1): now New York 56.171.8. No. 227: London 1920.3-15.2 (CVA III H e pl. 35, 3 a-b). No. 228: later Cat. Sotheby 27 July 1933, no. 88, now London, Mr. Alfred Blundell (ABV 305, Swing Painter no. 23). No. 229: now New York, Hagop Kevorkian (ABV 306, Swing Painter no. 47). No. 230: now Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.2105 (see pl. 47, figs. 1, 2). No. 231: now Newark 50.277 (ABV 277, manner of the Antimenes Painter no. 21). No. 232: now Newark 50.264 (ABV 445, no. 9). No. 234: now San Simeon, Hearst Estate 5463 (SSW 9522; P.C. 7643; ABV 419). The

vase is heavily restored, and the foot is alien. No. 237: now San Simeon, Hearst Estate 5515 (SSW 9527; P.C. 7600. Ex Revelstoke no. 92). No. 238: Cambridge 8/27 (ABV 613, Group of Vatican G. 57, no. 42). No. 241: London 1920.3-15.1 (Haspels ABL 255, Athena Painter no. 27). No. 242: London 1920.6-13.1 (ARV 59, Euergides Painter no. 1). No. 243: now Cambridge 37.18 (ARV 157, Eucharides Painter no. 61). No. 244: Oxford 1920.55. No. 245: Oxford 1920.57 (ARV 585, Penthesilea Painter no. 35). No. 248: London 1920.3-15.3 (ARV 376, Leningrad Painter no. 65). No. 255: could this be a bellkrater by the Christie Painter? No. 254: London 1920.3-15.4 (ARV 766, foot). No. 257: now Rome, Miss G. M. A. Richter. No. 260: now New York 56.171.42 (ARV 650, Dwarf Painter no. 2; BMMA 15 [1956/7] 178, top right). No. 261, 1: Oxford 1920.59 (ARV 700, Group of Polygnotes no. 84); no. 261, 2: Oxford 1920.58 (ARV 366, Pan Painter no. 57). No. 263: San Simeon, Hearst Estate 5531 (P.C. 7288), repainted.

Another St. Audries collection of vases, belonging to the second Lord St. Audries was sold at Sotheby's on 23 July 1925.

Four small marble sepulchral tablets with inscriptions were acquired by Lt. Col. L. A. D. Montague at Steven's, Feb. 1930, and passed with his collection to the Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, Queen St., Exeter (Devon). From Rome; nos. 773-776 in the Montague inventory, although no. 774 was not received when the collection came to the Museum (information from Dr. R. Churchill Blackie, Curator).

FAWLEY COURT, near Henley, Buckinghamshire. Now the College of the Divine Mercy, a school for Polish boys.

Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee has contributed the following note:

Father Joseph Jarzebowski of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate acquired at an antique dealer's in Mexico (Galerie Ordáz) in 1944 the draped marble bust of an Antonine boy, now displayed in the hall of Fawley Court. In features, hairstyle, and drapery it resembles the bust of the young Commodus in the Capitoline Museum (Delbrueck, Antike Porträts pls. 48f); and it probably represents that prince at an earlier age, as about twelve years old. The bust is 1 foot, 6 inches high, without its pedestal, which appears to be modern. The face is cleaned, but not reworked, and the restorations,

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which are mainly in the drapery, are few and unimportant. A pleasing, accomplished, and exceptionally well-preserved product of late second century workmanship.

FELIX HALL (Essex; Lord Western).

The collection of antiquities at Felix Hall was sold at Christie's 3 July 1913. The three marble cineraria (Sale Cat. nos. 122, 123, 124) were reported under Broadlands in Part I, 131. The Endymion sarcophagus (Sale Cat. no. 125) had been confused with an Endymion sarcophagus lost at Warwick Castle in the fire of 1871 (Part I, 148; Part II, 345). It is now in New York (47.100.4) and has recently been fully published by F. Matz ("An Endymion Sarcophagus Rediscovered," BMMA 15 [1957] 123-28). He identifies five other sarcophagi from the same Roman workshop and dates the carving A.D. 200-220 by comparing the portrait of the deceased Arria with the Julia Domna of the painted wooden medallion formerly in Berlin (op.cit. 128, ill.). He also gives a full bibliography.

In the Felix Hall sale lot no. 133 was purchased by R. G. Wrightson and placed on loan in the Ipswich Museum in 1921. The lot consists of two Lucanian amphorae of Panathenaic shape. The more elaborate of the two is by the Choephoroi Painter (Trendall in Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II, 120, no. 33). The fight on the shoulder is particularly close to the Amazonomachy on a privately owned nestoris, formerly in the Durand collection (Cat. no. 25; later Magnoncourt 1; phots. in the Roman Institute 29.514-523). The other amphora has been attributed by Trendall to the Primato Painter. The subject on the obverse is Nike crowning a youthful Herakles. On the reverse a youth with a bird in his right hand is grouped with a seated woman.

Godalming (Surrey), CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL.

The collection has given its name to the Charter-house Painter, a painter of black-figured cups, type A, whose name-piece is in Godalming (ABV 202, no. 3). Beazley gives two other black-figured cups in ABV (633, no. 6; 644, no. 170). Of the red-figured vases, the best is a cup attributed by Beazley to Makron (Seltman and Chittenden, Greek Art. A Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition held in 1946 at the Royal Academy Burlington House London [1947] pl. 18, no. 82). On the inside, a

naked woman is shown putting down her boots; behind her shows an elaborate foot-bath which should be added to Miss Milne's list of her Class I, type B (b) in AJA 48 (1944) 53. Another red-figured vase is a lekythos attributed by Beazley to the Bowdoin Painter (ARV 472, no. 67).

Goodwood House (near Chichester, Sussex; the Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Gordon).

Within the last few years several sculptures have passed from this collection into other hands; two are mentioned below, under STRATFIELD SAYE, nos. 3, 4. A third is a marble funerary ornament or furniture support showing a Roman later second cent. A.D. version of the Ganymede and the Eagle compositions going back to the fourth century creation of Leochares (see under Lippold, Vat.Cat. III, 2, 216ff; Candelabri II, 83) (pl. 35, fig. 7). This sculpture in so-called Thasian marble (H.:0.93m.), for a time in the possession of Spink & Son (illustrated in Country Life, 16 June 1955), was sold at auction on 6 Dec. 1956 as lot 149 (frontispiece ill.) by O'Reilly's Plaza Art Galleries, Inc., to Edward I. Cohen of New York. The class of sculptures to which the Ganymede belongs is collected and discussed by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, RM 38-39 (1923-24) 271ff, esp. 276, nos. 43f. Comparison with no. 43 (Athens Nat. Mus. no. 2699: Svoronos, Cat. II, pl. 174) shows how the Roman artist has altered the Greek composition (also altered in small bronzes, e.g. Reinach, Rép. stat. V, 220, no. 2; Vente Durighello XIV, Paris, 17 Mai 1911, lot 324).

Harrogate, ROYAL PUMP ROOM MUSEUM.

The classical antiquities in this museum are lent by B. W. J. Kent, Esq., F.S.A., TATEFIELD HALL, near Harrogate (q.v.).

Harrow-on-the-Hill, Harrow School Museum (Middlesex).

Harrow School possesses a collection of Egyptian and classical antiquities of various types. A bronze statuette and a number of terracottas were exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903. These comprise Cat. 50f, no. B 52, the bronze Zeus from Baalbek (pl. 55; Reinach, Rép.stat. IV, 2, 7); 66, no. D 116, black terracotta bowl with a medallion relief of a maenad; 85, no. F 80, terracotta mask of a young Apollo from Naukratis (pl. 86); 86, no. F 102, fragment of a terracotta relief from Veii, showing a schoolmaster scene (pl. 87; Roman

mid-second cent. A.D.); and 87, no. F 105, fragment of a "Campana relief," showing a young winged wind-god blowing a double pipe (pl. 87).

The vases are catalogued by Cecil Torr (Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities from the Collection of the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson [Harrow 1887] 13ff). See also the notes by Philippart (AntCl 4 [1935] 214-16). Of the Attic vases fifteen have been attributed by Sir John Beazley (cf. indexes of ABV and ARV).

HOLKHAM HALL (Part I, 136).

Holkham Hall contains more than its share of ancient sculptures of international renown. Additional notes and bibliography for the Holkham marbles will illustrate the frequency with which they have appeared in archaeological literature since Michaelis and F. Poulsen, Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses (1923). Numbers follow those of Michaelis 302-23.

No. 1, statue of a Roman in a toga, with a head of Septimius Severus attached, has the arms restored (Reinach-Clarac 593, 8). The head, of which only the nose is restored, is a fine portrait of the emperor at the height of his career. The only published illustrations of the heavily restored statues of satyrs are no. 2 (Reinach-Clarac 397, 5) and no. 3 (Reinach-Clarac 404, 4). No. 4, a statue called "Julia Mammaea," is a poor modern copy of the Vatican "Pudicitia" (Lippold, Kopien 242, note xvii; Reinach-Clarac 570, 1). Nos. 6 and 7 are two sections of decorative mosaic from Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli (Winnefeld, Villa des Hadrian 168). No. 8, a female head, was called "Julia, Titus' Daughter"; F. Poulsen (Portraits 13f) considered the head modern, probably by Cavaceppi. No. 9 is now identified as a bust of a Roman aristocrat of Hadrian's age (Poulsen, Portraits 82, no. 66). No. 10, the so-called bust of the Empress Julia Mammaea (mother of Alexander Severus, A.D. 222-235), was classed by Poulsen as "an expert forgery with apparently good disintegration of surface and deceptive restoration in plaster and marble." He also considered the surface to have been chemically weathered and joints falsified for greater authenticity.

Three important Roman busts were noticed by Michaelis before he proceeded from the Saloon into the Statue Gallery. No. 11 has been published as a bust of Caracalla (Emperor A.D. 198-217) as a boy (Poulsen, Portraits 103, no. 98; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat. Mag. 291, under no. 711; Felletti

Maj, Ritratti 129, no. 16 under no. 254). No. 12 is a bust of a Roman of the time of Gallienus (Emperor A.D. 253-268; Poulsen, Portraits 103, no. 112), and no. 13 is a bust of the youthful Marcus Aurelius (Caesar A.D. 140-161; Poulsen, Portraits 96, no. 85). The bust is modern (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 174). No. 14, in the Statue Gallery, is a bust of an old man of the late Hadrianic period (Poulsen, Portraits 82f, no. 67; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat. Mag. 280, no. 672; West, Römische Porträt-Plastik 149, no. 24; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 108, under no. 208). Two decorative statues of young satyrs have been noticed only from Reinach-Clarac (no. 15 is Reinach-Clarac 411, 4; Riemann, Kerameikos 2, 109f, no. 21 under no. 160; and no. 16 is Reinach-Clarac 398, 7; Riemann, Kerameikos 2, 108f, no. 26 in list). Michaelis listed a Neo-Classic version of the pseudo-Seneca as no. 17 (for which see D. M. Robinson, Festschrift B. Schweitzer 352f; idem, AJA 59 [1955] 25ff): there are actually two of them at Holkham. One is Dallaway no. 16, and

the other was purchased by Brettingham.

The principal statues of the collection now follow. No. 18 is a statue of Poseidon, of a type known in several replicas and minor variations (Lippold, EA nos. 4869f; cf. the Poseidon from Byblos, in Constantinople: Mendel, Cat. II 36off, no. 618, and the small statue at Spink and Son, London, Greek and Roman Antiquities s.d. [1923] 8, no. 8; Reinach, Rép. stat. VI, 9, 3. This last was in a private collection in Rye, New York; it was sold as Lot 150 at Parke-Bernet, 7 June 1956, and is now in the collection of Mr. Joseph V. Noble of Maplewood, New Jersey: pl. 35, fig. 4). Since the head of the Holkham Poseidon belongs, the figure can be considered Lysippan, with slender proportions and a small head. The unbroken head on the statue in the Joseph V. Noble Collection is derived from a popular type created for Zeus or Poseidon in the fourth century B.c. and also used for Asklepios in Graeco-Roman statuary. No. 19 is an excellent second century A.D. copy of a fourth century B.C. statue of Marsyas, known best otherwise from the Minturnae replica (Lippold, Handbuch 298, n. 3; idem, EA no. 4871; EA nos. 2857f; Hadaczek, ÖJh 10 [1907] 319). The Holkham statue was called by Townley "incomparably the finest male figure that has ever come into this country" (Lansdowne Sale, Cat. Christie, 5 April 1930, p. 24). The Holkham "Meleager" (no. 20), which is often wrongly included among replicas of the Scopasian Meleager type (Ca-

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giano, Villa Medici 84f, no. 115; Arias, Skopas 129), presents several problems. The head and body are actually of a late Polyclitan type, very close to the statue known as the Polyclitan Narcissus (Lippold, EA no. 4872; Picard, Manuel III, 720f, fig. 319). The identification as Meleager has been based on the boar's head support underneath the left hand of "Meleager." Such a support with a figure similar in pose to the Holkham statue appears in the centre of a small sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano (R. Paribeni, BdA 6 [1912] 179, fig. 10; Robert, Sark.-Rel. no. 310) and on a gem in the Liechtenstein collection in Vienna (S. Reinach, Pierres gravées 163, pl. 133, no. 24). Those, however, who have identified the Holkham statue as Meleager have neglected Michaelis' accurate description of the restorations: "The elegant figure of good Roman work has been a little smoothed by Cavaceppi. He has besides restored the trunk of the tree, with the boar's head and the l. arm supported thereon up to the biceps, also the lower parts of both legs including the knees, and part of the r. thigh, and finally the nose." In short, the statue seems to be merely a "Narcissus" to which Cavaceppi has imparted considerable iconographic interest by clever restoration on the basis of a relief or the Liechtenstein gem (engraved in Maffei, Gemme antiche IV, fig. 20).

No. 21, over the fireplace, is a much-broken but almost entirely ancient Hadrianic-Antonine copy of the Apollo Lykeios type (Muthman, Statuenstützen 22; Reinach-Clarac 254, 7). No. 22 is the bust of Cybele or the tutelary goddess of a town (cf. the heroic late Hellenistic head in Detroit, 41.9; Bulletin, May 1941, no. 8). The veil and the bust are restored. No. 23 is a statue of the Venus Genetrix type, of which only the left hand with the hydria and the fingers of the right are restored (W. Fuchs, Festschrift B. Schweitzer 207, n. 9; Lippold, EA no. 4873; idem, Handbuch 168, n. 1; also under EA nos. 4937f, col. 10; BrBr text to no. 695, fig. 1 [the head of the Holkham statue]; Schmidt, JdI 47 [1932] 256, A.2; Klein, Praxiteles 56, no. 2). The so-called Artemis (no. 24) was republished by Lippold as a second century A.D. copy of a peplophoros linked with the Eirene of Cephisodotus the Elder (EA nos. 4874f; idem, Handbuch 265; see also Picard, Manuel III, I, 96f, fig. 24; Muthmann, Statuenstützen 125). Michaelis listed the head and neck, the quiver and the whole of the uplifted right arm, and the left forearm with the bow among

the restorations. No. 25 is a statue of Dionysos, with extensive restorations including the head (Lippold, *EA* no. 4876).

The celebrated Holkham Hall bust of Thucydides is a later Trajanic replica of a portrait executed at the close of the fifth or beginning of the fourth centuries (bibliography to 1923: Poulsen, Portraits 27ff, no. 1; more recently, Lippold, Handbuch 227, n. 16; E. Boehringer in Festschrift Andreas Rumpf 22ff; Schefold, Bildnisse 76ff; Picard, Manuel III, 845ff, figs. 38of: a Hadrianic copy after a statue dedicated in 378 B.C.). No. 27, a statue of Athena, has rams' heads on the helmet, indicating a copy of a fourth century B.C. type (Lippold, EA no. 4877). In no. 28, statue of Tyche, we have a Roman adaptation to make a standing Fortuna (Lippold, Handbuch 290, n. 10). The head is separate and has been restored. Poulsen (Portraits 79f, no. 64) called attention to no. 29, a bust of a beardless man of Hadrian's age, as an individual work of exceptional merit (also West, Römische Porträt-Plastik 147, no. 9, and Lippold, EA no. 4870 right). In RA (1932) 2, 64ff, figs. 14f, Poulsen republished the bust together with a replica seen in Paris but untraceable when he illustrated it. The replica appears to have come from Majorca and Cardinal Despuig's collection, suggesting that it and the Holkham bust shared the common original provenance of mid-eighteenth century Rome (see Michaelis Introd. 96). The Despuig bust was rediscovered at Spink & Son in 1953 and is still in their possession (September 1957), having been sold at Sotheby's on 1 July 1957 (lot 131a), but bought back. The Spink bust is probably a masterful eighteenth century copy produced in the studio of the restorer who sold the Holkham bust to Brettingham.

No. 30 is, like nos. 6 and 7, a mosaic, with plants, leaves, and a wand encircled by a fillet as enframement. It was found at Hadrian's Villa and bought of Cavaceppi by Brettingham (Winnefeld, Villa des Hadrian 168). No. 31, statue of a togatus, has an ancient head which Poulsen considered too restored to photograph (Portraits 14; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 230, "so-called Lucius Verus"). No. 32 is a head of a young man of the period of Caracalla or Alexander Severus (A.D. 211-230). The head is placed on a much repaired modern bust (Poulsen, Portraits 104, no. 101). No. 33 is a draped female statue with a fourth century Aphrodite-type head; the body, arbitrarily restored by Cavaceppi, served as a Graeco-Roman statue of Isis (Lippold,

EA no. 4878). In no. 34, Poulsen discovered (Portraits 53f, no. 28) a statue with portrait head of Livia. He felt that the head and body probably belong, the latter derived from a figure such as the fourth century B.C. Artemisia of Halicarnassus (also Lippold, EA no. 4879; D. M. Robinson, Classical Studies for A. D. Fraser 2ff; Maiuri, BdA 10 [1930-31 16; Aurigemma, loc.cit. 225; Reinach, Rép.stat. V, 533, 4). No. 35 is a bust of a Roman lady of the age of Hadrian (Poulsen, Portraits 87f, no. 72), and no. 36 is the statue of "Lucius Antonius" in a toga (Reinach-Clarac 555, 1; Poulsen, Portraits 14). Bernini is reported to have restored the head and arms, and Michaelis called these restorations "one of the most striking successes that I know" (Anc. Marbles 314).

No. 37, head of a goddess (traditionally called Aphrodite), is one of the few sculptures illustrated by full plate in Michaelis' Ancient Marbles, which explains perhaps why this head provoked a remarkable archaeological controversy which brought it considerable attention some forty years ago. In IHS 33 (1913) 276-95 (3 pls.), Charles Waldstein (later Sir Charles Walston) sought to identify the Holkham head as belonging to one of the figures (perhaps Aphrodite seated to the right of the central group) in the east pediment of the Parthenon. He suggested that the head could have been purchased for Lord Leicester in Italy in the eighteenth century when Parthenon fragments must have been brought home by associates of the Venetian General Morosini following the capture of the Acropolis in 1686. In JHS 34 (1914) 122-25, Guy Dickins suggested that Waldstein was ignoring the basic fact of the head's Roman provenance as well as stylistic and technical details which made it more than difficult to place this head in the Parthenon pediment. This provoked Waldstein to one of those rebuttals in print which were so constant a characteristic of his writing in all fields (IHS 34 [1914] 312-20). The present verdict is that the Holkham head is probably a superior Roman copy of a mid-fourth century type, perhaps slightly modified to suit an architectural setting. The head is meant to be seen from the left side (Lippold, EA no. 4880; idem, Vat.Cat. III, I, 101; Picard, Manuel II, I, 482, n. 2; Poulsen, Portraits 14; also Pottier, MonPiot 23 [1918-19] 45ff; Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States II, 711, pl. 52; Waldhauer, Ermitage III, 30f, under no. 265).

No. 38 is the head called a portrait of Geta and

set on a Renaissance bust with drapery carved in variegated marble (Felletti Maj, Ritratti 134f, under no. 266, as Bernoulli 54, no. 52). The head of Marcus Aurelius (no. 39) was characterized by Poulsen as a portrait of the emperor in his last years when he wore a "distant and tired" look (Portraits 97, no. 86; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 174). The colossal bust of Lucius Verus (no. 40) was found in clearing the port of Nettuno and was purchased for Holkham by the architect Brettingham. Poulsen's judgment "iconographically valueless" is rather harsh, as even Fleming's photograph in Portraits reveals (98, no. 89; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 230). The statuette of the Nile (no. 41) is now in the Entrance Hall. Some of the minor restorations have become detached (Reinach-Clarac 432, 5; von Bissing, Antike Plastik 26ff; Du Jardin, MemPontAcc 3 [1932-33] 50, no. 12). No. 42 ("Tyche") is a statue of the Roman Fortuna, heavily restored by Cavaceppi to create an Isis-Fortuna replete with the lotus flower on the restored head (Reinach-Clarac 610,4: "Isis"). The head identified as Gordianus III (no. 43) has an eighteenth century bust (Poulsen, Portraits 108, no. 106; L'Orange, Spätantiken Porträts 2, n. 3; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 141f, no. 10 under no. 281; idem, Quaderni II [1958] no. 159; Strong, Melchett Catalogue, cited under no. 32, p. 36).

The identification of no. 44 as a head of Dea Roma is determined by the ancient parts of the shewolf crest support and the twins on either side. The rosso antico bust with the aegis of Minerva is ancient, but it most likely does not belong, although Roma occasionally borrows the attributes of Minerva (Lippold, EA no. 4881; compared with the Louvre bust, BrBr no. 317, after an Athena of the fifth century B.C., such as the Hope type). There is a replica of the Holkham head in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Museum photo no. 2696; from the Sir George Donaldson Sale Cat., Puttick and Simpson, 6-10 July 1925, Lot 510). No. 45 is a wall (?) mosaic of the type from Hadrian's Villa; a lion, viewed almost from the front, is rending a panther in the midst of rocky scenery (cf. the Vatican mosaic, Gusman, Villa Hadriana 221, fig. 320). The Holkham mosaic was purchased in Rome. The oval relief of Julius Caesar (no. 46, in the State Bedchamber) is Neo-Classic work, designed on the inspiration of a marble medallion such as the Augustus in Berlin (Blümel, Römische Bildnisse R. 10, pl. 6; Weickert, Die Antike 14 [1938] 228, fig. 10).

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Three important heads or busts are on brackets in the Smoking Room (formerly the Billiard Room). These are the Dresden-type head of Zeus (no. 55; Part I, 136), an archaistic terminal bust of the bearded Dionysos (no. 47), dug up in a vineyard near the Lateran and purchased in Rome by Brettingham, and the Holkham Hall head of Plato (no. 48), on a modern terminal bust inscribed "Lysias." The older references to this famous portrait are summarized by Poulsen in three places: Portraits 32f, no. 5; JHS 40 (1920) 190ff; and Coll. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1 (1931) 42. Later bibliography includes: Boehringer, Platon XII, nos. 40-48, pls. 60-65; Hafner, Idl 70 (1955) 107; Lippold, Handbuch 273, n. 7; idem, Vat. Cat. III, I, 72ff, under no. 519; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 14, under no. 8; Picard, Manuel III, 818ff, fig. 370; and E. Schmidt, JdI 47 (1932) 239ff, 49 (1934) 18off.

Nos. 49 and 50 are two rectangular inscribed grave altars with carving of more than average interest. In the first, the garland is sustained by

interest. In the first, the garland is sustained by two stags' heads, an unusual variant of this motive; the second shows Cupids acting out the rape of Persephone beneath the central plaque. No. 51, the medallion with portrait of Karneades, was seen by Michaelis in the Vestibule under the Portico, which has now been converted into a small Dining Room. Poulsen, Portraits 46f, no. 20 gives the bibliography to 1923; this relief has recently been treated by Lippold, Handbuch 350, n. 3, and Schefold, Bildnisse 140f, no. 2. A new portrait herm of Karneades was washed up by the sea at Porto Corsini (New Pallas [1943] 21) and is now in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna (P. E. Arias, Idl 68 [1953] 119ff, figs. 19-21, 25; 27 is the Holkham relief). No. 52, in the Audit Room, is an ancient marble medallion relief with a figure of a dancing faun (Poulsen, Portraits 14). The composition has many parallels among so-called Neo-Attic decorative discs (e.g. the reversed counterpart, Schreiber, Hellenistische Reliefbilder pl. 102A). No. 53, the colossal head of a man of the period of Nerva, is no longer in the Porter's Hall or Guard Room, but in the Statue Gallery, to the right of the fireplace (visible in the photograph, Archaeology 8 [1955] 11; also Poulsen, Portraits 62, no. 42; Gross, Bildnisse Traians 70; Lippold, EA no. 4882). Michaelis also described the extensive Renaissance and later history of this "Busto called by the name of Lucius Lentulus" in

RM 6 (1891) 50f. Further references to the Dres-

den-type head of Zeus, no. 55 (mentioned above),

are in Curtius, Zeus und Hermes 22; Mustilli, BullComm 61 (1933) 7ff, figs. 2f; Lippold, Handbuch 190, n. 9; and E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 38f, under no. 57.

Three marbles which in Michaelis' time were in the vestibule of 19 Grosvenor Square, London, are now at Holkham Hall: no. 59 (head of the young Apollo) is on a console in the Statue Gallery; no. 60 is a head of an empress of the time of Elagabalus (Poulsen, *Portraits* 106, no. 103, pl. f, replica of Petworth House, no. 66); and no. 60a is a Neo-Classic copy of a head of Alexander the Great in the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 341f, pl. 85; Johnson, Lysippos 222; Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture 100; Suhr, Portraits of Greek Statesmen 128).

INCE BLUNDELL HALL (Part I, 137).

In Part I recent bibliography of some of the major marbles was added according to the Michaelis-Ashmole numbering system. A number of the other sculptures have been discussed in archaeological literature since 1929 when Prof. Ashmole's Catalogue appeared. If there has been an increased use of the Ince material in the past three decades, it is the result of Prof. Ashmole's success in supplementing Michaelis' investigations and in providing upto-date illustrated descriptions, including those of a number of pieces missed in Ancient Marbles (pp. 333-415; idem, JHS 6 [1886] 41); see also B. Ashmole, A Short Guide to the Collection of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall (Oxford 1959) 31 pp. (including Historical Notes on Ince Blundell Hall and the Weld Blundell Family, by Capt. G. F. Weld Blundell, R.N.).

No. 2, Zeus, is Lippold, Handbuch 232; Picard, Manuel III, I, 82, fig. 17 (workshop of Kephisodotos the Elder), 303f; Richter, Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture 47 (on signed copies). No. 3, Draped Woman, was drawn in the Cinquecento by Giovanantonio Dosio (Ch. Huelsen, Ausonia 7 [1912] 98; idem, Skizzenbuch 38, no. 105: as a statue of Hera but with different attributes). No. 4, Draped Woman, has a replica in OSTERLEY PARK no. 3 (Part I, 144). No. 6, Boy with Corn and Flowers = Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus 159, no. (267); cf. Waldhauer, Ermitage II, 70, no. 199. No. 8 is the Ince Athena (Lippold, Handbuch 184; Richter, Catalogue 1954, cited under no. 65, p. 43; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini, 129f: with list of 13 replicas), and no. 9 (Athena) is Lippold,

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Handbuch 265. Its head is of the Athena Giustiniani type (E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 65, no. 115). No. 10 (also an Athena) is Lippold, Handbuch 240, n. 1; Waldhauer, Ermitage III, 4, under no. 218. No. 12 is an Apollo Sauroktonos torso with a female or Eros head restored thereon (Picard, Manuel III, 1, 555, n. 1; Rizzo, Prassitele 115, notes for 41-43).

The Apollo in the style of Paeonius (no. 15) has been frequently discussed (e.g. Lippold, Handbuch 130; Picard, Manuel II, 2, 592-95, fig. 240, also p. 514 in II, 1; E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 57, no. 98). For the statuette of a Muse (no. 18) see Lippold, Handbuch 348, n. 6, and for the statuette of Artemis (no. 23) see Muthmann, Statuenstützen 71. The statuette of a woman in Egyptian headdress (no. 24) has been republished on several occasions (Lippold, Handbuch 327, n. 5; Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 90, fig. 332; J. Colin, Mél.Ch.Picard [RA 1948:I] 219f; AJA 54 [1950] 89). No. 30 is the well-known group of a Satyr and a hermaphrodite (Lippold, Handbuch 300, n. 25; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 75). The young Dionysos (no. 32) is a replica of the Berlin Dionysos: Blümel, Katalog IV, 24, K.162, V, 3; text to BrBr 738f (Terme), figs. 6f. No. 33 is a statuette of Nemesis (E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 51, under no. 84; type of the Palazzo Camuccini torso, etc.), and the Aphrodite (no. 36) is Lippold, Handbuch 298, n. 9 ("Aphrodite Euploia"), also under EA no. 5020, right. The Anchirrhoe, statuette of a dancing Muse (no. 37), is discussed with a list of replicas in Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 165f, no. 15 (also Lippold, Handbuch 334, n. 2), and no. 41, the Archaistic "Spes"-type statuette of a woman, is Lippold, Handbuch 185, n. 18.

To the publications of the Theseus (no. 43), mentioned in Part I, add Lippold, Handbuch 273, n. 12; P. J. Riis, ActaA 23 (1952) 154; H. K. Süserott, Griechische Plastik 146ff, 150; and V. H. Poulsen, in Coll. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3 (1942) 76, 88, fig. 36. No. 44 is the statuette of the seated Epicurus (Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 55f, figs. 163f). The modern head, a replica of the Diogenes in Aix-en-Provence (EA nos. 1407f), is discussed by Miss Richter, in MMS 2, I (1929) 39. Of the statuette of Antinous (no. 49), L. Curtius noted (RM 54 [1939] 132) that the head is alien and represents a Greek ideal type. No. 50 is an imperatorial portrait head on a heroic statue (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 175 [Marcus Aurelius]), and

no. 51 presents a head of the elder Faustina on a draped statue of black marble (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 156; Lippold, Handbuch 290, n. 7). No. 52, the statue with head of a Roman lady, has been discussed recently by H. Weber (Idl 68 [1953] 132f) in connection with late Severan hair styles. The fragment of a torso of Aphrodite (no. 63) has been placed with replicas of the Dresden-Capitoline type (B. M. Felletti Maj, ArchCl 3 [1951] 63, no. 23); on no. 68, statuette of a Muse, see, recently, Lippold, Handbuch 334, n. 2. Lippold also mentions no. 82, an archaistic statuette of Tyche type (Handbuch 244, n. 24). No. 83b, the Polyclitan Pan torso, is included in the list of fifteen replicas by E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 38, no. 55, and no. 83c, statuette of Urania, has been published twice by Lippold (EA no. 4855 right; Handbuch 295, n. 21). The right leg with a support (no. 83h) has been dated in the second century A.D. (Muthmann, Statuenstützen 43) and compared with a leg from an Omphalos Apollo copy in the Terme (V. H. Poulsen, ActaA 55 [1940] 40).

HEADS AND BUSTS

Among the heads and busts in Section II, the bust of Hadrian (no. 84; West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 117, no. 15) is wrongly cited as a Lansdowne piece by J. Colin in RA (1948:I) 222; no. 84a, modern head of Lucius Verus, is listed by Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 230. For no. 85, head of Septimius Severus, see also E. B. Harrison, Agora I, 40, n. 2; for no. 86, bust of a man of the late Hadrianic period, see West, op.cit. II, 148, no. 16, and for no. 88, the fragment of a togate statue, R. Carpenter, Hesperia 20 (1951) 42, pl. 20, e, f, and M. Cagiano, Villa Medici 113, no. 274. The head of Augustus on a Hadrianic mailed bust (no. 89) is probably O. Brendel, Augustus 35, n. 3, although the reference speaks of Ince no. 88. Two Roman ladies have parallels in Roman collections: no. 91, bust of a lady of the Antonine period (Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat.Mag. 287, no. 697), and no. 93, head of a woman of the end of the second century A.D. (F. Poulsen, Coll. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3 [1942] 121; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 131, under no. 259). No. 97, herm of Herakles, is P. E. Arias, Skopas: M. 22: Derivazioni, p. 143, no. B-15: "Copia della prima metà del II sec. d.C. da originale di scuola scopadea o lisippea." No. 98 is a bust of Marcus Aurelius (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 175), and no. 100 presents a head of a Roman of the

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late Republic (Schweitzer, Bildniskunst 40, A.1; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 49f, under no. 76). No. 102, like no. 24, is a head of a woman with Egyptian hairdress (J. Colin, Mél.Ch.Picard [RA 1948:I] 217). No. 105, head of a youth, has been discussed by E. Paribeni (Sculture greche 35, under no. 46) as the only repetition of the boy Diadoumenos type. No. 108 is a head in the style of the early fourth century B.C. (Lippold, Handbuch 224, n. 3: "Isis"), and no. 114 is a head of Eros as Herakles (Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 72, with list of replicas). No. 115 is a Hellenistic-type head of Homer (R. and E. Boehringer, Homer I, no. XIII), and no. 120 has been classified among the Medici-type heads of Aphrodite (Felletti Maj, ArchCl 3 [1951] 61f, no.

The herm of Zeus Ammon (no. 126), discussed in Part I, has a new replica in the bust discussed below, under London, Kenwood (see also F. Poulsen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue 67, no. 58; V. H. Poulsen, Coll. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3 [1942] 47; R. Carpenter, MAAR 18 [1941] 5; Curtius, Zeus und Hermes 30). Prof. T. B. L. Webster kindly states that no. 134 is a tragic mask of a young man or woman, while no. 134a appears to be a mask of an old woman. The fragment of a female head, no. 142, is one of five replicas of an original dated 470-460 B.C. (E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 54, under no. 92; idem, BdA 40 [1955] 102, the Barracco-Budapest head; W.-H. Schuchhardt, Festschrift für Carl Weickert 67; Lippold, Handbuch 135, n. 3). No. 145, head of Apollo, is listed by Lippold among the Lykeios types (Handbuch 238, n. 7). No. 146 is a female head in the style of the fourth century B.C. (Lippold, Handbuch 273, n. 10: "Sappho"). The head of a Greek athlete in the severe style, no. 152, is one of the most frequently published marbles at Ince (e.g. Polacco, L'Atleta Cirene-Perinto 19, 37; Lippold, Handbuch 138, n. 6; Charbonneaux, MonPiot 45 [1951] 35ff; Arias, Mirone 20, no. 11; Picard, Manuel II, 2, 696; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat.Mag. 36f [a replica transformed into the head of a satyr]; Sieveking, in BrBr 601-04, p. 27, fig. 17). No. 153 has been suggested as a head of an athlete and as "Telemachos" (Lippold, Handbuch 122, n. 5; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat.Mag. 38, no. 57). No. 154 is a head of a Julio-Claudian prince (Curtius, MdI 1 [1948] 70, n. 1; Brendel, Augustus 21, n. 1). No. 162, by contrast, is a much-discussed head of an "Eleusinian Mystes" (Lippold, Handbuch 130, n. 7; Langlotz,

Idl 61-62 [1946-47] 110; E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche* 32f, one of seven replicas of the Monosandalon type listed under no. 39).

Since Prof. Ashmole's Catalogue followed Michaelis' traditional numbering, Greek and Roman portrait heads and ideal types are mixed without regard to chronology of originals or copies. No. 164 is a herm of Socrates (cf. V. Poulsen, Les portraits grecs 15, under Copenhagen no. 16). No. 176 is a portrait of the well-known Menander-Vergil type (Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 52; Laurenzi, Critica d'Arte 4 [1939] 28). The head of a Hellenistic King (no. 178) is not an Alexander portrait and has no relation to the Azara herm (Suhr, Portraits of Greek Statesmen 89). No. 179, the head of Apollo of the Cassel type, is included among lists of replicas in E. Paribeni, Sculture greche (22, under no. 19) and Mustilli, Museo Mussolini (141ff, nos. 6f). No. 183 is a bust of a Roman boy of the Trajanic period (F. Poulsen, Römische Kulturbilder 255ff, fig. 106). Replicas of the two satyr heads, nos. 184-85, are collected under EA 3559f (satyr with cloak filled with fruit and with panther attribute; also Lippold, Handbuch 330, n. 10). No. 186 is a head of an Antonine youth (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 175: Marcus Aurelius) and no. 187 a head of a Roman of the early Empire (Colin, Mél.-Ch.Picard [RA 1948:1]222). The head of Aphrodite, no. 188, has been grouped with replicas of the Aphrodite of Troad (Lippold, Handbuch 307, n. 6; Felletti Maj, ArchCl 3, 1 [1951] 65, no. 1), and the head of a hermaphrodite, no. 190, is discussed by Kaschnitz-Weinberg in connection with the Vatican Magazine example (Vat.Mag. 101, nos. 212, 212a). No. 192, the head and shoulders of a Polyclitan statue, is a replica of the type of the Dresden youth (E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 34, replica no. 14: the type is dated 430-420 B.C.; Lippold, Handbuch 165, n. 10), and no. 193 is a head of Eros of the type of the Capitoline statue, unbending the bow of Herakles (Lippold, Handbuch 281, n. 5; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 83f, no. 4 [45]). For the head of a nymph, no. 194, see also Lippold, Handbuch 320, n. 5.

No. 196, the colossal head identified as Philippus II, has also been called a portrait of the young Alexander Severus (A. Giuliano, ArchCl 3, 2 [1951] 185; L'Orange, Spätantiken Porträts 94f; Felletti Maj, Quaderni II [1958] no. 13) and even dated later, in the period of Decius (Felletti Maj, Ritratti 147, under no. 293). No. 201 is a head of a

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man of the period of Domitian, with characteristic arrangement of the hair evident in spite of extensive restoration (West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 42, no. 15). For no. 202b, miniature head of a Roman boy, see Felletti Maj, Ritratti 146, underno. 291. No. 208 appears in lists of replicas of the head of the aged Sophocles (Lippold, Vat.Cat. 3, 1, 18ff, no. 496; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 8of; Hekler, AA [1934] col. 260). No. 215 is a head of Trajan on a mailed bust (Gross, Bildnisse Traians 132, no. 67; García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas 33, under no. 21); no. 217b has been identified as a portrait bust of a Trajanic general (H. Götze, Mdl 1 [1948] 140, n. 1). The section on heads and busts concludes with the fragment of a head of Artemis (Lippold, Handbuch 213, n. 9) and a head of the Polyclitan "Narcissus" type (Lippold, Handbuch 165, n. 8; Blümel, Berlin Kat. IV, 22, under K 157).

RELIEFS

Sarcophagi and reliefs of all types are mixed without regard to type or chronology. No. 221 is the front of a sarcophagus with Phaethon before Helios (Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus 137 [20]), and no. 222 is a Roman tomb relief (E. B. Harrison, Agora I, 25, n. 1; Strong, Art in Anc. Rome I, 198). The Roman tomb relief no. 226 has been compared with EA 4819, a grave altar in Copenhagen (no. 797). No. 233, a child's sarcophagus, has Seasons flanking the bust of the deceased on the lid (Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus 182, no. [518]), and no. 245 is a sarcophagus lid alone, with the Seasons (Hanfmann 172, no. [419]). On no. 246, the back of a Hippolytus sarcophagus, see, most recently, Rodenwaldt, Idl 67 (1952) 40. Two Dionysiac sarcophagus reliefs are of note: no. 248, the birth of Dionysus (A. Greifenhagen, RM 46 [1931] 28, no. 4; H. Philippart, RBPhil 9 [1930] 15, no. 11) and no. 249, the triumph of Dionysus (F. Matz, "Der Gott auf dem Elefantenwagen," AbhBerl 10 [1952] 720). The relief of Victory before a trophy, no. 250, is republished by V. H. Poulsen, Berytus 2 (1935) 53, no. 13.

The archaic relief from Paros (no. 259) has been recently noted by Lippold in his Handbuch (69, n. 9) and by K. Friis Johansen (The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period 136); no. 260, a Hellenistic tomb relief, is listed by R. Lullies, Die Typen der griechischen Herme 73, no. 22, in connection with the attribute in relief. No. 263 includes two ends of a sarcophagus, with Aphrodite and Paris

(Clairmont, Parisurteil 79, no. K.242f = Ince nos. 262f). No. 275 is a sarcophagus front with the deeds of Pan as subject (Kübler, RM 43 [1928] 118). No. 277, Roman sacrifice to Pax (?), has been restudied by I. S. Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, in MAAR 22 (1955) 48, n. 48, pl. xi, fig. 25 (also Moretti, Ara Pacis Augustae 295f, fig. 197). The relief has been taken to be close in composition, style, size and date to the inner frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae. It could perhaps also come from the Ara Pietatis Augustae (Ryberg, 65ff), although Professor Ashmole noted that the draping of the toga placed (the unrestored portions of) the relief about the time of Hadrian. Two further sarcophagus fragments have attracted notice: no. 279, Achilles in his chariot (J. D. Young, ArtB 13 [1931] 148), and no. 280, an Amazonomachy (Langlotz, Phidiasprobleme 104, n. 14, and related figures). No. 289, the archaistic relief of Hygieia, is a fragment of a replica of a relief in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 266, no. ш).

No. 290 is a relief of Orpheus among the satyrs (Clairmont, Parisurteil 43; Lippold, Handbuch 331, n. 7). No. 310, a three-figure relief (Theseus, Peirithous, and Herakles in the underworld?), is included in H. Götze's study of these compositions (RM 53 [1938] 209, no. 1; also Möbius, AM 60-61 [1935-36] 235f, pl. 89 and H. A. Thompson, Hesperia 21 [1952] 61ff). No. 364, a Roman tomb relief, was noted by Mrs. Strong (Art in Ancient Rome I, 198), García y Bellido (Esculturas romanas 70f, cpd. with no. 55), and J. Colin (Mél.Ch. Picard [RA 1948:1] 215, n. 6). No. 385, a porphyry head from a high relief, has been identified by Delbrueck as coming from a sarcophagus of the type of the Constantius sarcophagus in the Vatican. With this head belong three walled up in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi and one in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (Antike Porphyrwerke 216f, pl. 102f; also L'Orange, Spätantiken Porträts 22f, K.15, 111f; Morey, AIA 37 [1933] 651). Finally, no. 395, a square altar of the Egyptian Hellenistic divinities, was republished by Curtius (Zeus und Hermes 29, fig. 19, 68); Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus II, 162f, no. (309), refers to Ince no. 295, pl. 41, a Hadrianic relief in the Egyptian manner.

Leeds (Yorkshire), CITY MUSEUM, Park Row (incorporating the collection of the Philosophical and Literary Society; Part I, 138).

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The Museum was badly damaged and has been only partially rebuilt since 1945. The marbles from Greece, the islands and Asia Minor presented by the Rev. John Gott are in storage in one of the front rooms. Fragments of the marble equestrian group from Lord Savile's excavations at Cività Lavinia, four cuirassed torsi and two foreparts of horses, are in the Museum offices; casts of the parts of two horses preserved in the British Museum (Smith, Cat. III, 104f, nos. 1749ff) are with the marbles.

Exhibits in the upstairs galleries include Egyptian antiquities, an Etruscan terracotta antefix from Lanuvium and the same set as examples in the British Museum (D. E. L. Haynes, in Pallottino, The Etruscans, Pelican ed., 9, pl. 11A; Andrén, Architectural Terracottas 420f, no. 1, and ref. to other Lanuvium terracottas in Leeds; cf. Jucker, Kunst und Leben der Etrusker [Cologne 1956] no. 334 and refs.), and minor Romano-British objects of all types. The other Lanuvium finds are not on exhibition.

The Attic grave-relief decorated with a loutrophoros is illustrated by Conze in vol. II, 143, no. 674; on the inscription see *IG* II-III, 3², p. 734, no. 11132; on the date see Möbius *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen* 88 ("390-365 B.C.").

The Greek vases, reported to be in Leeds, are not on exhibition.

Lincoln, CITY AND COUNTY MUSEUM (Broadgate). In five cases at the end of the Upper Room are a number of Egyptian and classical antiquities. These include glass from Rome and Pompeii (presented by Capt. A. B. Leslie Melville), five intaglio gems, a bronze ewer with handle (found in Perugia; presented by Melville), a small bronze cooking pot (similar provenance), a third century B.C. bronze mirror from Etruria (bequeathed by Mr. E. Howett; 178-30), an engraved Etruscan mirror and handle, a bronze strigil in excellent condition, a ring with bosses, and an Etruscan fibula (all given by Melville).

The case of Egyptian antiquities includes two bronze cats (254-6-15, 16; presented by Col. J. S. Ruston), about 150 scarabs and amulets (pres. by the B.S.A. in Egypt, Mr. J. G. Dale, Bishop Trollope of Nottingham, Mr. A. Smith, and Mr. R. A. Macbrair), a clay tablet with figure of Horus (pres. by Mr. J. G. Gardiner), a standing and a seated Osiris in bronze (252-15; H.:0.20m.; 251-16; pres.

by Ruston), and various examples of pottery. Finally, there is a large Ushabti made for one named Tcha-nefeu son of Thes-hapi (XXVIth Dynasty; bequeathed by Mr. Howett, 169-30).

The archaeological collection also contains some ancient vases. Unless otherwise noted they are the gift of Capt. A. B. Leslie Melville. Beside some Cypriot and Corinthian pottery the chief interest of the collection lies in the Attic vases. Of the Attic black-figure a one-handled kantharos is listed and described in ABV 346, no. 6; a lekythos and a kyathos are also in ABV (492, Class of Athens 581, no. 79; 612, Group of Vatican G. 57, no. 38). Another lekythos, not attributed, is the gift of A. Bornemann. The subject is Ajax and Achilles playing, between two women; the style is Haemonian. Another small lekythos is decorated with a chariot scene. Attic red-figure is represented with a remarkable cup (pl. 38, figs. 19-21), which Beazley has placed near the Foundry Painter. There are also several black vases, both Attic and Campanian, some Apulian (e.g. squat lekythos with a seated woman, gift of E. Howlett), a few Bucchero vases, and an Etruscan oinochoe with superposed red.

Lincoln, USHER ART GALLERY (Lindum Road).

A head of Aphrodite or Ariadne (no. 287), a mid-second cent. A.D. copy of a Praxitelean original of ca. 350 B.C., comes from 17 Arlington St., the London house of the Earl of Yarborough, where until 1920 it stood in the garden arcade. (Presented by Lord Yarborough, on whose collection see Brocklesby Park: Part I, 131; Part II, 324) (pl. 36, fig. 1).

Pentelic marble (H.: 0.26m., without restorations, which comprise the end of the nose and the bust including the neck to the underside of the chin). Although slightly weathered, this Antonine copy retains the force and sensitivity of the original. Cf. the Athens-Berlin Ariadne head (Picard, Manuel III, 742ff, fig. 2; 330ff); also EA no. 1483 (right), a related fourth cent. original. The type derives from the "Sappho" copies of an original of ca. 440 B.C. probably Aphrodite (EA no. 3546; Strong, Melchett Cat. no. 3). The arrangement of the hair, as well as the cast of the face, mark the original as a work executed not long after Timotheos' Leda (cf. EA nos. 3586f, head of the Villa Albani copy; esp. EA no. 2811, Villa Borghese Park). EA nos. 4449f (Ny Carlsberg) present a Roman copy of a head ca. 400 B.C., midway between the "Sappho" group and the Lincoln head (cf. also EA nos. 4180f).

Liverpool, The Liverpool City Museums (Anc. Marbles, 422ff).

The William Brown St. Museum was badly damaged by enemy action in the Second World War and has been only partially repaired. A number of classical sculptures and vases are exhibited or stored in this museum, including the survivors of the sculptures described by Michaelis. Other antiquities, the majority of the vases and smaller objects (including much from the Joseph Mayer collection) are accessible in museum cases at CARNATIC HALL, the present storage and record centre of the Liverpool City Museums. Within the past four years about thirty marbles of various sizes were purchased from the estate of Dr. Philip Nelson, who bought at the Lowther Castle, Melchett, Rossie Priory and other major sales, and whose collection was already well known at the beginning of the present century (NumCirc [Dec. 1953] col. 506; The Connoisseur 4 [1902] 21-24). Roughly twothirds of the Nelson marbles are temporarily stored in two upper rooms at Sudley Art Gallery and Museum, a former private home not far from Carnatic Hall. The Cnidian Aphrodite from LowTHER CASTLE (Part I, 141f; EA nos. 3068f; Sale Lot no. 2291) stands in one of the lower galleries at Sudley.

Since the marbles at Sudley presumably will be exhibited in the William Brown St. Museum at some date in the future, we shall list these under the main museum, noting their presence at Sudley only by an S in parenthesis before the inventory number. Of the marbles, etc. discussed by Michaelis, some seem to have been lost or damaged, others survive in their former conditions. On a visit in June 1956 we noted the following: nos. 2, Hercules Invictus, after a well-known Roman cult image (Squarciapino, BullComm 73 [1953] 205ff); no. 3, small statue of a draped female figure, Graeco-Roman variation of the same original of ca. 440 B.C. as an Athena in Rome (E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 55f, no. 94); no. 4, torso of a youth; no. 6, sepulchral stele of Herodotus, the woman sitting to l., not r.; no. 12 (basement), large Etruscan urn; lid of no. 13 (?), a small Etruscan urn; no. 22, fragment of a terracotta relief, of the larger Campana type (refs. in Michaelis); no. 24, vase with a large body, from

Objects noted with these and apparently not men-

tioned specifically in Michaelis (see p. 428) include: a Roman wall painting, a group of a lion attacking a ram, an Egyptian head, a Cypriot limestone statue of a woman, the Etruscan terracotta urn of Arui Helesa, and bronze statuettes of Zeus, Athena, etc. In the cases in the William Brown St. Museum are a number of other important major and minor items. These include Cypriot sculptures from various sources, four important Cypriot pieces from the Liverpool-St. Andrew's University excavations at Kouklia (J. H. Iliffe, "Excavations at Aphrodite's Sanctuary of Paphos," Liverpool Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee Bulletin 1, no. 1 [1951] 25ff; 2, nos. 1, 2 [1952] 3off, esp. 59ff), a large number of Cypriot pots, a case of thirteen Tanagra figurines, twelve Cycladic statuettes and vases, twentytwo assorted Greek terracottas, and a pair of Etruscan gold earrings. The Neolithic pounder or diopet from the collections of Sir William Ridgeway and Prof. A. B. Cook is also shown (termed possibly the aniconic object from the shrine on the head of the Ephesian Artemis: A. B. Cook, Zeus III, 898ff; C. T. Seltman, NC [1952] 47, pl. vi, 4).

In the following list of marbles and bronzes acquired since Michaelis' catalogue, those with 53.115 inventory numbers are from the Philip Nelson collection. We thank Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Director, Miss E. Tankard, and Miss Sheila Somers of the Walker Art Gallery for photographs and assistance in studying the collections.

FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURY STATUARY

1. Head of a Goddess (53.115.1); variant of the head known as the Alba-Klinger type, from Rossie PRIORY (Part I, 147; E. Paribeni, AttiMGrecia 1954, 8, cf. fig. 18). 2. Head of "Sappho" of the Wilton House type (53.115.7), the nose, patches, and the bust restored (H.:o.17m.; perhaps the Sir Charles Robinson example: EA nos. 4929f; Lippold, Vat. Cat. III, 2, 455f, no. 17; cf. G. M. A. Richter, N.Y. Met. Mus. Cat. [1954] no. 69 and refs.; AJA 59 [1955] 90). 3. Head of a Goddess, probably Aphrodite (53.115.24); a Roman copy after an original of ca. 430-420 B.C., from the Mel-CHETT collection (Part II, 337; Strong no. 3). 4. Statue of "Narcissus" (53.115.11), reversed, like the New York copy (Richter, Cat. no. 52, pl. 45). From Rossie Priory; restorations by Canova (Part I, 146f; add Lippold, Kopien 266, n. 45; Strong, IHS 26 [1906] 1, on the regular "Narcissus" from the Philip Nelson collection and now in Munich). 5. Statue of the Cnidian Aphrodite; put together from two different ancient replicas, from LowTHER CAS-TLE (Part I, 142; Blinkenberg, Knidia 187, no. V. 4-5; EA nos. 3068f). 6. Head of Apollo of the Lykeios type, Parian marble (H.:0.37m.); nose, upper lip, and eyelids restored, the last in plaster (cf. Furtwängler, Masterpieces 337, esp. n. 2; Rizzo, Prassitele 79f, pls. 122f, Brit. Mus. no. 1550). 7. Head of Dionysos, wearing a vine wreath (S. 53.115.16); the nose, chin, parts of the wreath, and the bust are restored (Parian marble; H.:o.29m.). From Rossie PRIORY (Michaelis, Anc. Marb. 649, no. 5); cf. the Praxitelean Dionysos, as represented by heads at CHATSWORTH (Archaeology 8 [1955] no. 1, 14; JHS 21 [1901] 215, fig. 3) and from the Melchett Coll. (Strong, Cat. 18, no. 13, pl. 18, and refs.). 8. Small head of Hermes of the Belvedere type (S.53.115.28), in island marble (H.:0.14m.); the bust restored. The head is one of a number of late Hellenistic or Roman works which show the Belvedere-Andros statues on a reduced scale (cf. Chittenden, Seltman, Greek Art 35, no. 148; Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 17).

HELLENISTIC STATUARY AND RELIEFS

9. Head of Aphrodite or Artemis (53.115.15); only the face (less parts of the nose and a section under the l. eye) is ancient. The back of the head, the neck, and the bust are restored; what remains copies some Aphrodite of the late Hellenistic period (cf. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age fig. 610, showing the same small eye-curls). 10. Bronze head of a goddess (S.53.115.8); Aphrodite or Hera, a fourth century B.C. type, probably from a small statue (H.:0.135m.). She wears a diadem with engraved palmettes or lotuses. From Smyrna (cf. D. K. Hill, Cat. of Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery 95ff, nos. 209, 212; Babelon, Blanchet, Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale 19f, no. 40). 11. Head after the Sarapis attributed to Bryaxis, the kalathos broken off and the nose restored (island marble; H.:o.18m.). The hair and the luxuriant beard are after Roman versions (as the Sarapis of the Vatican, Sala Rotonda: Lippold, Vat. Cat. III, 1, no. 549, pl. 36; the Villa Torlonia-Albani bust: Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age fig. 297; or the London Mithraeum head: IRS 45 [1955] pl. 45). 12. Statue of a fountain nymph (headless), leaning on a pillar at her l. side (pl. 35, fig. 8). Type of Berlin no. 37 (Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 406, 8); cf. the "Aphrodite" in Dresden (Reinach-Clarac I, 322, 3); Rome, Museo Torlonia no. 218 (ibid. 324, 1) is a variant (drapery across I. shoulder and down back). 13. Small statue of a seated fisherman (Italian marble; H.:0.62m.); the head, which does not belong, comes from a reversed version of the Farnese Hercules. Cf. the statue at INCE BLUNDELL HALL, the ancient head of which is also missing (Michaelis-Ashmole no. 47; ArtB 38 [1956] 41), and other such types of Hellenistic genre or fountain statues and their Roman copies (Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 556f; IV, 349; V, 296, esp. no. 4; Les antiquités du Musée de Mariemont 81, G 40 and bibl.). 14. Statuette of Cybele, enthroned with tympanum in l. hand, lion at her r. side (island marble; H.:o.29m.). A familiar type in statuettes and reliefs, based in a general way on Agorakritos' cult statue in the shrine of the Mother of the Gods in Athens (AIA 50 [1955] 353; Svoronos, Das athener Nationalmuseum II, pls. 116ff); late Hellenistic or Roman work (cf. the small statue in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, F. Poulsen, Cat. 1951, no. 333 and

15. Double herm in the fifth-century transitional style; the heads are ancient, the herm restored (S.53. 115.17; H.:o.19m.). Pentelic marble; from Rossie PRIORY (Michaelis, Anc. Marb. 649, no. 11; cf. E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 42f, nos. 64-66, an old and a young Dionysos). 16. Trapezophorus or funerary support, with the head and neck of a Neo-Attic Kore (Pentelic marble; H.: 0.28m.). Cf. the examples collected by Lehmann, RM 38-39 (1923-24) 271ff, esp. nos. 26ff, or the Naples "Caryatid" (Reinach-Clarac 219, 3). 17. Rosso Antico term of the bearded Dionysos (S.53.115.10), broken across the middle of the face; fillets and clustered grapes visible behind l. ear (H.:0.12m.; W.:0.105m.). From Rossie Priory (Michaelis 649, no. 10; cf. Ashmole, Ince 66, nos. 165f; Waldhauer, Ermitage I, nos. 72f; in gems, G. M. A. Richter, Met. Museum Gems [1956] 76f, no. 322 and refs.). 18. Head of Zeus or Sylvanus (S.53.115.22), restored as a bust (Parian marble; H.: 0.22m.). From Rossie Priory (Lot 207; not in Michaelis); from a statue such as those illustrated in Reinach-Clarac 220f; Ashmole, Ince no. 5, pl. 27; of a different type than Melchett Collec-TION (Strong, Cat.) no. 36, with pine leaves in the hair. 19. Fragment of a later Greek funerary relief (H.:0.38m.; Th.:0.11m.). Woman reclining to l. on couch, w. table of food before her; pilaster at r. Broken irregularly on top, l. side and at top r. corner; island marble. The figure wears a high-girt chiton and himation; funerary banquet reliefs with the lady reclining are much rarer than those showing men, unless both husband and wife recline (cf. Reinach, Rép. rel. II, 178f; 507, no. 3, British Museum; 527, no. 1, Oxford, Michaelis no. 92). 20. Fragment of a head of Dionysos or a satyr (S.53. 115.21), the nose restored (Parian marble; H.: 0.17m.). The coarsely drilled hair is wreathed by a heavy band of leaves, buds, and sheaves of grain; the type is that of statues of the so-called Apollo Lykeios transformed into Dionysos (cf. under no. 6, above, and Waldhauer, Ermitage II, 24, no. 121, also nos. 131ff). 21. Head of a man of the late Hellenistic or early imperial periods, probably from a grave stele (S.53.115.26; island marble, H.:0.12m.); for general type, cf. the Julio-Claudian portraits in the Eastern Mediterranean style (e.g. G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik 80ff, A.35, A.44). 22. Upper part of Laocoon from a statuette after the Belvedere statue (S.53.115.19). The extensive drilling suggests work of the third century A.D.; the fragment has been recut on the back and r. shoulder, w. a dowel hole for restorations or for joining ("Thasian" marble; H.:o.20m., W.:o.14m.). On the Laocoon itself, see Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 134f; for small copies, ancient and modern, after the Laocoon type, see Foerster, IdI 21 (1906) 6ff, esp. fig. 3. 23. Head of a warrior with another figure's hand behind (53.115.12), from a large sarcophagus such as that in the Torlonia Collection or those in the Louvre and the Vatican (Reinach, Rép. rel. III, 340f, Torlonia; ibid. 352f, and refs., Vatican). The figures may be Herakles and Geryon (Loeffler, Marsyas 6 [1954] 19) or Achilles and Penthesilea, for the features have a feminine cast and there seem to be traces of long curls below the crested helmet.

GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITS AND RELATED SCULPTURES

24. Head on a terminal bust, called that of Lycurgus (S.53.115.31). From the Melchett Collection (Strong, Cat. 26f, no. 20, pl. 28; D. E. L. Haynes, JHS 73 [1953] 139, on portraits showing one-eyed blindness). 25. Bust of a Greek resembling Socrates (S.53.115.23), a replica of or the same person as the type INCE no. 525 (Ashmole, Ince 58, no. 137, pl. 29); cf. the Greek portrait herm, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi no. 82 (Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 252, no. 82). 26. Head of Demosthenes (53.115.30), the nose and the herm bust restored;

from the Melchett Collection (Strong, Cat. 27, no. 21, pl. 29). 27. Head of a young divinity (Asklepios or Apollo), sometimes identified as a portrait of Alexander the Great (S.53.115.3). From Rossie Priory (Michaelis no. 17; Poulsen, Portraits 38, no. 10, 3 figs.; E. Suhr, Portraits of Greek Statesmen 130; Lippold, Handbuch 219, note 6). 28. Head of Apollo or Alexander the Great (S.53. 115.9), in Greek marble (H.:o.15m.). The arrangement of the locks as well as the upward gaze imparted by the pupils, which are drilled out, suggest identification as Alexander, a Roman copy comparable in derivation to the Alexander Rondinini (Suhr, op.cit. 105, fig. 17) or the Museo Barracco head (ibid. 92, fig. 11). 29. Statuette of a Graeco-Egyptian god, Hellenistic ruler or Roman emperor (Lucius Verus ?) and a barbarian captive at his feet (island marble; H.:0.555m.) (pl. 36, fig. 10). The principal figure is diademed and wears a Hellenistic leather cuirass with greaves; he holds a parazonium and grasps the barbarian by the hair. Phalerae with Alexandrine cult busts of Sarapis (Bryaxis type) above and Harpocrates below are set on his chest and stomach; the barbarian has facial features derived from the Bryaxis Sarapis (cf. above, no. 11). The group was carved in the second or third century A.D. and represents a traditional fusion of Graeco-Egyptian and Roman imperial iconography in an association suggesting the hero or ruler cults of the Fayoum region (cf. the examples collected by F. Cumont, "Un dieu supposé syrien, associé à Héron en Egypte," in Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud, Bibl. arch. et hist. 30 [1939] 1ff, esp. 7, pls. 1, 111; Rubensohn, Idl 20 [1905] 1ff, pl. 1).

30. Neo-Attic style relief of a Lictor, represented standing on a statue base within a molding (H.: 0.58m.; W.:0.022m.; Italian marble). The style is a sepulchral reflection of the Lictores of Cancelleria Frieze A, except that here the Lictor wears formal rather than field dress (Magi, Rilievi pl. 1; cf. also the Lictor relief in Nîmes, EA no. 1431). 31. Fragment of a historical relief, Domitian or Trajan, in Greek style; there is a slight beard on the chin, and the head is laurel crowned (Greek marble; H.: 0.22m., Th.:0.12m., back of relief broken irregularly on all surfaces). Cf. some of the heads of Cancelleria Frieze A (Magi, Rilievi pls. XIII, XVI, XVIII, or the young Domitian, xxIII). 32. Head of a man of the late Republic; perhaps a copy made in the Flavian period (53.115.27), with the eyes drilled

probably in modern times. Among portraits of the late Republic and their copies in later periods, cf. Copenhagen no. 589 (F. Poulsen, Cat. 1951, 408f; Schweitzer, Bildniskunst figs. 169, 174); the hair style is found in copies of portraits of the time of Cicero (e.g. the so-called Ahenobarbus of the Braccio Nuovo, Schweitzer, op.cit. fig. 144). 33. Head of the Emperor Trajan (53.115.4), with half the nose, fragments of the ears, and the bust restored (Pentelic marble; H.:0.24m.); there are dowels in the hair above the forehead, perhaps for a wreath. The grouping of the locks over the forehead is peculiar; the nearest parallel is the head in Turin (Gross, Bildnisse Traians 106f, pl. 22 a,b). This part of the hair may have been recut. 34. Head of a Cosmetes-type portrait herm of the second century A.D. (Greek marble; H.:o.155m.). Cf. the examples in the British Museum (JHS 75 [1955] 155; 73 [1953] 138ff) and the Athenian Agora Museum (Harrison, Agora I, 35ff, no. 25, pl. 17). The size and the cutting of the eyes give the Liverpool head a similar dating; only the fact that the man himself was bald gives the head a late Republican look (cf. in this respect Agora I, no. 19, dated in the Trajanic period). 35. Head of a young girl of the time of Faustina II (53.115.14); the bust restored. From Rossie Priory (Michaelis no. 28; Poulsen, Portraits 86, no. 70, who places it in the period of Hadrian and illustrates the head of "a sister" in New York, fig. 53; G. M. A. Richter, Roman Portraits [1948] no. 79). 36. Portrait head of a lady of the late Hadrianic to Antonine periods (Parian marble; H.: 0.25m.). Cf. Felletti Maj, Ritratti 110, no. 213, a younger woman of the Antonine period; an unpublished head from Alexandria, in 1935 in the A. B. Rouse coll. (photo in British Museum, Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities), shows that the style is of the period of Faustina I and that perhaps a veil was fitted over the back of the head. 37. Head of Faustina II, with restored ancient bust (53.115.5). From SHOBDEN COURT (Part II, 342); one of a group of portraits identified by Wegner as Faustina II, a replica of Louvre no. 1144 (Herrscherbildnisse pl. 36) and about fourteen others (p. 281). 38. Head of a curly-headed boy of the time of the young Caracalla (53.115.6), on a sixteenth-seventeenth century draped bust. Cf. the young Caracalla in Toulouse and Copenhagen (L. Budde, Jugendbildnisse des Caracalla und Geta pls. 10f); a younger private person is probably intended (much younger than but in a style similar

to the bust of C. Volcacius Myropnous, from Isola Sacra near Ostia: The Arts Council, Roman Portrait Busts [1953] no. 47). 39. Head of Otacilia Severa (53.115.13), the bust restored. From Rossie Priory (Michaelis 651, no. 31; Poulsen, Portraits 109, no. 108; D. K. Hill, AJA 48 [1944] 262; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 143f, no. 4, under no. 285; F. Poulsen, Copenhagen Cat. [1951] 523, no. 754).

MISCELLANEOUS

40. Bronze head of a goddess (Ariadne ?) or "Sappho" (S.53.115.32; H.:0.26m.). The brass plaque on the base is inscribed "Excavated by the First Lord Savile, G.C.B., at Nemi," but the head is either that from the von Radowitz collection or one of its replicas; these heads have been recognized as products of an atelier of ca. 1860 or later. They were probably manufactured in Italy (A. Furtwängler, Neuere Fälschungen von Antiken [Berlin-Leipzig 1899] 24f, figs. 19f). In EA no. 1058f (Augsburg), the list of "replicas" is brought up to ten, including examples in the Rome and Florence art markets. The creation was modelled in a general way on some Graeco-Roman bronze such as the "Sappho" of Herculaneum (Picard, Manuel III, 802ff, figs. 362f). 41. Head recalling the Apollo in the style of Paeonius (S.53.115.29; Pentelic marble, H.:o.15m.). The hair caught on the back of the head differs somewhat from the Apollo (cf. Ashmole, Ince 10, no. 15, pls. 5f) and has elements of fourth century style (e.g. the Praxitelean Cnidia). This head belongs in the group discussed by Furtwängler, Neuere Fälschungen von Antiken 8ff, esp. figs. 4d, 6. 42. Head of Aphrodite, a fourth century B.c. type (S.53.115.20); "From Athens and with traces of colour," according to the label on the pedestal (Pentelic marble; H.:o.13m.). The style recalls the previous (no. 41), and the head would seem to be a product of the same workshop (cf. Furtwängler, loc.cit.).

Michaelis noted (Anc.Marbles 428): "Of especial value is the collection of ivory diptychs, once belonging to Gabriel Fejérváry, subsequently bought by Jos. Mayer, and presented to the museum." Although many of these ivories have been discussed and illustrated in specialized writings, all the significant ivory carvings in the collections of the Liverpool Museums have been described recently in Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ivory Carvings lent by the City of Liverpool Public Museums, British Museum, Department of British and Medieval An-

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tiquities (Sept. 1954-March 1955) 20 pp., 56 items from the Greek sixth cent. B.C. to German seventeenth cent. A.D. (cat. by P. E. Lasko). This catalogue includes four items from the Philip Nelson collection.

As to the vases in Liverpool, it is difficult to form an adequate opinion on the wealth of the collection. There is very little pottery on exhibition. Much, if not most, of the collection recorded by Michaelis and Philippart is considered lost, though at least five of the vases noted by Philippart are stored in Carnatic Hall (10696 M, Attic bf. lekythos; 10483 M and 10718 M, Campanian red-figure; 10725 M and 10918 M, Campanian black). Also preserved is 27.11.99.86, an Apulian pelike. It is to be hoped that the other Liverpool vases will eventually be recovered from the debris of the museum.

In the years since the war, many vases were acquired through purchase or gift, and more than fifty vases are on loan from Port Sunlight. Of these acquisitions the following were noted.

49.31.1. Attic bf. band-cup. Between palmettes, on A, hen between two swans; on B, hen between two men.

49.31.2. Attic cup-skyphos. Haemonian.

49.31.3. Attic rf. squat lekythos. Head of a woman. 49.50.4. Attic bf. skyphos. Fights. By the Wraith Painter. This is a replica of another skyphos by the same painter seen in 1956 in the market.

49.50.5. Attic white lekythos with glaze outlines. Youth and woman at stele. The mouth is modern. 49.50.6. Attic white lekythos with mat outlines. Woman and youth at stele. There is a vent-hole near the handle.

49.50.8. Black Campanian plate (ex Cat. Sotheby, 5 March 1888; 739).

50.19.1-47. The bulk of the collection of vases given by Colonel Walpole to the Norwich Castle Museum. This collection, distinguished for its specialized interest in Panathenaic vases, was sold by Norwich in 1956. It is not clear whether all the vases have gone to Liverpool, or whether some have been kept by Norwich (unless they were sold to someone else). Miss Tankard very kindly allowed me to study the following vases and also furnished me with photographs. The first eight vases in the list are uninscribed panathenaic amphorae: I shall give the devices of Athena, the subject of the reverse, and references to publications.

56.19.1 (ex Norwich 11). Chariot box; two riders. H.:42.5cm. Graffito.

56.19.6 (ex Norwich 4). Panther's protome (restored as a whole panther); javelin thrower between trainer and flute-player. *ABV* 369, no. 115. H.:44.6cm. This vase has a red dipinto. The capitals of the columns are Ionic.

56.19.18 (ex Norwich 1). Triskeles; on the columns, panthers; man between two scated men. Mon.Ined. 1, pl. 26; Gerhard Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder pl. B, 27-28. H.:43.5cm. Attributed by H. R. W. Smith to the Swing Painter, Gnomon 30 (1958) 366.

56.19.23 (ex Norwich 8). Three balls; on the columns, owls; wrestlers between a standing and a seated judge. Mentioned by Beazley in BSR 11 (1929) 3. The pattern on the neck is unusual. Graffito: eight vertical strokes.

56.19.28 (ex Norwich 6). Star; no columns; two riders. For the style compare the amphora B in Philadelphia (MS 2489. A, Athena with tripod between two youths; B, three komasts.). H.:36.8cm. Gerhard op.cit. pl. B, 31-32. There are graffiti under one handle and to the left of the panel on A.

56.19.27 (ex Norwich 5). Three balls; Athena is faced by Hermes; wheeling chariot. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* pl. 66. H.:37.4cm. By the Swing Painter. The vase is repainted.

56.19.29 (ex Norwich 10). Snake; boxers between a judge and a man with thongs. H.:44.8cm. This may be the vase mentioned in *BdI* (1865) 144. 56.19.33 (ex Norwich 3). Snake; five runners (four men and a boy: the boy is winning). The foot is alien. Height, as restored, 40.1cm. Attributed by Beazley to the Euphiletos Painter (ABV 322, no.

Other Norwich vases are as follows:

56.19.19 (ex Norwich 7). Attic bf. neck-amphora (pl. 37, figs. 16-17) the pictures in panels. A, warrior with two lyres between two cocks. B, two sphinxes. H.:29.2cm. On the inscriptions see Beazley in AJA 31 (1927) 345; listed by him among the "Tyrrhenian" vases in ABV 103, no. 118. In style this vase is closest to the Timiades Painter (cf. AJA 48 [1944] 164ff); it also resembles a neck-amphora in Taranto (Annuario 17-18 [1955-56] 34, fig. 34, top left) which in turn is close to the Painter of London B 76. A picture of the vase, and the attribution to the Timiades Painter appeared in the Times sometime in August 1956.

56.19.34. Small white-ground neck-amphora. Attributed by Beazley to the Mariani Painter (ABV

595, no. 4). There is a dog under each handle. Graffito.

56.19.35. Attic rf. skyphos with disparate handles. A and B, Eros flying with sash. Under each handle, a palmette. A third palmette is on top of the vertical handle. Restored. Attributed by Beazley to the manner of the Tarquinia Painter (*Paralipomena* 2318).

Other Norwich vases include seven Corinthian aryballoi, one Corinthian ring aryballos (56.19.47), and six Corinthian alabastra.

Of importance are also twelve fragments from Naucratis given by Miss Elinor R. Pull (56.21.523-534). Most of these are Naucratite (or Chiote).

The Port Sunlight vases lent to Liverpool are numbered 50.43.1ff and 55.3.1ff. Many of them are from the Hope collection (Tillyard nos. 16, 17, 21, 25, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 54, 68, 74, 76, 81, 82, 83, 147, 160, 259), but more than half are from other sources. A Laconian black column-krater comes from the collection at Thornton Manor (T.M. 482 = Liverpool 50.43.5). A very fine Apulian situla was once in the Whitehead collection (Port Sunlight X.577 =

Liverpool 50.43.16). A black-figured neck-amphora is from the Ionides collection (Port Sunlight X.2249) = Liverpool 50.43.2; Cat. Christie, 13 March 1902, no. 251). Most of the Port Sunlight vases are very much restored, and all are in want of cleaning. Attributions are therefore difficult to make, but a white lekythos Liverpool 55.3.1 (=Port Sunlight X.2241) goes with the Group of Athens 1810 (cf. ARV 821): man and warrior at tomb.

There are also two Apulian vases lent by Mr. Huddleston of 377 Milton Road. 51.10.1 is a volute-krater with mascaroon handles: on the neck of the obverse, seated Eros; on the body, warrior in nais-kos, flanked by two figures. On the body of the reverse, woman and youth at stele. 51.10.2 is a Panathenaic amphora: A, two youths at a stele surmounted by a kantharos; another kantharos stands on the ground; two kylikes are suspended from the base. On the reverse, two youths at a pillar.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Excavations at Serra Orlando 1958 Preliminary Report III

RICHARD STILLWELL

PLATES 39-44

The fourth campaign conducted by the Princeton University Expedition to Sicily opened on March 24th and continued until the last week in June. Four principal areas were investigated: there was further work in the area (I) of the great Hellenistic Agora; an extension of the area (IV) just to the west of the Sanctuary of Demeter, excavated in 1957; a section in Area II, where in the preceding year a large Hellenistic-Roman house had been uncovered, was investigated close to the city wall that forms the southern limit of the ancient town; and two smaller areas on Cittadella, where in the previous campaign remains of prehistoric periods, as well as many traces and objects of the sixth and early fifth centuries, had come to light. Once again it is a pleasure to acknowledge the most helpful cooperation of the authorities of the Soprintendenza of Eastern Sicily, under the directorship of Dr. Luigi Bernabò Brea, and the invaluable services of the representative of the archaeological authority, Signor Antonino Giucastro.1

AREA I. THE HELLENISTIC AGORA (pl. 39, fig. 1)

Work began on the east side of the area, to the north of a complex interpreted last year as a public building.2 It soon became evident that this line was continued by a long construction that resembles a stoa, but had, most probably, large openings in its front rather than a colonnade (pl. 39, fig. 2). Situated at the foot of the hill that limits the Agora to the east, the structure measured slightly over eight meters in depth, and had a length of almost exactly 93.00 m. The back wall, as far north as the excavations were carried, is preserved to an average height of two and a quarter meters, and is built with the familiar system of vertical chains of large header and stretcher blocks spaced about four meters apart, filled in between verticals with smaller

stones, forming a roughly coursed ashlar. The inner face of the wall was plastered and presumably painted, but only a few portions of the dark blueblack dado survive. Behind the stoa was an open alley-way, some four and a half meters wide, bounded on its east side by a high retaining wall built in the same fashion as the back wall of the stoa. That this alley was intended to take care of the water running off from the hill above is clear. since a drain, 0.50 m. wide with a hard cocciopesto floor, runs down the middle of the open space (pl. 40, fig. 4). Against the back of the stoa was built a sharply slanting packing of small stones covered with stucco. This, if not contemporary with the stoa, cannot be much later, for the original course of the drain turned at a right angle to the west as soon as it passed the southern limit of the building. Later, when the "public building" was erected, the drain was changed to run diagonally beneath the area of the new structure.

The stoa had an interior row of supports and six of their large square bases, each consisting of two blocks of limestone, have been uncovered (pl. 40, fig. 3). Their corners and parts of their sides have been worn away, so that it is clear that they protruded above the floor level, but the setting of the square supporting piers, with the angles chamfered off, can be clearly seen. The fragments of the capital of one pier were recovered, and show a simple molding above a slightly projecting fascia.

The front wall of the stoa exists only in foundations, and in a few blocks of the course above so badly worn that the original arrangement is difficult to recover. It would seem that this part of the building was rebuilt at least once. There is, at present, no trace of a proper stylobate. In front of the stoa lay a broad terrace, approached by the steps that

Agora, came for the last four weeks of the excavation, and Professor Doris Taylor of Wheaton College lent valuable assistance and conducted a preliminary study of the Hellenistic black wares. Professor Richard Stillwell took his turn as Field Director for the campaign of 1958.

2 AJA 62 (1958) 161.

¹ The staff consisted of Messrs. Kyle M. Phillips, R. Ross Holloway, J. Philip McAlear and Carleric Östenberg, trenchmasters, Miss Helen M. Woodruff, in charge of cataloguing, assisted in turn by Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Mary Lee Thompson. Miss M. Alison Frantz, photographer at the excavations of the Athenian

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began near its southern end and, with the gradual rise of ground as one moves north in the open Agora, diminished in number and finally terminated opposite the middle of the stoa. At either end were a pair of rooms, the larger in front, probably once connected with the long body of the building by a door. There was also an opening in the western face of the front rooms. In succeeding centuries they were much remodelled, doors cut into the walls, and again blocked up, so that it is difficult at this time to determine the exact purpose they served in the original plan, but it is probable that the smaller, inner rooms once contained stairs giving access to an upper story or to a terrace above the stoa. In the last period of occupation the southern pair of rooms seem to have served as eating places. A raised stucco border around the floor of one suggests a triclinium.

Behind the southern end of the stoa, reached through a door contrived between its SE angle and the eastern range of rooms of the later public building, was an antechamber from which a small doorway led to a latrine. The drain in the alleyway provided a practical means of cleaning the area. This latrine may well have existed, in a different form, at the time the stoa was first built, but as usual with such conveniences it was remodelled a number of times. Objects in this section were few, and since they had all washed down from the hill above after the destruction of the stoa they were not of significance in dating.

In the southwest corner of the Agora, near the "lamp factory" discovered in 1956, a further, relatively small area was cleared. It became even more apparent that the western wing of the great stairs, which form such an impressive feature of the Agora, never went further than now preserved. The court connected with the lamp factory or with its successor was cleared, and measures some nine by eighteen meters. In its southwest angle is a curious structure whose significance must await further study (pl. 40, fig. 5). Two rectangular foundations, of unequal size, form what might be described as the flanking piers of a gateway.3 They are not strictly parallel, and are built of long ashlar blocks, one course thick from the outer to the inner face. Both rectangles were filled with dark earth containing a number of lamps similar to those found before in the area, small bowls with strap handles,

four small globular pots (diam, 0.06 m.) and a number of bronze coins dating from the third to the late second century B.C. It is certain that the structure(s) date from the second century B.C. The most curious discovery was that of a large stone block, measuring 0.40 m. by 0.60 m. by 0.60 m., which had in its top a shallow, circular depression in the center of which a funnel-shaped hole, barely 10 cm. across, led down into a larger hollow cut in the lower side of the block (pl. 40, fig. 6). This block in turn rested on another, of nearly the same size, also with a hole, some 20 cm. square, that extended all the way to the bottom. The second block was re-used, and may once have been a water distributor, for a side opening had been carefully blocked up.

In the cavity, beginning near the top of the upper block and extending all the way to the bottom of the lower one, were found 152 bronze coins, ranging from third century coins of Catana to early second century Roman asses. These were scattered down all through the earth filling, and formed no chronological pattern. Cuttings in the top of the upper block could have served to fasten a locking bar across a now missing lid. One cutting still retains part of its leading. All that can be said now is that this appears to have served once as a box for monetary offerings. Its position, facing the passage between the two piers, and in line with the inner face of the western pier, suggests that it must be associated with them, but the presence of an upright slab, blocking access to the box and yet not incorporated with the western pier, suggests an abandonment of the original scheme. To judge from the latest coins found in the box this would have occurred no later than the end of the second century.

Further to the south of this area, and oriented with the east wall of the buttressed terrace excavated in 1956 and 1957 were two large rooms, each 3.50 by 6.50 m., separated by a passage 2.50 m. wide. Their construction, of large ashlar blocks, irregularly coursed, and finished off on the inner face with small irregular stones, would appear to associate them with the early layout of the Agora, or at least not later than the middle of the third century (pl. 40, figs. 7, 8). It is hard to see what purpose they can have served. Their inner floor level, corresponding to a pronounced footing course, is clear, but if that were indeed the level there is no

³ They measure respectively 3.75 by 2.00 m., and 3.75 by 3.00 m. The space between is 1.50 to 2.50 m. wide.

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sign of an entrance to either room. From the nature of the fill, and from the fact that three large, worked blocks, stuccoed, and apparently from door jambs, were found at floor level, it must be supposed that both rooms were accessible. It is, however, interesting to observe that the opening between the chambers points toward the remains of a stepped ramp further east, and that the lower part of a retaining wall, angling northwestward from the terraced area south of the lamp factory points to one side of this opening. Further excavation behind the above mentioned rooms will have to be carried out before their purpose becomes clear.

AREA IV. THE DEMETER SANCTUARY

Several connected trenches were opened just to the west of the sanctuary dug in 1957. A complex of building appeared, at least one room of which seems to have contained an altar on a square base and a long, stuccoed bench on which offerings could be placed. A coin of Hieron II, found in the core of the bench, indicates that it was built sometime during the third century. Adjacent to this room, both to west and southwest, lay other rooms which, though poorly constructed and even less well preserved, appear to have been occupied by services connected with the sanctuary. Two large cisterns were cleared, and produced a quantity of terracotta offerings, large and small; washing places were observed, down the slope, similar to such arrangements found in 1957. Two large puteals of terracotta came to light, one of them most elaborate (pl. 41, fig. 9). It is in two stages, ending in a square opening that could be closed by a lid. On top, at either side were large knobs presumably for hand rests. The exterior was richly ornamented with fluting and with rouletted patterns: bead and reel, anthemion and palmettes, and maeander. After the piece had been fired two circles were incised opposite to each other, on the lower part, and holes chipped through. It is suggested that these were a means for passing a pole through, so as to lift the puteal away from the mouth of the cistern when the latter was cleaned.

Among the many terracottas were several large busts, three-quarters life-size, of women wearing a polos (pl. 41, figs. 10, 11). These ex-votos presumably represent the goddess Demeter herself, or pos-

sibly her priestesses.5 A smaller bust showed rosettes adorning the polos, and thus recalls the rosetted silver diadem found in the sanctuary in 1957. Perhaps the most unexpected discovery in this area was a number of tombs of the later stone or early copper age found at the lowest level, in what was a street of the fourth century dividing the sanctuary of 1957 from the new area (pl. 41, fig. 12). Although their upper parts had all been shaved away when the street was put in, the contents scattered and mixed with fourth century pottery, it was plain that they belonged to the very early period of inhabitation of the site. One, which was better preserved than the rest, consisted of an ovoid chamber some 1.60 m. long, with a round shaft or well near the southern end (pl. 41, fig. 13). Between the shaft and the chamber was a circular opening for the body to be brought in; a cutting was provided for a closing slab. A little to the west, beyond a wall of the fourth century and almost covered by it, was a circular depression some 1.20 m. in diameter, filled with stones and pieces of blackened, early copper age pottery. The redness of the stone bespeaks the presence of fire, but whether this "hearth" formed part of a house or was a place for the burning of funeral offerings is not sure. In any event, the discovery of early occupation on the ridge of Morgantina, and not alone on the Cittadella, points to a more widely spread settlement than had at first been supposed. This discovery led to a re-examination of the dark chocolate-colored soil which formed the floor of the large and the small altar courts or chambers in the sanctuary further east. Here again, in a deposit of from twenty to forty centimeters in depth just above hard pan, were found great quantities of the same type of early copper age pottery. Some of this ware has also been recognized in the deep pit sunk just outside the city wall at the southern boundary of the town, but may have come there through the

AREA II

process of erosion.

Roughly 170 meters southwest of the Hellenistic Agora a sounding was made on the inside of the city wall at a place where it had long been visible. Though it was not possible to extend the shaft to the bottom, on account of the danger of collapse,

^{*}Three terracotta busts lay broken on the floor immediately in front of this bench.

⁵ Cf. e.g. P. Marconi, Agrigento 182-87, nearly all anterior

to our examples.

e AJA 62 (1958) 158-59; pl. 31, fig. 18.

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an extension of the trench to the north resulted in the discovery of a large building of the third century B.C. (pl. 41, fig. 14). It lies about ten meters inside the city wall, measures 17.50 m. from east to west, and the portion thus far excavated has a north-south dimension of about 23 m. The construction is massive, with deep foundations of squared blocks, a broad socle, 70 to 80 cm. wide, with a slightly set-back course above it. Higher, where preserved in the eastern portion, is a row of orthostates. The blocks are carefully cut with anathyrosis, but no clamps. Pry holes give a clue to the succeeding courses where these no longer exist. As at present preserved the plan is irregular within the perimeter of the building, and must await fuller study before it is possible to determine the original scheme. A room approximately 7.00 m. square occupied the SE angle. Immediately to the north of it is a smaller area, which was made into a room with a two-columned porch to the west during a remodelling of the structure. These two areas are separated from the western half of the building by a broad passage which had beyond it a small court, bounded on the south by a narrow portico and on the north by a deeper one at right angles to the dividing corridor. Smaller rooms lie north of this, but have not yet been entirely cleared. The main entrance was from the east, through a wide, doublevaned doorway that led into a passage after descending three steps. It is clear that the interior was much changed not only once but twice, and that in its final period the building served as a housea rather elaborate house if one may judge by its construction, which is far more substantial than in other houses thus far found at the site. Careful soundings in various parts of the construction fill revealed no coins earlier than Hieron II. One was found just behind the southern wall, and at a fairly low level, so that the date of the construction can be no earlier. Unfortunately the coin, with a head of Poseidon on the obverse and a trident on the reverse, cannot as yet be dated very closely within the long reign of Hieron. Some 1.50 m. below the level of the small courtyard, and covered in part by the foundations of the central passage, was a hard cocciopesto floor belonging to an earlier structure, which seems to have formed part of a bath. A drain from one corner, now cut by the heavy south foundation, had beneath it another coin of Hieron II, so that it is certain that this type of flooring must go back well into the third cen-

tury. In the passage or portico north of the small court, the late flooring had caved in, and exploration revealed the remains of a stuccoed water basin, with a narrow bench around three sides (the fourth had disappeared). The bottom of most of the basin has sunk into a deep depression which still awaits clearing when more of the structure at the upper level can be removed. It would appear, however, that this area at the beginning of the third century was occupied by a bath, or possibly a palaistra.

Trial trenches to the northwest revealed a complex of walls dating from the late fourth or early third centuries down into the first century B.C. when the occupation of Morgantina ended. It is important to note that they all have the same orientation as the House of the Tuscan Capitals (found in 1957) and the street found in the Demeter Sanctuary in Area IV. This orientation is identical with that of the great west terrace wall of the Hellenistic Agora, and it shows that at least this central portion of the city was planned at one and the same time.

The investigation of the city wall provided some interesting information. A deep trench was sunk just outside of it, and carried to the bottom. As the wall was cleared it became evident that the lower part was very strongly built, of large, roughly squared blocks, not regularly coursed. In the upper parts, two re-used column drums had long been visible, but there is no reason to suppose that these belong to a repair, since the inner face of the wall. of irregular stone construction, seems to be uniform, and extends above the level where the reused blocks appear. At a depth of 6.50 m. from the highest preserved portion of the wall was found, on the outer side and touching the face of the wall, a male skeleton associated with two small pyriform lekythoi. This burial had occasioned the amputation of the leg bones of another skeleton, some 50 cm. higher up. Two burials seemed almost sufficient, but in raising the lower one still a third was found, immediately below, and placed in such a way that the wall must antedate the burial. With this third skeleton, also, were pyriform lekythoi of a pattern associated with the end of the fourth century B.C. or the very earliest years of the third. We may quite confidently date the city wall as not later than about 300 B.C. and possibly somewhat earlier, though as yet there is no positive evidence for a date ante quem non.

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THE SOUTHERN DEMETER SANCTUARY

Between the recent excavations in Area II and the Agora and only a few meters from the line of the city wall appeared another sanctuary which had all the distinguishing characteristics of the one found near the north side of the city the year before. A considerable portion had been cut away, but the essential part of the plan remained (pl. 42, fig. 15). An open court, a square room, with two doors and an altar nearly, but not quite, in the center and an inner room or adyton that contained a lustral area, shaped quite like a modern shower stall. The altar room measures 4.50 by 5.00 m. Of the altar, only the square base remains. The adyton, with one narrow door, measures about 3.00 by 3.50 m. and, on the right, the lustral area is paved with a hard stucco floor and provided with a drain (pl. 42, fig. 16). The partition separating it from the rest of the room did not reach to the ceiling, and seems to have been about shoulder height. On the left as one enters, just within the door, is a small projecting shelf for a lamp, and below it is a semicircular construction, 0.35 m. high, of rough stone plastered, with a hollow in the top (pl. 42, fig. 17). East of the adyton are preserved two sides of a larger room, with its floor at a lower level. Here were found three more of the now familiar large Demeter busts. They lay, or stood, a few centimeters above floor level, on top of a mass of broken roof tiles, and seem to have been placed or thrown there at the time of the abandonment of the sanctuary (pl. 42, fig. 18). Within the adyton itself were small pithoi, all fragmentary, terracotta figurines and their stands, bits of brightly colored Centuripe vases, and a great mass of debris of terracottas which seemingly had been systematically trampled all over the floor. From this area came also a small hoard of nine silver coins that had been cached in a small Lykion jar (pl. 42, figs. 19, 20).

AREA III. CITTADELLA

Two areas on the Cittadella were explored. The first, on the north side of the conical hill, toward the valley of Gornalunga, enlarged a trench made the year before where, just inside of the circuit of

⁷ The group consisted of four Victoriati from various mints of South Italy, dating about 205-195 B.C., three quinarii ca. 187-175, a denarius of the same period, and a sestertius ca. 187-155 B.C. These would suggest the destruction of the sanctuary somewhere before the middle of the second century, and

the later city wall, a complex of archaic house foundations and the remains of second millennium inhabitation had been located. Aside from more pottery of the early copper age and a certain amount of material of the archaic period nothing of especial interest came to light. It is evident, however, that in the sixth century there was a considerable settlement, all of a domestic nature, at this point.

The second area lay on the plateau toward the eastern part of the hill. An extension of the trenches of 1957 on the side where had appeared the foundations of an apsidal building showed what appears to have been a street of the Hellenistic period, but failed to reveal the eastern portion of the apsidal building, which had been entirely removed. More fragments of terracotta antefixes came to light, including a portion of a sphinx head and a fine example of an archaic gorgoneion (pl. 43, fig. 21), both at a low level close to hard pan. About twenty meters further east an area 16 meters square was opened, and yielded a number of interesting terracottas, among them two gorgon antefixes of a low relief style, differing markedly from the stronger modelling of the ones found before (pl. 43, fig. 22). The execution is summary. The large fangs are lacking, the snake locks have been reduced to a conventional S-form at either side of the head, and the effect given is of a poor local adaptation of the more distinctive Hellenic type. They adorned the end of round cover tiles and after being molded had been stuck on to the lower end of the tile without the usual "fairing" that curves down from the back of the head to the ridge of the tile seen in the better examples. One of these was found forming part of a water conduit or gutter that had been made from discarded cover tiles. Nearby, however, was found an excellently preserved example of a maenad antefix (pl. 43, fig. 23), similar to one which had appeared in 1957. The features of both are almost identical, but in the one just found the hair is entirely preserved save for a minor chip or two. Dark blue-black locks frame a cheerfully quizzical countenance with the slanting eyes fringed with prominently painted lashes. A bright red spot of rouge is on either cheek, the chin is full and round, and at the base of the neck is a collar with

the character of the other objects found there would confirm this assumption. This fits in with the observation that the North Sanctuary apparently ceased to be used as such at about the same period.

alternating red and black vertical bars or pendants.

Nearby, within a chamber measuring about 5.75 m. by 6.50 m., there appeared just at the end of the season a destruction fill of black-glazed pottery among which were the fragments of a large, red-figured volute krater. It was evident that all the material had been thrown into the area after a thorough destruction by fire. Although no fixed date for this event can be established, it seems clear from a survey of the material that it could have occurred no later than the middle of the fifth century, and hence may in all probability be associated with the sack of Morgantina by Ducetius in 459

The krater (pls. 43, 44, figs. 24-27) had been broken before fire had swept the ruins, for many pieces had been subjected to a smothering fire and were blackened. Others evidently had fallen where they were either not burnt, or where the fire had been of an oxidizing nature. Although a considerable percentage of the vase, including nearly all of the foot and one piece of the neck, are still missing it is likely that excavation over a wider area will reveal more pieces. The lateness of the season and especially the hard-baked clayey soil made it inadvisable to search for more at the time.

The body of the krater is plain black glaze of a high quality.8 On the neck appear a symposion and a combat between Herakles and Amazons. The lip, curving out above the neck, is decorated with a rich border of palmettes connected by a rinceau. Rays extend from the base of the neck toward the shoulder of the vase, and appear as well around the attachment of the handles. On one side (pl. 43, fig. 24) two symposiasts holding kylikes recline right on cushions; between them hangs a basket. Near the head of each is written XAIPE. A bearded lyre-player, behind whom is written ΣΟΣΙΑ, follows and between him and the next symposiast, who turns his head completely to the right, hangs another basket. A fillet hangs between him and a youth who pipes vigorously on a double-flute. In the space between are the letters . . . IOΣ. Filling the gap between the youth and the last banqueter is a third basket, and the final, bearded figure rests on his left elbow, his right hand across his body, clutching his left shoulder, while he turns his head away and gives up the surfeit of wine that he has

drunk (pl. 44, fig. 26). The combat scene still lacks the final figures at the left. There appear only one leg of a warrior striding left and part of his shield on which is a maned lion. A kneeling archer shoots right, followed by a vigorous figure striding left, with her head turned back; she is about to cast a long spear behind her. The inner side of her shield is exposed, and her hand grasps the handle, while her arm passes through an elaborate center loop. Beneath the figure may be read ANAPOMAXH. Herakles, complete with lion's skin and club, moves right and bends over a fallen Amazon. Her lips are slightly open, she raises her right arm as though to ward off the impending blow, and her spear, in a long diagonal, reinforces the direction of the action of her opponent. In front of the hero, and running past the body of his fallen opponent, may be read HEPAKA. . . . Next, an Amazon advances left, carrying a shield with a magnificent octopus design, and brandishing a broad-bladed spear. A few letters appear in connection with her, but are uncertain in reading. She is backed by another archer, with a quiver slung at her left side. Behind her, the inscription \(\Sigma O \Sigma IA. \) In the final group the fragment containing the face and body of the first figure is still missing; he thrusts downward to the right against a fallen Amazon who is propped on her shield, decorated with a bull's head; her right elbow is turned up over her forehead. Above her, XAPA.

The krater shows ancient repairs, where one of the handles had become detached from the body of the vase. Small holes were drilled for a lead clamp, and the re-attachment seems to have been glued with a black pitch. A fragment of a foot of a krater was also found, and though it does not join, probably belongs. This, too, had been broken and has clamp holes for a repair.

The work is of high order, and can be dated to the last years of the sixth century. It was not only gratifying, but also not a little surprising, to find a work of a master hand in a relatively remote Greek settlement in the center of Sicily. Perhaps the very fact that the vase had been broken and mended in antiquity may be significant, and could suggest that after its importation from Athens to Syracuse it had, as damaged goods, been acquired by a citizen of Morgantina and taken home as a memento.

⁸ Diameter of body 0.42 m.; height of vase not preserved.
9 Sir John Beazley, who had the kindness to study the

photographs of the vase, gives the opinion that it is definitely attributable to Euthymides.

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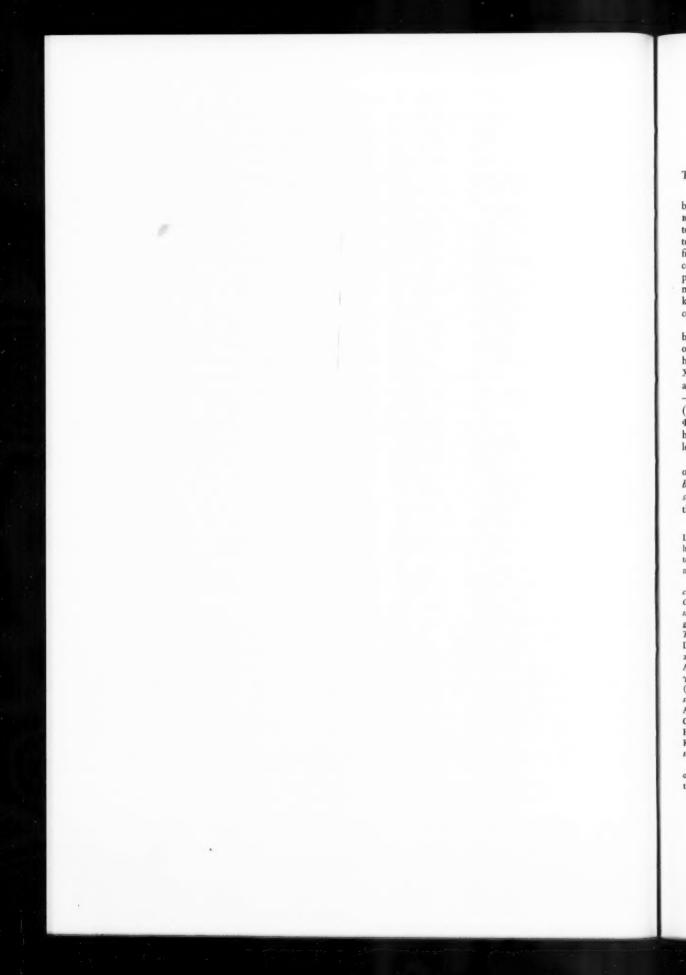
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d to only find note s the nded ggest icuse citiento. initely rubble walls some 0.80 m. thick, strengthened by occasional large cut blocks, suggests a building of importance. It is notable, also, that in that partic-

It is too early as yet to say anything about the ular portion of the site there were no traces of later nature of the building in which the pieces were building, whereas to east and west the excavators found, but its heavy construction, with well built had come upon remains posterior to the middle of the fifth century.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



Archaeological Notes

THE DIFFUSION OF THE GREEK ALPHABET

The earliest surviving specimens of the Greek alphabet, of the seventh or even of the late eighth century B.C., differ greatly in the forms and uses of certain letters. These differences, which are local or—to use the technical term—epichoric, gradually grow less and finally disappear. In spite of this visible process of convergence it is generally supposed that there was a preceding process of divergence of which no trace remains, and that the early epichoric alphabets as we know them were derived from one common Greek ancestor or at the most from two.²

The relationship between our early Greek alphabets has been obscured by a superstitious acceptance of the theory of A. Kirchhoff.³ Kirchhoff, taking as his criterion the use and value of the three letters Φ, X, and Ψ, distinguished three families of alphabets—a western, an eastern, and a more primitive southern—which he named Red, Blue, and Green respectively (see fig. 1). This classification is good for the letters Φ, X, and Ψ, but it is not good for other letters which have an older ancestry.⁴ A pattern formed by secondary letters should have only secondary value.

Some of these letters differ little or not at all from one epichoric script to another. But others—notably beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, iota, lambda, sigma with san—are significant. Figs. 2-8 display early forms of these letters that were current in the principal Greek

¹ The material is most fully presented and expounded in L. H. Jeffery's book, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, which has been awaiting publication for some years. We are indebted to Dr. Jeffery also for much useful advice, although she does not share our conclusions.

² See especially A. Kirchhoff, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets4 (1887) 168; E. S. Roberts, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy I (1887) 4-8; J. van Yzeren, Jb. für das klassische Altertum 27 (1911) 90; W. Larfeld, Griechische Epigraphik (1914) 212; and also S. Reinach and C. T. Newton, Traité d'Épigraphie grecque (1885) 181; F. Lenormant in DarSag s.v. Alphabetum; Rhys Carpenter, AJA 37 (1933) 27-29; A. Sigalas, Ίστορία της Έλληνικής Γραφής (1934) 64-71; A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, 'Αρχαΐαι 'Ελληνικαί 'Επιγραφαί (1940) 16; S. Mazzarino, Fra Oriente e Occidente (1947) 264; M. Falkner, Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft (1948) 110-33; D. Diringer, The Alphabets (1949) 455; A. Schmitt, Die Buchstabe H im Griechischen (1952) 15; M. Guarducci, Γέρας 'Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου (1953) 342-54; H. T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad (1953) 11-18; A. E. Raubitschek, Gnomon 26 (1954) 121-22; F. Miltner in Historia Mundi III (1954) 37.

All these writers except Rhys Carpenter believe in a single original Greek alphabet, but they are not agreed on which of the surviving alphabets is nearest to it.

One original alphabet.

Theran: Kirchhoff, Lenormant, Reinach and Newton, van Yzeren, Diringer.

Cretan: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, Mazzarino, Schmitt,

cities and regions.5 There are some small close groups which for clarity are not presented separately. Thus in general Arcadia and Elis go with Laconia; Boeotia, Phocis, and Thessaly can be put with Chalcis; Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon are related; Paros and Naxos differ only slightly, and that in secondary forms. But there are no wide groupings. Chalcis, for example, shares a form of beta with Athens, Argos, Laconia, Rhodes, and Ionia; of gamma with Arcadia and Megara; of delta with Argos and Laconia; and so on. Deviation from a common Greek standard is hardly credible, the more so if (as seems likely) the Phoenician alphabet was not adapted by Greeks until the middle or even the later eighth century and epichoric varieties of the letters were firmly established within a lifetime.7

Names, shapes, values, and order of the letters, not to mention ancient tradition, leave no doubt that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician. The Phoenician alphabet was current in Syria and Phoenicia, but of its epichoric or other variations we know very little. With this caution it is useful to compare the Greek epichoric and Phoenician forms (fig. 9). The comparison suggests that for certain letters, and at least for beta, variant Greek forms were derived independently from ancestors of unmodified Phoenician form. Since, to judge by our remains, unmodified Phoenician forms were never current in Greek lands, it is reason-

Guarducci.

Theran, Cretan, or Melian: Roberts, Sigalas.

Rhodian: Falkner, Wade-Gery, Miltner.

Delphi: Larfeld (cf. for the importance of Delphi in diffusing the alphabet Rhys Carpenter, AJA 49 [1945] 455-64).

Two original alphabets.

Rhodian and Cretan: Carpenter.

⁸ Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets (AbhBerl 1863). The colours were not introduced till the third edition (1877).

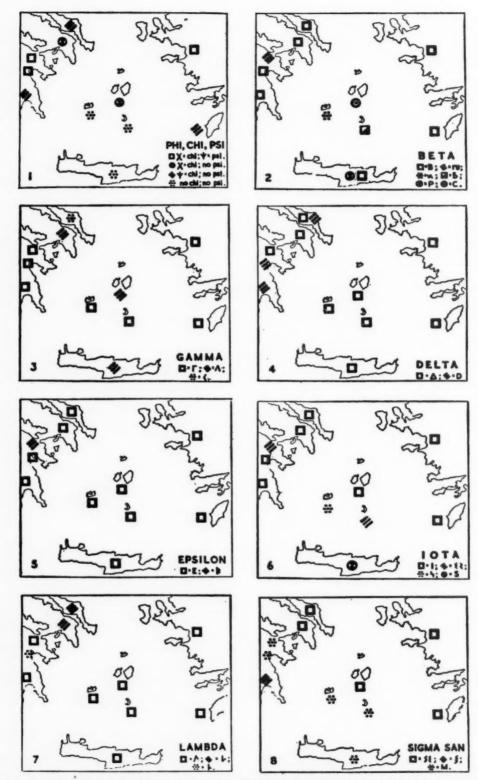
⁴ As E. Meyer vainly remarked in 1893, "Die von Kirchhoff fixirte Eintheilung des Alphabets nach den Zeichen für xi und chi . . . ist aber ihrer Ursprung nach secundär" (GdA II.3,252).

⁶ Sicily and Magna Graecia are omitted as being secondary areas so far as concerns the diffusion of the alphabet. See Rhys Carpenter, AlA 49 (1945) 453-54.

6 Argos has also a peculiar form of B, shown in fig. 9 but omitted from fig. 2.

⁷ On the date when the alphabet was introduced into Greek cities see Rhys Carpenter, AfA 37 (1933) 8-29. His conclusion was vigorously challenged, but is now fairly widely accepted (cf. e.g. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1949] 195-96).

⁸I. J. Gelb, in A Study of Writing (1952) 178, rashly asserts that the Greeks learned the alphabet from Phoenician trading posts in Greek lands.



Figs. 1-8. Distribution of the forms of certain letters. The places indicated are Chalcis, Athens, Corinth, Argos, Laconia, Paros and Naxos, Melos, Crete, Ionia, Rhodes

	PHOENICIA Meabite stene	PHOENICIA Septor, mid. VIII.C.	ATHENS Dipsien Jug	ATHENS	CHALCIS	CORINTH	ARGOS	LACONIA	NAXOS	PAROS	4.NO.	RHODES	CRETE	THERA	MELOS
U	4	4	4	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
B	2	4		В	В	2	В	В	C	C	В	В	PCB	SR	W
Y	7	Λ		٨	((-	1	Г	1	٨		7	Λ	Г	٦
8	0	Δ	Δ	A	40	Δ	D	D	Δ	A	Δ	Δ	Δ	۵	۵
€	E	E	E	E	E	B	3	E	1	E	E	m	13	E	61
F	Y	V			P	-		F	+				F		
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h	A	日		B	B	В	В	8	В			B		B	Н
ı	2	8	5	1	1	18	1	1	1	1		1	S	35	4
λ	J	7	1	L	L	1	1	^	1	4	-	11	1	-	٨
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5	#	#			BB	I	Ξ	×	(03)	(x٤)	Ŧ	1			
М	7	4				M	M						M	M	M
P	4	Φ		9	P	9	9		9	9	99	φ	9	99	
5	W	W	52	15	1			3	\$(3)	4	5	3			
4				Ф	Ф	ф	Ф	Ф	0	Φ	Ф	0			
X			1	×	+	×	+	4	×	+	×	*			
ψ						*	+				+				

Fig. 9. Comparative table of significant forms of letters. For convenience in comparison retrograde letters, including Phoenician, are reversed. The forms given are generally those that are earliest: heavy type indicates forms earlier than ca. 600 B.C., light type forms of later date. The Chalcidian xi is inferred from Etruscan abecedaria

able to argue that the principal epichoric Greek alphabets were derived independently from Syria or Phoenicia. There is then no need to assume an inexplicable and invisible divergence from an originally uniform Greek standard. We may rather expect the earliest forms of epichoric alphabets to be the most divergent.

But even the earliest of the Greek epichoric alphabets have certain common characteristics that distinguish them from any known Phoenician alphabet. These characteristics are the regular use of vowels, the style of the letters, the alteration of some consonantal values, and the invention of new letters. The independence of the various Greek alphabets must be qualified.

Except for upsilon, which is presumably a by-form of vau (or digamma), the vowels of the Greek alphabet take their name, form, and place from Phoenician letters, which may already have been used as semi-vowels. Even if those letters were not so used by Phoenicians, the initial consonants of their names may not have been recognized by Greek ears, and therefore on the acrophonic principle the names would have seemed to denote vowels; that, it has been suggested, is how the letter H acquired in Ionia the value

But, as Professor T. Fish kindly informs us, evidence of this use is first demonstrable in Aramaic documents of the

ē, since, in a dialect that dropped initial h, heta was pronounced eta.¹⁰ But in any case, granting that it was not an obvious process for Greeks to use certain Phoenician letters for vowels and that the adaptation was invented by a single man, the utility of the adaptation was obvious and could have been accepted at once by the inventor's acquaintances.

The style of Greek letters is often less cursive than that of Phoenician and in some cases the angle at which they are set is different. In part these differences are illusory, since many early Greek letters are less regular in shape than appears in published tables of epichoric forms and the normal medium of writing, which affects the character of lettering, may not have been the same in Greek lands as in Phoenicia. But perhaps it is more important that we do not know the forms of the epichoric Phoenician alphabet or alphabets from which the Greeks learnt.

The letters Θ and T received in all Greek alphabets values said to be opposite to those known in Phoenician. This may point either to a Phoenician epichoric variant that is not known or to a single, original Greek misunderstanding or adaptation of those particular let-

fourth century.

¹⁰ Rhys Carpenter, AJP 56 (1935) 291-301 (esp. 291-93).

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ters. But the use of alternative letters for s - sigma and san—argues against a single, original Greek adaptation, and for that and other reasons it seems likelier that there was some Phoenician alphabet in which the Greeks found sounds that they could equate with their

The Greek alphabet as finally established contained five letters unknown to Phoenician. Of these upsilon appears to be a fully vocalic variant of vau (digamma), occurs in all Greek alphabets, and was presumably used from the beginning. Omega seems to be an invention of Ionia. P and X, which represent aspirated consonants, are more puzzling. They are unnecessary in any Greek alphabet that gave the value h to H, they have no Phoenician equivalents, and their use varies in a pattern that is recognizably geographical. It may reasonably be inferred that the primary epichoric alphabets were already more or less established at the time, early though it was, when these letters were accepted. But why they were invented can only be guessed. Perhaps letters for p + h and k + h were felt necessary by some Greeks who had no initial h and used H for \tilde{e} , or perhaps since t + h was represented by a single letter analogy urged single letters for the other aspirated consonants. Analogy seems the only reason for inventing a single letter to represent p + s; at least such a letter, so it appears, was not generally welcomed by those alphabets that did not have a single letter for k + s, and Ψ representing p + s was slow to make progress.

The process by which the Greek epichoric forms were established is not, and perhaps cannot be known. But the current theory of a standard Greek *Uralphabet* evolving through a southern, an eastern, and a western intermediary into numerous local alphabets does not conform satisfactorily to the known facts. We offer a tentative solution. Some time in the second half of the eighth century Greeks from several cities were trading and residing at Al Mina and perhaps other towns of Syria and Phoenicia. These Greeks

11 For Al Mina see in particular S. Smith, Arch] 22 (1942) 87-112. There is no clear evidence yet of other Greek settlements in the region, though the possibility cannot be denied. For a summary of published material and some comments see JHS 66 (1946) 78-79 and 82-83. Add V. R. d'A. Desborough, Protogeometric Pottery (1952) 180-94 and 327-28; P. J. Riis, Berytus 9 (1949) 89-90; C. Clairmont, Berytus 11 (1955) 98-

12 Some of these adaptations were required to distinguish in the less cursive Greek script between Phoenician letters of too similar form.

18 So the apparently un-Attic forms on the Dipylon jug are not surprising.

14 A. Schmitt, Die Buchstabe H im Griechischen (1952) 12, draws attention to the "Systemlösigkeit" of the transmission of the alphabet, though he is dealing with phonetic rather than epigraphical problems.

After this paper had been finished we belatedly discovered G. R. Driver's Semitic Writing (1948). He explains much as we do, but with full reasons, the process by which the Greeks gave some Phoenician letters the values of true vowels and mentions the likelihood that early Greek merchants used each his own personal choice of letters (pp. 178-79).

were dealing with literate peoples, and some of them found it convenient to become literate themselves. One individual or group may have made the innovation of using certain Phoenician letters for vowels, and others immediately grasped the idea. But since writing was for personal and not communal records there was no need for uniformity in adapting whatever Phoenician alphabet or alphabets each Greek knew.12 So a multiplicity of personal alphabets arose, and it was mostly chance which (and how many)18 of these personal adaptations were brought by returning traders to any particular Greek city.14 Since in the early seventh century and in some parts later the Greeks had no official need for writing, it is likely that for a time their alphabets remained fluid and could easily admit modifications and novelties such as Φ , X, and Ψ . It is also likely that the more important cities modernized their alphabets the most and so, for example, the Cretan alphabet looks primitive not so much because it was primeval as because it was unimportant.

> R. M. Cook A. G. Woodhead

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

AN EARLY PROTOATTIC HYDRIA

PLATE 45

The hydria here published¹ was made in the last years of the eighth century B.C. In decorative scheme its closest parallel is a hydria in Reading² which has the same uneven network of panels and bands, inherited from the Late Geometric "Flimmerstil" but enlivened in Early Protoattic by accents of solid glaze bands and, of course, orientalizing ornament. These glaze bands are interesting—in our hydria they are given a foundation of zigzag or chevron lines which shimmer through the top glaze; in the Reading hydria

¹ Bought in the Athens market; presumably from the environs of Athens. The hydria is now in the collection of Mr. John Yeroulanos to whom I am grateful for the photographs. Description: H. ca. 0.39 m., Diam. at body ca. 0.21 m. Side handles rolled, vertical band handle, bars painted on all. Plastic painted snake on rim; ring foot. On neck, in front, panel with two does to right, fill ornament of double spirals, crossed diamond, hatched standing triangles, zigzags. On shoulder, double zone of hanging and standing solid triangles. Above and somewhat below vertical handles, broad bands enclosing double zone of panels, the upper and broader ones filled with double spirals and zigzag. On lower body, chevrons, groups of zigzags, banding and solid glaze to foot which is again banded. Brown glaze.

² CVA Reading 1, pl. 8, no. 8, p. 15. Another recently published hydria is of the same date, but looks like something of a pastiche deriving primarily from the Analatos painter: BCH 77 (1953) pls. 33b, 34. It was formerly in the Empedocles collection and is now in the Athens National Museum. An earlier hydria, still Late Geometric, but very similar in scheme to the Reading hydria is in the Art Museum of Princeton University (Inv. no. 28-15, unpublished).

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white zigzags are applied on the band, with very much the same effect.

Both hydriae belong to the "Würzburg" group defined by J. M. Cook. The Ny Carlsberg member of the group shows the same use of white zigzags. A new addition to the group, recently published by Lullies has most in common with our hydria: panels of double spirals and dots, zigzags under glaze bands, animals with small, round, dotted eyes and outline ears.

The "Würzburg" workshop is characterized by Cook as a little out of the main stream of the developments around 700 B.C. He notes the Late Geometric Vulture Painter as a predecessor.⁵ Later, the workshop's influence on the small scale Protoattic of the seventh century is ubiquitous. I cannot tell whether the present hydria, with so little figure decoration, was made by the master of the workshop himself. The shape, at least, is consonant with his other products-moderatesized, well-proportioned and with soft curves to fit the Würzburg style of painting which does not have the energetic mannerism of the Analatos master, nor the wooden force of the Mesogeia painter, but something dainty, as if pastel-drawn. A Cycladic influence has been observed and it is interesting to see it recur with somewhat the same effect in the masterpieces of outline painting of Middle Protoattic.

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AN ARRETINE-TYPE SIGNATURE FROM LEZOUX

Two identical specimens of a potter's stamp on terra sigillata, here redrawn from a rubbing (fig. 1), are exhibited in the newly-installed museum at Lezoux (Puyde-Dôme), near Clermont-Ferrand.¹ The vessels themselves are incomplete, but were apparently cups of the familiar Arretine form Haltern 8 or the Gaulish form Ritterling 5.² Had these been noted anywhere else in the Roman world, one would have unhesitatingly attributed them to an Italian Augustan factory: the surface, the shape, the cut of the lettering, and the form of the neat rectangular stamp divided horizontally by a relief-line all point in that direction. The use of a palm-branch as an adjunct to the name is one of the commonplaces of signatures on later Italian Augustan sigillata;³ even its placement as the sole occupant of

³ BSA 35 (1934-35) 179-80, pl. 47. See E. Langlotz, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg, no. 80, p. 10, pl. 7 for the name amphora. The correct reference for the Copenhagen amphora which belongs to the group is A. Bruhn, "Greek Vases in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek," From the Collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (1930), vol. 2, pp. 14-15, fig. 2.

berg Glyptothek (1939), vol. 2, pp. 14-15, fig. 2.

⁴ R. Lullies, Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst, no. 29, p. 17, pls. 8-9.

⁵ BSA 42 (1947) 139-141, figs. 1-2. He may even be the Würzburg painter in his brisker young years. His published works include no amphorae but there is one by his hand in the Yeroulanos Collection.

the upper half is not unparalleled. Furthermore, had the first half of the stamp been broken away, one would have confidently supplied Cn. A]TEI. But both the provenance and the reading are quite clear, and we are presented with the question: what is the meaning of this stamp in this context?



The migration of sigillata manufacture from Italy to Gaul under Augustus, i.e. to Montans in the territory of the Ruteni, has long been recognized. It doubtless involved personnel as well as techniques; the names of Acutus, Lepta and Rufus suggest Italian rather than Gallic origins, and the style of the early stamps of Acutus, for instance, is quite Italian—more specifically Puteolan:

AC in a wreath on a circular VTI

stamp, and ACVT in a rectangle bordered by a wreath. Still retaining the Italian-style rectangular signature in two lines, he also adopted, if he did not invent, the wording OFFIC which became a standard Gaul-

ish formula and, presumably at the end of his activity, he also signed OFIC ACVTI in strictly Gaulish-style rectangular stamps with both squared and rounded corners.

A further and more diffuse migration from Italy to Gaul is less well understood. This is not the place to review Oxé's theory that much of the signed "Arretine" ware found on the Rhine and elsewhere north of the Alps was actually not imported from Italy at all but was made in Gaul/Germany. Suffice it to say that despite much uncertainty of detail, the main argument is persuasive.

Thus there is evidence for a northern extension of the Italian sigillata industry as early as Augustus. But hitherto Lezoux has not been regarded as one of its centers. Yet there is no inherent reason why it should not have been, since Gallic pottery had already been manufactured there and since the populous Arverni and their neighbors provided an attractive market for the cheap, well-made and sophisticated red-surfaced tableware which had already caught the fancy of metropolitan Italy. Since our stamp occurs twice at

¹ I am most grateful to Mlle. Christiane Marandet, Director of both the Lezoux Museum and the Clermont-Ferrand Museum, and to Mme. A. Mathonnière, one of the active founders of the former, both for arranging my visit to Lezoux and for their gracious permission to publish the present note.

² Oswald and Pryce, Terra Sigillata, pl. xxxvIII.

³ Oxé, Bonn]bb 102 (1898) 141.

⁴ Oxé, "Die älteste Terra-sigillata-Fabriken in Montans am Tarn," AA (1914) cols. 61-76.

⁵ Oxé, "Die Halterner Sigillatafunde seit 1925," esp. ch. VI, "Die Herkunft der Halterner Sigillata," in Stieren, Bodenaltertümer Westfalens 6, 47-68.

Lezoux but is recorded nowhere else-neither among the Gaulish signatures listed in Oswald's Index of Potters' Stamps nor among the signatures in Oxé's unpublished Catalogue of Stamps on Italian terra sigillata -we have here, I think, the trace of an Augustan "Arretine" pottery industry at Lezoux, however insignificant and unimportant it may have been.

But what was the name of our potter, and where did he come from? RVTEI suggests a gentilicium Ruteius, but I have not found it in any of the standard repertoria; unless external evidence of its existence can be adduced, we can hardly invent it as an excuse for bringing a Roman citizen from Italy to set up shop at Lezoux. But if he was not an immigrant from Italy (like Acutus, Lepta and Rufus at Montans), then he should be a Gaul. Perhaps a hint lies in the signatures RVTENVS AV(ot), RVTENVS FECIT and RV-TEN · FE, all from Lezoux in CIL XIII 1670 b1-3, and RVTE at Clermont (ib. 1670 a).6 Furthermore, Mlle. Marandet kindly writes of three signatures in the Clermont Museum: RVTEN, RVTEN · O, and RVTIN.7 FECI-A-

I have not seen any of these signatures, but cumulatively they are solid evidence that a man named Rutenus manufactured pottery in or near Lezoux. His name, however, suggests that he was not a native Arvernian, but a Rutenian from precisely the area where Acutus et al. had introduced the Italian sigillata tradition into Gaul. The form of most of his stamps is standard Gaulish, i.e. a single line usually including the added word av(ot), fecit or fe(cit), as would be appropriate to almost any time and place in the Gallo-Roman ceramic industry.8 But RVTEN in two lines FECI-A-

is distinctly antique, in fact Augustan. Our RVTEI stamps and RVTEN are thus contemporary in at FECI-A.

least a general way, and the temptation to identify the two shops is strong. We are prevented from doing so only by Rutenus' regular inclusion of N in the spelling of his name, while there is no N in our inscriptions, nor any room for any.

Did Rutenus merely happen to omit N on one early stamp of which we have the two impressions at Lezoux? If so, it was a piece of carelessness which one would not expect on a stamp so neatly made in other respects. At any rate, we cannot take refuge in such phenomena as Ma(n) suetos, co(n) sul, etc., which show the operation of a genuine phonetic law. But at least it is clear that just as Montans had been ceramically "colonized" from Italy, so Lezoux was early "colonized" from Montans or its neighborhood; perhaps our Italian-style stamps in two lines, with a palm-branch above the name, are the earliest evidence of the move-

HOWARD COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

AN ETRUSCAN RHYTON IN VIENNA

PLATE 46

A curious terracotta rhyton in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (figs. 1-5), is published here thanks to the kindness of the curator, Dr. Rudolf Noll.1

The vessel is a molded ram's head surmounted by a wheel-made cup. The ram's head has the form of an amorphous cone that narrows abruptly to a blunt end. The bony ridge of the nose is elevated above the surrounding surface of the head which slopes with little anatomical definition to the jaws. The bridge of the nose is met by a pair of curling horns applied with rolls of clay and notched along their entire length. These horns twist outward at their tips. The animal's eyes are bulging and almond-shaped. They are framed by lids in relief which are notched in the same manner as the horns. The ears are modelled separately and attached so as to jut out from the mold-made head. The mouth is rendered by a shallow crease, and above this the nostrils are indicated by circular depressions with raised rims. These are the only anatomical elements represented with sculptural means.

These sculptural features are supplemented by the following details in white added color: the eye is indicated as a wide oval band; a short curving line is the tear-duct; the lips are drawn as two parallel lines with a double row of dots to indicate the teeth; the horns are adorned with a simple garland which is continued below by a laurel rinceau of interspaced leaves and berries. The ram's fleece is not depicted. The division where the fleece would end and the "face" begin is, however, suggested by two curved, dotted lines that extend from the tips of the horns to the juncture of the looped handle which bridges the plastic head and the

wheel-made cup.

The entire head is covered with dull black glaze. The cup, which is attached to the ram's head behind the horns, is unglazed and is decorated with a careless wreath of laurel over a wreath of ivy, both painted in black glaze directly on the clay.

The laurel is of a type common during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. The naturalistic ivy wreath of interspaced berries and leaves on long wavy tendrils also belongs to a widely diffused class of Hellenistic ornament, common to Etruscan and South Italian vases, as well as to Hellenistic wares as

and Contouca of Montans abbreviate it to f(ecit). See note 4

provenances are recorded, but they must be from the neighbor-

⁷ Inv. nos. 58.339.I, 58.347.I and 58.342.I, respectively. No

8 But, oddly, not at Montans, where the Gallic word avot (=fecit) was apparently not in use, and where fecit was neither written in full nor abbreviated to fe(); Paratus, Ainicicu(s)

Also RVTEM at Avignon, CIL XII 5686 769.

¹ Inv. No. IV 735. Sacken-Kenner, Die Sammlungen des k.k. Münz- und Antikencabinetes (1866), 199, no. 103. The provenience of the piece is not known. There are no restorations or repaints. H.: 16 cm.; diam. at rim: 9 cm.

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far afield as Hadra (Egypt) and the Theban Cabeirion.2

These ornaments suggest that the date of the rhyton is to be sought in the fourth century B.C.

The style of the ram's head with its bulging eyes and notched horns is decidedly un-Greek. One is reminded, rather, of the bizarre type of rams' heads frequently encountered as plastic adjuncts to Etruscan bucchero vases. Another example of such a ram's head is that of the well-known bucchero rhyton in the shape of a recumbent ram from Orvieto.3 An Etruscan ointment jar shaped like a ram's head from Vulci and now in Munich (fig. 6)4 has similar bulging eyes and, while earlier to be sure, in other respects resembles the ram's head of the rhyton in Vienna so closely that we are led to conclude that the Vienna rhyton must likewise be Etruscan. Representational archaisms such as relate the Vienna ram to those from Orvieto and Vulci persist long in Etruscan art and do not contradict the more reliable chronological index supplied by the painted decoration.

Whereas the ram's head has been shown to be typically Etruscan, the overall shape of the vessel is not native to Etruria and seems to have been inspired by an Attic rhyton such as were imported by the Etruscans in large numbers. An Etruscan rhyton in the shape of a donkey's head in the British Museum (fig. 7),5 also of the fourth century, is a replica of a fifthcentury Attic original.6 Apparently an Etruscan potter made himself a mold from an antiquity. But this is not the case with the rhyton published in these notes. Far from being a mechanical copy, the Vienna rhyton represents a naive attempt to restate a Greek form in native Etruscan language; and herein lies the vessel's genuine, if homely, charm.

HERBERT HOFFMANN

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

GREEK VASES ACQUIRED BY THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

PLATES 47-48

During 1958 the Walters Art Gallery acquired by purchase four significant Greek vases from the collection of the late William Randolph Hearst. Three are Panathenaic amphorae, all lacking the prize inscription and all dating from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. The fourth is East Greek, of a ware associated with Rhodes. Although they are not totally unknown they have never been adequately illustrated and therefore it seems desirable to present them at

2 Cf. H. B. Walters, History of Ancient Pottery II (1905) 221f, and figs. 156-57.

³ Orvieto, Museo Civico. G. Q. Giglioli, Arte Etrusca (1935)

pl. 43, fig. 1.

4 Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, 877. O. Jahn, Vasensammlung (1854) no. 877. No restorations. H.: 9.5 cm.; diam. at rim: 5.6 cm. Dr. Reinhard Lullies is kindly thanked for permission to illustrate this piece and for the information that

once together with an unpublished East Greek vase previously acquired.

1. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery 48.2105 (pl. 47, figs. 1, 2). Height, .41 m. Greenish black glaze. White for shield emblem, Athena's flesh; red for shield rim and dots on her dress, top of crest of helmet, horses' manes and tails, cocks' crests and tail feathers, and in shoulder and neck patterns as usual. Heavy lime deposit on mouth, one handle, parts of body; mechanical removal of more of the same probably accounts for scattered damages to otherwise beautiful ochre coating. Formerly Hearst Collection: nos. PC 7289, 5533, SSW 10011; St. Audries Collection: Sale Catalogue, Sotheby, Feb. 23, 1920, no. 230; other numbers, 68 and 110.

A. Athena as usual, belted garment, scaly aegis; shield device: snake. B. Two galloping riders, the loser raising a whip with double lash. The painter may be the Eucharides Painter, a prolific decorator of Panathenaics and a lover of the horse race as a subject. Compare numbers 1, 2 in the list of Beazley, ABV 395. I hesitate to attribute it positively to this artist, mainly because of differences between the drawing of Athena and her representations on his vases.

2. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery 48.2107 (pl. 47, figs. 3, 4). Height, .43 m. Greenish black glaze, thin and imperfectly fired in certain areas. White and red touches as indicated, and in decorative details as usual. Stated in sale catalogue, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, March 6-7, 1936, no. 33, to be restored, but it is unbroken and restorations are at a minimum; hole behind pillar at right in A has been filled and restored; coating over cock on this same pillar, visible in the illustration in the sale catalogue, was removed before our purchase. Thick white deposit over a large part of performer's garment on B, probably a natural accretion, since bottom of vase has the same, but possibly remains of polychrome. Formerly Hearst Collection: nos. PC 7943, 2356, SSW 12312; Perry Collection, sold with the collection of Garrett Chatfield Pier at the Anderson Galleries.

A. Athena as usual, scaly aegis; garment with red and white dots, incised crosses. Shield with red rim, deep compass hole, device: flying eagle, white without details. B. Cither player on podium, between two men. Podium black, performer's long garment white, beard and taenia red. Seven-stringed instrument of the most elaborate type, arms white to simulate ivory; two white lines on base. Plectrum grasped in right hand, attached by string. Left hand spread with fing-

the vessel comes from Vulci.

⁵ British Museum F 489. H. B. Walters, Catalogue of Vases (1896) IV, F 489. H.: 15.7 cm.; diam. at rim: 8.7 cm.

6 Compare the Attic rhyton, Würzburg 628 (U 164), Langlotz, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg (1932) pl. 203. Plastic vases made from molds taken from Attic antiquities occur frequently in Apulian ceramics. Cf., for example, Beazley, JHS 49 (1929) 52.

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ers each on a string, thumb crossed over fingers. Folded cloth, to serve as string cover, hanging from cither; no fillet or baldric visible. Spectators, either trainers or judges, one with red taenia and both with red beards, each holding two staves, standing with slightly bent knees, wrapped in himatia sparsely decorated with red dots. The presence of two, though unusual, is not

Musical events were infrequently represented on Panathenaic vases and the cither contests even less often than those of other instruments. There is only one inscribed vase with this subject and it is from the age of Pericles, half a century later than ours.1 However, there exist two other uninscribed vases of the same general class and date,2 a few free imitations and one white-ground Panathenaic of Hellenistic times -enough to justify the interpretation of the scene as a contest at the Panathenaia and of the vases as prizes for the contests. Though the belief has long been dispelled that there were no musical contests included before the time of Pericles, it is still sometimes denied that vases served as prizes, especially since an inscription (not antedating the fourth century) mentions money prizes alone. The existence of this additional vase affords slight confirmation of the view that prizes for music were like the prizes for athletics. Since the events were not pure instrumental music but rhapsody, we can conclude that this competitor, who performs alone, is a citharoedus rendering Homer to the accompaniment of the cither.

Several musical contests were painted on Panathenaic amphorae by the Eucharides Painter with whom I am inclined on grounds of style as well as of subject to associate this vase though I am not convinced that it is by his hand, especially since the Athena differs

from the majority of those he painted.

3. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery 48.2109 (pl. 48, figs. 5, 6). Height, .38 m. Very fine shiny black glaze. White for shield device, Athena's flesh; red for rim of shield, dots on dress, top of crest of helmet, cocks' crests and tail feathers, beards, headbands, nipples, and in shoulder and neck patterns as usual. One handle repaired; deep gash across Athena's arm, dirt on her face and adjoining area. Formerly Hearst Collection: nos. PC 7221, 5565, SSW 9937; Sir Herman Weber, Sale Catalogue, Sotheby, May 22-23, 1919, pl. 3. Said to be from Rhodes. Published: Beazley, AJA 47 (1943) 445, no. 7 and ABV 406.

A. Athena as usual; aegis with border; shield device: fore part of boar. B. Discobolus between trainer or judge and youth. His left hand is flung upward, his right is lowered, discus (black) held before his body,

¹ Leningrad. AA (1912) 373-74, figs. 66-67; Beazley, ABV 410, no. 2, connected with the Robinson Group.

cradled in his arm in the downward swing; he teeters on his toes. Trainer holds rod.

Beazley first assigned this vase to the Group of Vatican G 23 but in ABV, noting the differences in the Athenas, he said merely that it resembles the group.

4. Oinochoe. Walters Art Gallery, 48.2108 (pl. 48, fig. 7). Height to top of handle: .337 m. Pinkish clay with yellowish white slip. Brownish black glaze with red touches on bodies of animals and on the lotus flowers on shoulder, not those at base. Main frieze of four goats walking to right, not quite symmetrically placed; at center back, goat shows both horns for filling of space; filling ornaments in frieze. On neck, cable interrupted by black area under handle. On shoulder, chain of lotus blossoms and buds, interrupted by V in black, point upwards, under handle. Rolls on rim beside the handle, ends decorated with painted cross with corners filled with leaves. Formerly Hearst, Torr Collections: Kinch, Vroulia 202, fig. 83; Homann-Wedeking, Archaische Vasenornamentik, 16; Rumpf,

Idl 48 (1933) 71, III D, no. 29.

This vase may be roughly classified as "Camirus" ware, named after those first found in the cemeteries of Camirus in Rhodes, the ware that of all from East Greece can most reasonably be claimed for Rhodian manufacture. More specifically, it is one of five which Kinch singled out for having on its shoulder a floral frieze instead of the usual upper frieze of animals. Kinch stated that none of these five need be dated early, though he placed them within the limits of his first, or severe, Camirus style. Rumpf, who appended his pottery classification to his work on Klazomenian sarcophagi, placed this vase in his III d, or latest phase of the developed animal frieze style, dating the whole Camirus style before 625, the approximate date of the founding of Selinus.3 Homann-Wedeking who judged Camiran ware from the standpoint of ornament pointed out that Kinch's group (he called it Group Q and ignored those of which no illustration was available) is the not-too-distant ancestor of Fikellura ware, which he dated in the middle of the following century, and though he admitted that the vases with the floral shoulder pattern need not all be contemporary he implied that all were made during the sixth century. Against this view is the shape, which was never altogether clear from Kinch's illustration, a drawing made from above, not the pure profile view. Our vase has the perfect shape of the Camiran oinochoe, noticeably broad and with decided angle at the shoulder. This shape, in contrast to the more nearly oval body and longer neck of the related sixth century wares (see the following) ties it closely to the other Camiran oinochoai.4 Its date

1dl 46 (1931) 59f.

8 Jdl 48 (1933) 62. See also Bloesch, Antike Kunst in der Schweiz (1943) 158, quoting Schefold, Idl 57 (1942) 125ff. 4 On the shape in Camiran and Proto-Corinthian, see Matz, Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, I. Die geometrischen und die früharchaische Form (1950) 421f. Cf. Payne, Necrocorinthia 33, fig. 10 a, b. Curiously, in the case of the trefoil oinochoe, one of the few shapes well represented in both pottery and

² Louvre, CVA, III H g, pl. 4, nos. 3, 5, and F282, ibid., pl. 2, 4 and 5. On the general subject see AZ (1881) 303; Tillyard, The Hope Vases 36; Michaelis, Parthenon 322; Cahen, s.v., "Panathenaia" in Daremberg and Saglio; Edwards, Hesperia 26 (1957) 527f with note 29, and 346; Peters, Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren 13; Zschietzschmann,

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can be no later than the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.

5. Oinochoe. Walters Art Gallery, 48.2015 (pl. 48, fig. 8). Purchased, 1949. Height to top of handle: .373 m. Slightly pinkish clay with white slip. Thin, greenish black glaze, fired to red in certain areas. Glaze chipped from large area at one side toward back, and sporadically elsewhere. Repaired and restored: upper and lower attachment of handle with surrounding parts of the body, including parts of shoulder and rim, with one roll beside the handle; also, the parts of the trefoil mouth where eyes might be painted. Shoulder frieze of conventional volute and lotus ornaments framing two goats with long straight horns, symmetrically placed at center front facing one another, necks outstretched; space fillers. On neck, cable interrupted at back. On body, rays, two broad bands, and maeander and narrow band below the shoulder scene. Projecting band at juncture of neck and shoulder. Tripart handle with horizontal painted lines. Rolls beside handle attachment, ends painted with circle and ring of dots.

Although this is an unusual vase it is not difficult to place it in the scene of fading Orientalizing pottery. The shape and the neck pattern connect it with East Greek wares though the decorative technique, silhouette with incision and red touches, is, generally speaking, later and western. Rumpf's classification included a "Euphorbus ware," named for a plate which depicts the killing of Euphorbus.5 He divided this ware into four subdivisions; an oldest and a developed group, both with decoration in the reserved or outline technique that is also used for Camirus ware, a third group which employs incision together with the reserved technique, and a fourth which has incision only. Vases of the third, the mixed group, usually have the main frieze filled with animals in the traditional technique, with heads and details reserved in the ground color, and experiment with incision on animals drawn in pure silhouette on the shoulder. The vase we are discussing differs from these in the mixed technique in having dispensed altogether with the main frieze and substituted plain black bands, but stylistically it resembles Rumpf's third class and, as was pointed out by Johansen,6 even some vases of the second class are stylistically like the third. With Rumpf's fourth class our vase has little in common; vases of that incised group are not of the same shape and the drawing of Group IV is more cursory and presumably later.

Consideration of subject matter and design leads to the same conclusion. The goats exhibit a curious rendering of the forelegs by which one appears shorter than the other. Such leg drawing, a degenerate version of a convention common in Camirus and Euphorbus styles, is intended to convey the impression that the animal is about to spring.⁷ The heraldic composition, the two goats facing one another, is rare. The equivalent occurs in the outline scenes, for example a fragment from Ithaca where two goats drawn in outline face across a huge rosette,⁸ and in certain vases in the mixed technique the shoulder panel has, incised, a lion attacking a goat, in an arrangement not altogether dissimilar.⁹

This vase makes a good foil for our no. 4, since shape, technique and subject prove to be just a little later and a little different, though both vases must have circulated in the same orbit. No. 5 belongs with the Euphorbus ware and more specifically with the third group of that ware but it may not be labelled the same thing. In the present state of our knowledge it can be classified only as an odd East Greek piece of the first half of the sixth century.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

ON THE NEW INSCRIPTION FROM SERRA ORLANDO

G. Stamires discussed in A]A 62 (1958) 162ff the inscription ἱερὸς ἐλαιελίνου in fourth century (?) letters on the lip of a large pithos discovered during the 1957 campaign at Serra Orlando (Morgantina ?). He began with the assumption that the combination ἐλαιελίνου—which he identified as "the name of the god"—was "pure Greek." This seemed to him to require the postulate that it was one word, apparently a compound, in which he recognized as the first element the word ἐλαία or ἔλαιον. But, given these conclusions, he was not able to find, for ἐλαιελίνου, any explanation which seemed to him satisfactory.

This result should lead one to question the basic assumption. Why, after all, should a fourth-century inscription from Sicily be "pure Greek"? During the greater part of the century the Carthaginians ruled half the island and had many friends, with whom they closely cooperated, in the other half. In the last

metal, the extant metal examples are all of the comparatively late form, and certainly cannot be called prototypes. See two examples in the British Museum, Matz, op.cit. pl. 249 b; on the metal ware generally, Jacobsthal Jdl 44 (1929) 198-223; Villard, MonPiot 48 (1956) 25ff.

⁶ Id1 48 (1933) 75-83. Schiering divides differently, using the term "Euphorbus ware" for a small group only and classifying most of Rumpf's Euphorbus ware as "Vlastos ware": Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos (1957) 115, note 69 and 116, note 81.

⁶ ActaA 13 (1942) 9f, note 14.

⁷ Schiering, op.cit. 47; Kinch, op.cit. 200.

⁸ BSA 43 (1948) 100, pl. 44, no. 594.

^o Copenhagen, National Museum, 5607: Kinch, op.cit. 225, fig. 114; ActaA 13 (1942) 27, fig. 16; from Delos: Delos X, pl. x11, no. 60; Louvre, E 659: Schiering, op.cit. pl. 14, no. 5; fragment from Naukratis; JHS 44 (1924) 201, fig. 33.

^{*}Mr. Stamires mentioned also, but discarded, a possible derivation from an aboriginal language. (Ed.)

¹ For a summary of the history, H. Bengston, Griechische Geschichte (Munich 1950) 267-72 and 368-69.

conflict between Dionysius I and the Carthaginians, much of the Greek population was on the side of the latter; Carthaginians helped Dion in 357, Hiketas after 344, and Agathocles (then ruler of Morgantina) shortly before 317.² During the course of the century, Heraclea Minoa, Motya, Panormus and Solus coined in Punic, but put typically Greek images on the coins bearing Punic inscriptions.³ Therefore in a Sicilian Greek inscription of this period one must reckon with the possibility that some of the words may be transcriptions of Punic.

Now the common Punic word for "goddess" is 'elat,

² Justinus 22.2.

⁸R. Poole, A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Sicily (London 1876) 242ff; G. Macdonald, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, I (Glasgow 1899) 208. Heraclea Minoa, on its Punic coins, used heads of Persephone and quadrigas; Panormus, various male and female heads (including Hera, Apollo and Poseidon), quadrigas, human-headed bulls and pegasi; Motya, nymphs' heads, eagles

and the final t is frequently lost, leaving 'ela.4 And Stamires noted that $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\omega\iota$ appears in Stephanus of Byzantium as the name of a town in Sicily. If it can be supposed that the town, or some part of it, may also have been known as $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\omega$, then $i\epsilon\rho\dot{\omega}s$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\mu}$ $\epsilon\lambda\dot{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ —"(This pithos is) sacred to the Goddess of Elinos"—presents no further difficulty. Transliterations of the masculine singular ($\tilde{\eta}\lambda$ and $\tilde{\eta}\lambda\omega s$) and plural ($\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu$) appear in Philo of Byblos as quoted by Eusebius (P.E. I.10.20, 29; 4.16.11).

MORTON SMITH

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and crabs; Solus, heads of Heracles, Pallas and Persephone. For an analysis of the inscriptions, with references to further issues (e.g. by Eryx), see L. Mildenberg, Les Inscriptions des Monnaies Carthaginoises, in Congrès Internationale de Numismatique, Paris, 1953, Actes (Paris 1957) 149ff.

⁴ J. Friedrich, Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik (Rome 1951) (Analecta Orientalia 32) secs. 227 and 229.

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SIXTIETH GENERAL MEETING OF THE

Archaeological Institute of America

(1958)

The sixtieth general meeting of the Institute was held in conjunction with the American Philological Association in Cincinnati on 28-30 December 1958. Summaries of the papers presented are given in alphabetical order of the authors' names.

THE GRIFFIN IN THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN WORLD: 1. L. Benson, University of Mississippi.

An investigation of Bronze Age griffins may assist in an understanding of the religious concepts of that period. The monuments show militant and pacific griffins. The militant griffin is sometimes predatory, alone or with a lion, and sometimes fights lions. Pacific griffins comprise those in a heraldic mirror view, single standing or couchant griffins and single griffins in relation to a human (or divine) being. In heraldic groups griffins and lions seem to a certain extent to be interchangeable. In such groups these beasts are closely associated in a formal pose with the Priest-King and the Snake Goddess (Goddess of the Palace Cult). Lions (but not griffins) are shared as attributes with the Mistress of Animals. Representations of her with lions (and other animals) are generally characterized by a certain informality of pose. A polytheistic rather than a monotheistic interpretation of Minoan-Mycenaean religion is suggested by this analysis of the monuments and the pacific griffin seems to be specifically a symbol of the Snake Goddess and the regal-clerical guidance of civilization. The militant griffin, if taken as the antithesis of the pacific griffin, symbolizes negative forces in connection with the palace cult. These results are based on representations whose genuineness is beyond doubt.

THE ISTHMIAN FORTIFICATIONS IN ORACULAR PROPHECY: Edward W. Bodnar, S. J., Novitiate of St.

In some manuscripts of the fifteenth century there occurs an oracle which is said to have been uttered by the Delphic Pythia at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. It concerns four distinct fortifications of the Isthmus of Corinth and predicts that only the last will be successful. The only modern publication of the text was by Lambros in 1905. Lambros, however, did not know of the existence of three other manuscript sources, two of which shed some light on the problem of the oracle.

A Greek scholiast, writing in a manuscript of the Laurentian Library, identifies the four fortifications as those of 1) the Peloponnesians at the time of Xerxes' invasion, 2) Nero, 3) Manuel II Palaeologus (1415), and 4) Constantine Palaeologus (1443). We will consider each of these in turn.

The first identification is a problem, since the oracle prophesies that the Greeks will be destroyed by the Achaemenids, whereas all the world knew that Xerxes was defeated. If, as Lambros thought, the oracle was composed in 1443 as propaganda for Constantine's rebuilding of the wall, it is odd that the author begins with a prophecy which every Greek knew was patently false. A possible solution is that this part of the oracle is an ancient text (or a prose paraphrase thereof) somewhat like the first of the responses given to the Athenians before the battle of Salamis, and preserved by a tradition hostile to Delphi.

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The second builder is certainly not Nero, but the language does fit a Roman Emperor, almost certainly Justinian. It is unlikely, though, that this part of the text was composed in Justinian's time. In a Modena manuscript which Lambros had not seen, there are two versions of the oracle, both derived from Cyriacus of Ancona. In the first of these two versions the second prediction is much shorter and its text is different, though it still fits Justinian.

The builder of the third wall is given a physical description which corresponds to contemporary verbal descriptions and portraits of Manuel II Palaeologus. Since the failure of this fortification is "predicted" in terms indicative of a recent experience, this part of the oracle must have been written no earlier than 1423, the date of the destruction of Manuel's wall by the Turks.

The third and fourth prophecies are so complementary to each other in language that it seems reasonable to assume that they were written at the same time. Lambros thought this was 1443 or shortly after. But the existence of the shorter version in the Modena manuscript and of the heading for the same in an unfinished Parma manuscript (also deriving from Cyriacus of Ancona) makes it clear that Cyriacus copied at least the shorter version in 1436 during his first visit to the Isthmus. Thus the shorter version was composed between 1423 and 1436, and it follows that the fourth prediction is really a prophecy ante eventum, or rather the expression of a hope. The language is vague enough to fit almost anyone, and of course it is wrong in predicting the success of the fourth builder, who happened to be Constantine.

The question arises as to the relationship of the two versions. The shorter one Cyriacus said he copied from an inscription in the ruined walls of Manuel's an

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fortification. The longer one may be either an elaboration of this inscription, or, more probably, a prior literary version, for in most of the manuscripts (nonepigraphical) it is written in minuscules; and in the Modena manuscript (epigraphical) it is written in capitals, but has accents and breathings. While this use of accents and breathings with capitals is a practice employed in Byzantine inscriptions and manuscripts, it is foreign to the writer of this particular manuscript.

It is difficult to situate this text in the considerable Byzantine oracle-literature, though one of the manuscripts in which it occurs contains a history of the world from the creation to Suleiman the Magnificent, told mostly through oracles attributed to Methodios of Patara. But there is at least one oracle which is somewhat parallel to ours: also copied by Cyriacus of Ancona, it predicts the successful rebuilding of the ancient site of Tralles, and is said to have been found on the site as excavations began for the rebuilding of the city by an earlier Palaeologus, Andronicus, in 1279. Since the historians who mention the Tralles oracle do so only to point out that it was not fulfilled, it must have been too much a part of the tradition to be ignored. Therefore, even though it was probably fabricated by the Palaeologi, it was probably inscribed on stone and buried for the occasion. This strengthens our case for the possibility that the shorter version of the Isthmus oracle was also inscribed on stone and was seen by Cyriacus of Ancona in the ruined walls of Manuel's fortress when he visited the Isthmus in 1436.

Excavation at Isthmia, 1957-1958: Oscar Broneer, University of Chicago.

The University of Chicago Expedition continued its excavation of the Isthmian Sanctuary and surroundings. Among the outstanding results of the season's work are: (a) The discovery of a trans-Isthmian fortification wall from the 13th century B.C.; (b) partial excavation of an immense circular pit or well, 5 m. in diameter and filled up about the end of the sixth century B.C.; (c) excavation in the east dump from the Archaic Temple of Poseidon; (d) complete clearance of the Temple foundation and Temenos of Palaimon.

The portable finds, most of which came from the large circular pit and from the east Temenos dump, include a large number of votive bronzes, some of great artistic value; terracotta figurines and pottery; two halteres (jumping weights), one inscribed in Corinthian letters of the early sixth century B.C. In the precinct of Palaimon we excavated three sacrificial pits containing burned animal bones, lamps and pottery of the first and second centuries of our era. A statue base from the same area contains an epigram in honor of an orator and agonothetes by the name of Nikias. From a trial trench in the Theater came a marble head of an athlete wearing the Isthmian crown of pine; and excavation in the Fortress of Justinian yielded much pottery of unusual types from the time of construction of the wall and later.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS AT LERNA AND EUTREsis, 1958: John L. Caskey, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

A fortnight's work at Lerna, devoted principally to putting the site in order, provided an occasion to examine the accessible remains of an Early Helladic building of monumental size underlying the House of the Tiles (Building BG, Hesperia, 27 [1958], 130). It proved to be at least several generations older, but undoubtedly a predecessor and prototype of the palatial edifice that was brought to light in the campaigns of 1953-56. The total width appears to have been about 12 m., like that of its successor, and the plan has a close general similarity, comprising a series of large rooms in the central axis and narrow corridors on either side. Chronologically it is to be equated with two or three stages in the development of the fortification walls. At least one building-period of still earlier date, assignable however to the same general phase of Early Helladic culture, was found. Further tests below this level again yielded remains of pure Neolithic types.

A supplementary testing of the earliest settlements at Eutresis in Boeotia undertaken at the request of Miss Goldman, the original excavator, gave a valuable opportunity to compare the sequence of development with that seen in the Argolid. Pottery of the layer called Early Helladic II at Eutresis is closely related to that of the main E.H. period (ending with the House of the Tiles) at Lerna. Heavy red, brown, and black slipped and burnished wares of E.H.I at Eutresis are, however, lacking at Lerna and may quite possibly represent a stage when the latter site was unoccupied. It was a period of considerable duration, marked by many successive habitation-levels. In its earliest stratum were found the remains of a circular building, comparable perhaps with those at Orchomenos. Evidence of a still more ancient settlement, presumably the first habitation at Eutresis, was discovered in shallow depressions in the virgin soil. The pottery in these pits, which had been effectively sealed off by tight pebble pavements of E.H.I, proved to be unmixed in character, belonging certainly to the Neolithic period, probably to one of its later phases. Fine gray and black burnished wares and red-brown ware with linear patterns in dull black paint, of types reported previously by Miss Goldman (Eutresis 76-78), were discovered here in appreciable quantities. Of real significance for chronological studies is this new stratigraphical proof that they precede the first Early Helladic establishment on the site.

CYCLOPEAN AND NON-CYCLOPEAN WALLS AT ISTH-MIA: William P. Donovan, Florida State Uni-

No abstract submitted.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN THE NEGEV: Nelson Glueck, Hebrew Union College.

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During the last seven years, the Archaeological Survey Expedition of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion has methodically explored the Negev, discovering in it thus far more than four hundred ancient sites, the existence of the largest percentage of which was not only not known but not even suspected. It has been demonstrated a) that there have been no climatic changes in the Negev in historical times, which could have made sedentary, civilized settlement there impossible; b) that agricultural civilization existed there from Chalcolithic times on, with large gaps in between caused by wars and not by weather; c) there was an extensive Middle Bronze I agricultural civilization of the 21st-19 centuries B.C. in the Negev and Sinai, which corresponds to the background of the Abrahamitic stories in Genesis 12-14; d) the next period of civilized settlement took place in Iron Age II, marked by numerous agricultural villages and fortresses, cisterns and terraces; e) the next, very intensive period of settlement was in the Nabataean period, when all of the Negev and Sinai became incorporated into the Nabataean kingdom, and the Nabataeans perfected and enlarged water and soil conservation schemes which had been utilized by the Judaeans; f) an equally and perhaps even more intensive period of occupation of the Negev took place in the Byzantine period, following which the Negev entered into a decline which lasted till modern times; g) most of the settlements of historic times were found in the North and Central parts of the Negev and in the Wadi Arabah; h) in the Iron Age II (10th-6th centuries B.C.) period, the Negev was an integral part economically, agriculturally and militarily of the entire Judaean kingdom; i) the Negev in every period of its historical occupancy has been a frontier land of civilization with its importance heightened because of its highly strategic geographical position.

A Synopsis of Central Ohio Valley Prehistory: James B. Griffin, University of Michigan.

The Central Ohio Valley has been occupied by man for more than 10,000 years. There are a few finds of Paleo-Indian fluted blades but so far no camp or village sites of this period have been excavated. There is a long period of occupation by hunting and gathering peoples from 8000 B.C. to about 1000 B.C. This Archaic period is a continuation of the earlier hunting-gathering economy. During the Archaic the basic resources of the area were discovered and developed and interarea trade was started.

From 1000 B.C. to about A.D. 400 two distinctive cultural groups called Adena and Hopewell are recognized. Adena begins with the introduction of pottery, the use of earth mounds for burial and, perhaps, a new physical type. Somewhat later the Hopewell culture of southern Ohio develops. It is thought to have an agricultural base and develops in part from many concepts and practices of the Adena culture. The Hopewell culture is the climax of the long native Ohio Val-

ley development and is the "Mound Builder" culture par excellence of the 19th century antiquarians.

From about A.D. 400 to A.D. 1000 there is a period of cultural deterioration which is followed by the Fort Ancient culture which had a clear agricultural-hunting economy. This culture type was derived from the Mississippi Valley and Southeast but was modified locally into a distinctive regional variant. Apparently the Shawnee were the descendants of the people responsible for the Fort Ancient culture.

THE NABATAEAN BITUMEN INDUSTRY AT THE DEAD SEA: Philip C. Hammond, Lycoming College.

Diodorus Siculus, in writing of the bitumen industry conducted at the Dead Sea by the Nabataeans, asserts that this material was sold to the embalmers of Egypt and constituted an essential ingredient in the process of mummification.

The use of bitumen in mummification has been denied by various authorities. Hence the accuracy of Diodorus' statement is questioned, and there is implied a reduction of the importance of the Dead Sea industry in antiquity.

It is the purpose of this study to establish the use of bitumen in the embalming trade of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, thus supporting the statement of Diodorus and establishing the extent and importance of the Nabataean trade in that commodity.

Excavations at Sardis, 1958: George M. A. Hanfmann, Harvard University, and A. Henry Detweiler, Cornell University.

This paper will appear as an article in a later issue.

THE RELIEF SCULPTURE OF THE TEMPLE OF ARES IN ATHENS: Evelyn B. Harrison, Columbia University.

In 1951 and 1952 H. A. Thompson published in reports of the Agora Excavations a group of fragments from high reliefs of exquisite workmanship found to the east of the Temple of Ares. Broken from their background slabs, they belong to figures in quiet poses like those on the bases of the Athena Parthenos and the Nemesis of Rhamnous. Restoring the height as close to that of the Nike Parapet figures, Thompson concluded that the sculptures were too large to have belonged to the temple itself. He associated them tentatively with the Altar of Ares.

Since then the number of pieces has grown. The series is remarkable for the number and variety of the heads preserved as well as for the quality of the draped torsos. Coming between the Parthenon frieze and the Rhamnous base it occupies a place of special importance for the history of fifth-century Attic sculpture. The reliefs seem to have been designed for a high position. Also there is a significant number of fragments that were found to the west rather than to the east of the temple. It seems possible, therefore, that all these sculptures come from inner friezes of the temple com-

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parable to those of the Hephaisteion rather than from the altar. Restudy of the proportions shows that the figures could fit such friezes if, as at Bassae, they entirely filled their space. Theme and authorship remain conjectural. The delicate style, Parthenon-derived but in some ways more Meidian than Pheidian, brings to mind the name of Agorakritos.

Western Greek Building Techniques: A. Trevor Hodge, Cornell University.

Techniques of building construction in Sicily and Magna Graecia differed in many ways from practice in mainland Greece, Column drums were cut without lifting bosses and rolled to the site, where they were lifted by some obscure means that has left no trace, and the column was left smooth throughout its length, without the narrow fluted bands at the top and bottom that appear in Greek unfinished buildings. Moreover, the columns were fixed to the stylobate by empolia, which does not occur in Greece until around the fourth century. In early temples the empolia were often mere long iron spikes instead of the usual pattern. Various means of lifting the blocks were employed, such as bosses, lewises, and rope channels and, in particular, small tong holes in the bottom of the block looking like, and easily mistaken for, shift holes. Clamps are exceedingly rare and many buildings lack them altogether: they are used only as an exceptional measure. I do not know of one single completely reliable example of the use of a dowel in West Greek architecture, though holes for big wooden pegs are common enough at vital points; and the multiplicity and elaboration of pry holes seems to confirm that the Sicilian builders felt that all that was required was to get the blocks carefully trued up in position, and that without any bonding the building would stand by gravity alone.

LINEAR B AND HESIOD'S BREADWINNERS: Thalia Phillies Howe, University of Michigan.

Homer, the excavations, and Linear B documents so far, all indicate that the Mycenaeans subsisted mainly on meat and vegetables, and little on cereal or bread. This is proven first, by literary references, then by the absence of equipment like granaries and bake-ovens. Thirdly, in records defining divisions of employment, there is a notable absence of reference to a large male labor force such as would be required for large scale agricultural work; finally, records also indicate that the Mycenaean rate of sowing was "absurdly low" (Ventris and Chadwick). In contrast not only are large inventories for livestock recorded, but Linear B also reveals that the oldest usage of the word nomos signified "pasture," agora "a collecting place for sheep" and agoraios "of mixed livestock," indicating how deeply flocks were the Mycenaeans' source of wealth and of life.

The incoming Dorians, flock-breeding nomads, upset that economy, for Greek grazing land was insufficient to support the newcomers and the subsequent increase in population. Periodic colonization abroad af-

forded only temporary relief from meat-hunger. A shift from meat to cereal and eventually to bread as the main dietary staple was the answer to survival, and this was gradually accomplished by intensified cultivation of grain on small-scale independent farms. Extensive sheep-herding by a few men, horticulture by a few more slaves, female particularly, was no longer enough.

It is no wonder then that Hesiod evaluates the Races of Man in due proportion to the ease with which they obtained their food: in his Paradise on earth and in the after-life the food produces itself, while the new burdens of his own Age leave free men enslaved to the calendar and prematurely gray. Thus, when viewed in the light of the developing agriculture, Hesiod's Works and Days is not merely just "a compendium of time-honored agricultural instruction," but a manual for the new economy, for the inexperienced tillers of the soil who were beginning for the first time to practice independent farming full-time and in great numbers. Thus the Works and Days is a creative work of the same cultural magnitude as the more celebrated Theogony: the latter as the great poem which defined the new Olympian stage of religion, and the former as the great poem which instructed in the new stage of agrarian economy. Both together functioned equally as immense cultural forces in the stabilization and integration of Early Greek Classical civilization.

Two Panathenaic Amphoras: Franklin P. Johnson, University of Chicago.

The two amphoras were found in the excavations of the Isthmian sanctuary, directed by Professor Oscar Broneer of the University of Chicago. Both are fragmentary, but have been put together. Both are inscribed. One has a foot-race on the reverse, the other a chariot. The two are approximately contemporary, late sixth century; the "Leagros Group" affords parallels for some features. They are not painted by the same hand. One has an incised dedication in Corinthian lettering; were this found elsewhere, it would reasonably be supposed considerably earlier than the painted Attic inscription on the same vase.

THE PROBLEM OF VERIFYING THE LINEAR B DECI-PHERMENT: Saul Levin, Washington University.

The Ventris-Chadwick decipherment has been accepted too enthusiastically by most scholars and rejected too flatly by a few critics. The most important tablet for testing it is Ta641, because of the detailed drawings of tripods and jugs. A sober consideration of such evidence proves that Ventris' phonetic values work for several of the Linear B characters, yielding authentic words of Greek or some related language. But his phonetic values for the other characters on the tablet produce no satisfactory sense. From other tablets with clear drawings a few more items of the decipherment can be verified; yet the greater part of the grid remains unconfirmed. Ventris' values have turned out right most often where they coincide with the values

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that the same characters had in the Cyprus syllabary of Classical times. These are not enough to support the rest of the grid, which he put together by guesswork, sometimes shrewd but often just arbitrary.

Those who accept the whole grid, along with the loose and unverified rules of spelling, have found only a few tablets utterly baffling; for wherever the text goes against their previous assumptions, they resolve it by assuming a scribal error. Actually so little of the Linear B corpus is securely deciphered that we have no sentences and very few constructions altogether. What we can depend on, however, makes it probable that in some major features the language differed from Greek and agreed with Indo-Iranian. It was a mistake to expect that a language not yet used for any important literature would exhibit nearly the same structure as the known Greek language from Homer on.

The experiment that Ventris proposed has really established just a small but precious part of his decipherment. Confusion, not progress, comes from treating the rest as valid.

Excavations at Gordion, 1958: Machteld J. Mellink, Bryn Mawr College.

This paper will appear as an article in a later issue.

THE BANQUET OF ALCIBIADES: Charles H. Morgan, Amherst College.

No abstract submitted.

EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE, 1958: George E. Mylonas, Washington University.

The purpose of the excavations conducted at Mycenae in 1958 for the Archaeological Society of Athens, Greece, was to examine by excavation more thoroughly the walls and gates of Mycenae in the hope of establishing a sequence of constructional periods, if they existed, and of a more accurate chronology. Work was carried out around the Lion Gate, whose threshold was completely investigated, behind the Lion Gate and in its East Wing, in Grave Circle A, around the Ramp, around the Postern Gate, and along the Peribolos Wall. Important evidence was obtained proving the existence of different constructional periods that will necessitate the revision of the architectural history of the walls of the site. The work will be continued in the summer of 1959 when, it is hoped, that the final conclusions will be verified once more.

RECENT GLASS FINDS AT GORDION: Axel von Saldern, The Corning Museum of Glass.

During the past campaign at Gordion half a dozen well dated glass vessels and fragments of great importance have been found. 1. Mesomphalic bowl of clear cut glass, Tumulus P (AJA 61 [1957] pl. 94). It is undoubtedly a Mesopotamian import. The comparison with glass finds from Nimrud seem to indicate a common source for a group of thick and heavily ground glass vessels of which the Gordion bowl is the

finest and probably the earliest example. The date of the burial (beginning last quarter 8th century) is contemporary with the beginning of the reign of Sargon II. Metal parallels also point towards Mesopotamia (cf. also bowls on Assyrian relief). An Assyrian chemical text from Nineveh emphasizes the importance of glass manufacture in the 7th century in this period. 2. Fragments of clear and heavily cut bowls and beaker-shaped vessels, City Mound (3rd century B.C.). They are proof of an important Hellenistic glass industry of luxury vessels probably located in the Eastern Mediterranean area (one center: Alexandria?). Their relation to Achaemenid finds seem obvious. There was probably a practically uninterrupted tradition of the manufacture of transparent carved glass vessels, extending from 8th century Mesopotamia to late Hellenistic times and even showing its influence in heavily cut Roman "export" glasses found all over Europe. 3. Fragmentary hemispherical gold glass bowl, City Mound (2nd half 3rd century B.C., AJA 60 [1956] pl. 81). This stratified find, probably an import from Alexandria, helps to date a well-known but small group of gold glass bowls more accurately. (The Gordion glass finds will be published in the Journal of Glass Studies, Vol. I, a new periodical to be published by The Corning Museum of Glass.)

THE ARCHITECT IN GREEK ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS: Robert L. Scranton, Emory University.

A survey of references to architects in inscriptions in Greek relating to architecture, preserved from the whole range of the classical world, documents the architect as an active supervisor of the entire building program. As has been well shown by Bundgaard in his Mnesicles using selected inscriptions, there is no real evidence for his work in design as such, though there are specific allusions to his duties in providing descriptions, or specifications of buildings, drawings of some kinds, models, and contracts. Beyond this there are also specific allusions to his responsibility for directing the work on the job, certifying work done as satisfactory, and authorizing payment. There is also abundant allusion to his responsibility for upkeep, performance of many minor jobs of a generally structural character, and his responsibility for the bookkeeping involved for such activities. The evidence is concentrated in the familiar world of Athens, Delphi, Epidaurus and Delos, though scattered allusions elsewhere suggest the general prevalence of this character of activity.

Greek Monasteries and their Manuscripts: Morton Smith, Columbia University.

The pattern of monastic life has often made, of monastery libraries, modern genizahs. The material accumulated in them makes possible an almost stratigraphic account of their intellectual history. Works of codification and systematization, the last products of Byzantine Aristotelianism, are succeeded by copies of classical and patristic texts, typical of the sixteenth

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and seventeenth centuries, these in turn by the collections of bellettristic excerpts and model letters, so popular in the eighteenth century, while the concerns of the nineteenth century are reflected by the increase of political and historical material.

Beside these typical products (of interest principally to the historian of modern Greece) there are occasional manuscripts of interest to the student of antiquity. In general, no eastern copy of an ancient text can be dismissed without study as worthless, since early MSS now lost were certainly circulating in the area as late as the beginning of the present century. In particular, there is reason to hope for the recovery of important texts of the pseudepigrapha both of the Old and of the New Testaments. Special attention must be given to fragmentary remains in bindings, terminal additions, and the like.

Excavations at Serra Orlando, 1958: Richard Stillwell, Princeton University.

A full report appears elsewhere in this issue.

THE "CATAGUSA" OF PRAXITELES: Elmer G. Suhr, University of Rochester.

We are concerned here with two monumental statues of spinners: the archaic goddess of the Berlin Museum (Lullies & Hirmer, pls. 18-21) and a bronze figure of a female in Munich (Glyptothek No. 444).

The Berlin goddess holds a round object in the right hand which, since the work came to its present home, has been called a pomegranate. A close examination, especially of the left side of the figure, reveals that the flat, disc-like surface facing the observer, the projection in the center, and the grasp of the fingers around the object indicate a whorl pierced by a spindle; no pomegranate in Greek art shows much resemblance to the object in her hand. If our assumption is correct, we can identify the figure as the earliest representation of the spinning or Heavenly Aphrodite in monumental Greek sculpture.

The bronze in Munich, well preserved even to the finger tips, was first treated at some length by Flasch who called it an original from the studio of Praxiteles, a young girl holding an article of jewelry in her hands. After Amelung pointed out that its style conforms rather to that of a capable Roman copyist, Furtwaengler claimed the bronze was a copy of the "catagusa" of Praxiteles, because the right hand could easily hold a distaff (Pliny lists the "catagusa" among the works of bronze by the fourth century master). Both Flasch and Furtwaengler went astray because they failed to realize that a spinner can hold the distaff under the left armpit and thus leave the left hand free to draw the flax or wool down from above; she may also hold the distaff out in an extended left hand. Examples of the latter class are the Aphrodite of Melos, her sister of Capua and the figure on the stele of Mynno in Berlin. The Aphrodite on the goose on the white ground cup of the British Museum (D2) holds the distaff under the arm, above the left hand, like the bronze

girl in Munich. The statue is therefore an accurate illustration of the word Pliny used to describe a spinner drawing down the fibres from above. It should therefore tell us something about the technique of Praxiteles in bronze and also throw some light on the Hermes of Olympia which, Professor Carpenter believes, is a marble copy of a bronze original.

TROY, MACEDONIA AND THE NORTH: Homer L. Thomas, University of Missouri.

The "Lausitz" materials from Vardino and Vardophtsa, in Macedonia, and from Troy VIIb have long been used as a starting point for the study of the role of northern peoples in the movements which brought an end to Mycenaean civilization. The recent publication of Troy, Settlements VIIa, VIIb and VIII and of a long study by A. Mozsolics, "Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grossen Wanderung," in ActaA (Budapest 1957) occasions a re-evaluation of the so-called northern materials from Troy and Macedonia. Significant material for judging the role of potential "northern" invaders is also provided by several new excavations in the southern Balkans and the recent republication of Toszeg, the site long used by Childe and Tompa as a basis for Middle Danubian chronology.

New Studies of the Parthenon Frieze in Athens: Matthew I. Wiencke, University of Missouri.

The explosion of 1687, in destroying the center and east end of the cella, wrought greater damage to the frieze than to the other sculptural ornament of the Parthenon. During the century or more of neglect following the disaster, the slabs which remained in place or were left scattered among the ruin suffered further damage from destructive hands and long exposure to weather. Much, however, of the frieze that was buried and subsequently recovered in excavations on the Acropolis escaped the ravages of occupation and weather. These slabs and fragments, collected in the Acropolis Museum, were examined by the writer during the past year. It was found that in many instances the carved surfaces, being better preserved, offer valuable evidence for distinguishing sculptors and styles in the frieze. As most of the fragments had heretofore been published from casts (A. H. Smith, Sculptures of the Parthenon, London 1910), a new series of photographs from the original sculptures was long overdue. The work of photography was undertaken by Miss Alison Frantz of the staff of the Agora Excavations.

To complete the project of photographing anew all portions of the frieze in Athens, permission was granted by the Greek Archaeological Service for erecting a scaffolding along the western end of the cella of the Parthenon. The scaffolding afforded unusual opportunities for examining and photographing the sculptures in detail. The new series of photographs now includes all extant slabs and fragments in the Acropolis Museum or in situ, and significant details. As the department of restoration of the ancient monuments is

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currently engaged in replacing the coffered ceiling blocks over the west peristyle, in order to protect the frieze from further damage, the opportunity of last May was perhaps the last to photograph the slabs in direct light.

The paper seeks to present significant detail in the carving of the frieze as illustrated in the new series of photographs.

Excavations in Mallorca (Baleares): Daniel E. Woods, Manhattanville College.

Excavations of the Roman city, Pollentia (Alcudia, Mallorca), were resumed July 1, 1958; those of the necropolis of Son Real near Can Picafort (15 miles from Alcudia), June 1, 1958. The William L. Bryant Foundation, Springfield, Vt. sponsored the expedition under the auspices of the Spanish Archaeological Commission. Dr. A. Arribas and his wife G. Trias (Univ. of Barcelona); Dr. D. Taylor (Wheaton College); L. Amoros (Palma de Mallorca) were colleagues; M. Petrus, A. Fort, F. Pallarés (Univ. of Barcelona) were assistants of the co-directors M. Tarradell (Univ. of Valencia) and D. E. Woods (Manhattanville College).

An additional 10 x 35 m. area of Pollentia was uncovered. The stratigraphy of the site clearly reveals five layers: I, a prehistoric settlement prior to 125 B.C. the date of the Roman foundation; II, a Roman Republican level; III, a transitional Republican-Augustan level; IV, an Augustan layer; V, an Imperial stratum lasting to the destruction of Pollentia in the 4th century A.D. In the Republican level a large building with fine cushioned masonry appeared, it is long and narrow, about 8 x 23 m., and divided into rooms that may have been open on one side. It may have been a large market building, but its exact type is not as yet clear. The walls of this building are among the most impressive of Roman Republican walls as yet discovered in Spain. Numismatic and ceramic evidence date the building in the late 2nd-early 1st century B.c. Both coins and pottery from the 2nd B.c. to the 4th A.D. have appeared in gratifying abundance. Comparison with similar finds in other Mediterranean sites shows more similarity than divergence. However there are fragments of a black burnished ware that are un-

Although the ancient Roman city was walled, search for parts of the wall besides those already known proved fruitless. Nevertheless during the search foundations of private and public buildings were uncovered and a large public drainage system was revealed. It is also now clear that the Roman city, Pollentia, occupied a large part of the land lying between modern Alcudia and the sea, as well as the site of modern Alcudia itself. Excavations will resume next summer and continue to piece together the story of an ancient Roman Colony in Mallorca.

Last summer (1957) six tombs of the necropolis of Son Real near Can Picafort were excavated. This summer sixty more tombs gave up their dead and treasure. One tomb has been transferred to the Museum in Alcudia. Bronze instruments this year have been added to last year's iron. A bronze axe-head pushes the dating of the site back to at least the 8th century B.C. Several tombs have apsidal endings, and rectangular openings in the façade for the entrance of gifts and food, or possibly passages for the souls of the dead. The tombs are made of large stones, many 1:00 m. or more in length, laid dry. Some tombs measure approximately 2:50 m. x 1:50 m. x 1:50 m. Often only one or two huge stones are used for coverings. The bodies are always found in contracted position with trenches dug on either side containing the grave furnishings. Some tombs are circular, some rectangular, some apsidal, some square and made of large flat slabs. They huddle close together on a rocky tongue of land jutting out into the sea. In the latest graves (ca. 3rd B.c.) incineration was practiced, and in the 2nd B.C. some Romans either rifled one tomb or were buried there, as the one Roman lamp uncovered there reveals. The apsidal tombs may be compared in shape to the much larger "navetas" found in Minorca. Son Real is a necropolis of the late bronze and early iron age in Mallorca. It is the only one of its kind as yet discovered in the Balearic Islands, no close parallels have as yet been found in the Western Mediterranean. What its connection is with the "talyotic" culture of Mallorca remains to be seen.

ORIENTAL BRONZE CAULDRONS OF THE 8TH AND 7TH CENTURIES: Rodney S. Young, University of Pennsylvania Museum.

No abstract submitted.

$\mathcal{N}ECROLOGY$

BERT HODGE HILL slept peacefully away in Athens on December 2, 1958, three months and five days short of his 85th birthday. He had been troubled for some time with an ailing heart, and it was a coronary thrombosis that brought it to a stop. Until the end his mind was clear and alert. He spent his last evening in pleasant conversation with congenial friends of long standing, indulging in reminiscences of his boyhood and discussing current problems of the two institutions which had long claimed his fervent interest and devotion, the American School of Classical Studies and Athens College. He had been a member of the Board of Trustees of Athens College since its founding in 1925, and had helped and watched its phenomenal growth and development. During the greater part of his life he had given abundantly of his time and thought to the support of the interests and welfare of the American School not only during his term as a student from 1900 to 1903 and during his directorship from 1906 to 1927, but no less whole-heartedly in his retirement and as Director Emeritus.

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His death comes as a grievous personal loss to all the many members of the School who had the good fortune to know him as a teacher and a friend while they sojourned in Athens. That loss is felt almost to an equal degree by countless American visitors who had found him a gracious host and fascinating guide and under the influence of his personality had become well wishers and supporters of the School. In Athens, too, he is mourned in a wide range by associates, Greek, European and American colleagues, and old acquaintances who regarded him with affection as one of the most distinguished and respected figures in the social and intellectual life of the Greek capital.

Son of Alson Collins and Carrie Emily (Hodge) Hill, Bert Hill was born in Bristol, Vermont, March 7, 1874, and it was there that he went to grade school and high school. He graduated with the degree of A.B. from the University of Vermont in 1895, and after having spent three years as principal of the Newport (Vermont) Academy he attended Columbia University, where he received his M.A. in 1900. Then followed three years of study as a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, during which he was introduced to archaeological field work in the excavations at Corinth. Returning to the United States, he spent three years as Assistant Curator of Classical Antiquities at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and as Lecturer in Greek Sculpture at Wellesley College. Appointed Director of the American School in Athens, he embarked again for Greece in 1906 to take up the position which he held continuously till 1927. In 1927 and 1928 he served on the Refugee Settlement Commission, sponsored by the League of Nations, acting at times as Vice-Chairman, and as Chairman. In 1932 and from 1934 to 1954 he was Director of the University of Pennsylvania Archaeological Expedition in Cyprus, conducting excavations

at Lapithos and at Curium. Holding the Charles Eliot Norton Lectureship of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1936-37, he travelled widely about the United States. From 1950 to 1952 as Executive Officer of the United States Educational Foundation in Greece, he contributed much to the success of the Fulbright program in that country.

Honorary degrees were conferred upon him: an L.H.D. by the University of Vermont and a Ph.D. by the University of Salonica; and his achievements were recognized by honorary memberships in the Archaeological Society of Athens, the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the German Archaeological Institute, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and other organizations. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the American Philological Association and of the Archaeological Institute of America (Vice President 1949). Bert Hill was married in 1924 to Ida Carleton Thallon,

who died in 1954.

Endowed with a keen analytical mind, Bert Hill applied it effectively in all his fields of activity. In scholarly research generally, and not least in the conduct of excavations, he insisted on the need for accuracy in observation, recording, and reporting; and accuracy was one of the cardinal virtues he taught the students who worked under him. He was a superlative teacher, most frequently using the Socratic method; his success was gained through thorough knowledge and mastery of his subject, through a genuine interest in his pupils, and through his efforts to induce them to think for themselves. He possessed an unusual ability to stir his hearers to use their ingenuity and common sense. As a perfectionist he was slow and cautious in printing his own writings, reluctant to have anything published until he could feel sure that he had been able to find and interpret even the smallest wanting bit of evidence. But if his own publications have been relatively few, the inspiration infused by his teaching, advice and encouragement shines out in the works of many pupils.

In ways that count Bert Hill was a notably successful administrator. His professional competence, sound judgment, tolerant understanding of others' point of view, and a calm unruffled temperament won him the confidence and trust of those with whom he had to deal—an invaluable factor in carrying through the great expansion of the School which began in the 1910's and 1920's. His skillful diplomacy in negotiation aided substantially not only in the acquisition of the land for the Gennadeion and Loring Hall and in solving many problems in connection with the building of the Library, but was also indispensable in reaching the crucial preliminary agreement that led to the excavations by the School of the Athenian Agora.

Bert Hill will long be vividly remembered as an original scholar, an incomparable teacher, a perfect host, an able administrator, who did much to make

the American School what it is today. But it is Bert Hill the man, with his warm heart, his readiness to share our difficulties and troubles and to make us feel his understanding sympathy when we needed it, his quiet good humor and wit, and his abundant common sense that will hold a lasting place in our deepest affections.

For those of us who return to Athens and visit the Acropolis there will ever be a sense of loss in his absence, but it will be accompanied by a feeling of pleasure and gratitude that we had the opportunity to know and love him.

CARL W. BLEGEN

Felix Oswald (1866-1958) died on his 92nd birthday, November 2, 1958, at the home to which he had retired in Pembrokeshire, Wales. As a young man he was a geologist, in which capacity he accompanied expeditions to Armenia, Central Africa and again to the Caucasus. Professionally he was for many years Probate Registrar of the High Court of Nottingham.

But his passion was provincial Roman archaeology, and he was an outstanding example of the amateur éclairé to whom the study of antiquity owes so much. From 1910 until his retirement from the Court in 1936, he excavated the Roman camp at Margidunum, Notts., and at the same time became one of the world's leading experts in Roman imperial ceramics. He contributed many articles to British and Continental journals and compiled three magistral books in the field-Terra Sigillata (with the late T. Davies Pryce) 1920; Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata, 1931; Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata, 1936-37. He believed in "do-it-yourself": the Margidunum excavations were his own personal digging; he illustrated all his books and articles with his own profuse drawings; he hand-set and printed the Index of Potters' Stamps on his own press. He was the last survivor of the generation which did the basic work on terra sigillata.

HOWARD COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

BOOK REVIEWS

The White Lady of the Brandberg, by *The Abbé Henri Breuil*, with the collaboration of *Mary Boyle* and *Dr. E. R. Scherz*. Rock Paintings of South Africa: Vol. I. Pp. x + 34, color plates 24, phots. 33, maps 1. Faber and Faber, London, and Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1955. \$22.50, £ 5-5-0.

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Between 1942 and 1948, while he was a member of the staff of the Archaeological Survey of the Union of South Africa, the Abbé Breuil studied a large number of prehistoric rock painting sites not only in the Union, but also in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Basutoland. This book is the first of a projected dozen volumes in which this eminent authority intends to present the results of his work. Insofar as this reviewer is aware, it is the first complete description and reproduction of a single South African site with rock paintings that has ever appeared. Certainly it is the first time that an entire volume has been devoted to a single such locality. It is a large, beautifully illustrated and exceedingly handsome book printed in limited edition on rag paper, and it adds enormously to our knowledge of South African prehistoric art.

to our knowledge of South African prehistoric art. At the famous "White Lady" locality, a small shelter discovered by Reinhardt Maack in the Tsisab ravine of the Brandberg Mountains of South West Africa, the Abbé Breuil recognizes eleven successive series of paintings. One of the central figures of the latest series of other figures, which collectively are believed to form a procession, consists of a female—the "White Lady of the Brandberg"—who is elaborately clothed, ornamented and armed. It is a polychrome in white, two shades of red, and brown. Ever since Breuil announced his interpretation of this painting considerable controversy has surrounded the figure and the significance which Breuil attaches to it.

There is an account of the discovery of the site and the investigations conducted there. The Abbé also presents a chapter on his method of copying rock paintings, which he believes to be more accurate than photography. Chapter III is by Breuil's assistant, Miss Mary Boyle, who compares style of dress and other details of the "White Lady" series with paintings and practices of Crete and Egypt. Indeed, she believes that the latest series of paintings in the Maack rock-shelter are derived from Minoan or classical Egyptian civilization, and in a subsequent chapter the Abbé supports these views. He postulates several migrations by small groups of "Nilotic" peoples sometime between 7,000 and 1,500 B.C., or in any case "before the Sahara dried up." He even goes so far as to suggest the route by which they travelled. But the fact that neither contemporary archaeological materials of North African type nor skeletal evidence of a "Nilotic" physical type have thus far ever been reported from anywhere in the South African area is not discussed. Furthermore, there is no mention of any of the published works by local authorities, e.g. van Riet Lowe, Schofield, Mason, et al., who have severely criticized the Abbé's views.

It is difficult to follow the argument expounded by Breuil for establishing the age of the "White Lady" series at the Maack shelter. A charcoal sample (C-911) collected by Dr. Martin of the Geological Survey in Windhoek, South West Africa, in the middle level of the Phillip Cave, near Ameib and southeast of the Erongo range, was dated in 1954 by Dr. Libby. The figure, 3,368 B.P. ±200 years (1,418 B.C. ±200 years), is associated on the basis of absolutely no evidence with the main group (two other groups are recog-nized, one older and one more recent) of painted figures at the Phillip locality. "Although painted in a stiffer style than the figures in the 'White Lady' procession, they are sufficiently like them to belong to approximately the same period." This reasoning for assessing the approximate date of the "White Lady' procession at the Maack shelter some 70 miles distant rests on exceedingly slender evidence: (a) the assumption that the figures in question at the Phillip Cave were in fact painted at the time of the Late Stone Age (Smithfield) occupation represented by the middle layer; and (b) stylistic similarities, although Breuil does state that in his opinion "the 'White Lady' and her companions are painted in a much better style and are slightly older." On this basis the processional group in question is assigned to the period of Moses and Rameses II.

The factual description of the paintings and superpositions are presented in the final three chapters. This is meticulously and painstakingly done as the Abbé alone can do it. The plates are, of course, outstanding, as those who have attempted to copy cave and rockshelter paintings will unanimously agree, and the French master printers, who devised the collotype and hand-stencil process by which they have been reproduced, are to be warmly congratulated for their truly remarkable achievement. In other words, the factual documentation is invaluable, although the theoretical considerations will doubtless be pondered over and discussed for many years to come. This volume serves to whet one's appetite for the remaining ones in the series. Breuil has once again placed deeply in his debt both students of South African prehistoric paintings and those interested in primitive art in general.

HALLAM L. MOVIUS, JR.

PEABODY MUSEUM
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

MEDINET HABU, VOLUME V: THE TEMPLE PROPER, Part I, by The Epigraphic Survey. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,

Volume LXXXIII). Pp. xx + pls. 112, plan. University of Chicago Press, 1957. \$25.00.

With the completion of this volume, the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey at Luxor approaches the last stages of the formidable and invaluable project that it has long regarded as its principal task, to publish all the scenes and inscriptions of the temple of Ramesses III, the best preserved of the vast mortuary

temples on the west bank of Thebes.

Previous volumes in the Medinet Habu series have dealt with the monumental scenes of warfare and hunting on the temple's exterior and with the scenes of victory and temple pageantry on the interior walls of the two forecourts. By comparison, the scenes included in Volume V are much less spectacular, nearly all of them representing the king performing some ritual act in the presence of Amen-Re or some other divinity. This is particularly true of the first half of the volume, which records the elements of various entranceways, the sides and back of each of 16 Osiride pillars in the second forecourt, and the conventional decoration of the portico. Here the editors have economized by presenting the bulk of the material in photographs only, without the use of drawings, a departure from the procedure followed in the earlier part of the se-

The second half of the present volume contains scenes of a more interesting nature, belonging to the rooms which flank the first hypostyle hall. One of the temple's most peculiar features is encountered most conspicuously in the first of these rooms, where Ramesses III is represented among his numerous but anonymous family; the problem of their anonymity (in conjunction with the sons named in pls. 299-301) has recently been discussed by Keith Seele in the Grapow Festschrift, Deutsche Akad. der Wiss., Inst. für Orientforsch. Veröffentlichung 29 (1955) 296-314. Most recently, see J. Černý in JEA 44 (1958) 33-37. From the standpoint of the representations themselves, however, none of the side rooms can compare in interest with the group of five which constitute the treasury of the temple. Like similar scenes in other temples, they portray a fascinating variety of wealth, including many elaborate types of metalwork that have not in themselves survived; this particular display of treasure, even though it may not literally represent objects that were stored in the Medinet Habu temple,1 is of great value for its completeness and for its excellent state of preservation. A fine color reproduction of one of the best-preserved scenes is presented in pl. 322. In the preface George Hughes brings out a further point of interest concerning the treasury; he convincingly argues that the sole access to this group of

five chambers was concealed by a door on which adjacent reliefs were continued so as to disguise its presence. It might also have been helpful to remind users of the volume of the provision made for storing the treasure within this crypt. Not only were there stone benches along the rear walls of the western rooms, but wooden benches or chests were formerly placed along all the side walls as well; Seele has deduced their presence from the fact that "the vertical inscriptions on the insides of the doorjambs [of the four side rooms] were all altered with plaster so that they ended considerably above their original termination" (Hölscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu III, 14, n. 42). It is the more useful to call attention to this last statement since the inscriptions in question are not reproduced in the plates.

Even among the very conventional material presented in the earlier part of the volume it is possible to discover some interesting features that merit further inquiry. One such feature is an epithet that describes the relationship between the king and the god as they appear on the south reveal of the second pylon: the king is "he who propitiates Amenre Who is in the Thickness of the Doorway" (pl. 254 and Preface, p. x). Charles Nims, in a paper delivered to the Cambridge Congress of Orientalists, has cited this epithet of Amenre and kindred epithets of other gods who are "in the door," as evidence of the provision made for popular worship in the temples of the New Kingdom and later (Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists, 79-80). There is, however, a further point of interest in the present case; it provides a criterion by which representations which were similarly the object of popular worship may be recognized even where they lack a distinctive epithet. The feature in question is a widely spaced series of small deep holes which frames the figure of "Amenre Who is in the Thickness of the Doorway." A series of such holes surrounds the figure of Amenre not only in this case, but also on the reveal of every doorway leading to the forecourts of the Medinet Habu temple; the only exceptions are the doorways leading from the adjacent palace, which do not portray divinities. The same treatment is given reliefs in other parts of the temple as well; the evidence which may be gathered from the Oriental Institute's volumes is in fact so complete and extensive that it seems worthwhile to summarize it, even though Borchardt has already cited numerous examples from other Egyptian temples dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty down to Graeco-Roman times.2 The following descriptions assume, with Borchardt, that the holes contained dowels for fastening a covering over the figures in question. This hypothesis alone seems to fit all the Medinet Habu

¹ Nelson has suggested that the decorations of the treasury were copied at least partly from similar scenes in the Ramesseum (Hölscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu III, 14, n. 43).

² Ludwig Borchardt, Allerhand Kleinigkeiten, in the study entitled "Metallbelag an Steinbauten," pp. 4-11. I am very much indebted to Dr. William Hayes for locating this reference

for me at a time when I had no access to the work. In his Excavations at Medinet Habu IV, 41-42, Hölscher deals with the question of dowel holes, citing Borchardt on p. 42, n. 80, but he makes no mention of the holes that appear in conjunction with reliefs.

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examples, if all are taken to exemplify the same treatment.

The initial references to plates are from *Medinet Habu* V, excepting the first, which is from Volume IV:

(1) First pylon, recess left of doorway (pl. 246 I). Ten square holes (or eleven) enclosing the gods Montu and Amenre; note that the holes appear only around the gods in the lowest register.

(2) Second pylon, south reveal of doorway (pl. 254). Six (or seven) holes outlining a rectangle that

includes the god Amenre.

(3) First court, doorway in north wall, east reveal (pl. 304 A). Six holes (more evidently missing at bottom and perhaps at top also), around the figures of Amenre and Mut.

(4) Second court, doorway in south wall, west reveal (pl. 305 A). Three round holes and (at bottom) three square holes, around the lower part of the god Amenre. I have no explanation to offer for the irregular configuration of larger holes on the opposite reveal.

(5) Second court, doorway in north wall, east reveal (pl. 306 A). Seven square holes visible, sur-

rounding the figure of Amenre.

Just beyond the second pylon some of the surfaces of Osiride pillars nearest the doorway (and perhaps others as well) show evidence of the same treatment, although the entire complement of holes can be clearly distinguished in one case only:

(6) Second court, pillar 16, south face, bottom register (pl. 266 A). Six holes, framing the figure

of Amenre.

(7) Second court, pillar 32, north and east faces, bottom register (pl. 260 A and B). Number of holes uncertain; the divinities involved are Amenre and Khonsu.

Besides these examples from the reveals of doors and the pillars nearest the entrance to the second court, there are at least five cases where representations on the exterior of the temple were treated in the same manner (Medinet Habu I, II and III):

(8) Exterior, south wall (pls. 143-144). Number of holes uncertain (more than nine), surrounding the figures of the Theban triad, Amenre, Mut and Khonsu.

(9) Exterior, first pylon, south tower (pl. 101). Twenty-one holes, roughly outlining the huge rep-

resentation of Amenre.

(10) Exterior, north wall (pls. 43, 53 C). A minimum of twenty holes, surrounding the figures of Amenre, Mut and Khonsu. An apparently superfluous number of holes above Amenre's arm (four instead of two) may indicate a secondary change in the covering's position.

(11) Exterior, rear wall (pls. 12 A, 13). Number of holes uncertain; two are visible behind standing figure of Khonsu, two others before legs of seated

figure of Amenre.

(12) Exterior, rear wall (pls. 11, 45 A). Five

holes are visible beneath and in front of the seated figure of Amenre, whose head is obliterated by a Coptic window; at least four are visible beneath and behind the standing figure of Mut.

Finally, a few more examples are to be found on the inner walls of the second court (Medinet Habu V and

IV):

(13) Second court, west wall, middle register, second scene from south (pl. 290). Six square holes, enclosing the god Ptah. Note that the middle register begins only about 1.70 meters above the floor.

(14) Second court, west wall, middle register, fourth scene from south (pl. 291). At least seven holes (less distinctly indicated by the artist than in the other plates), indicating that Amenre, Mut and

Khonsu were covered.

(15) Second court, north wall, lower register (pls. 229-233). A group of four holes around the shrine on each of four barks belonging to the king and to the Theban triad—Amenre, Mut, and Khonsu. A second bark of Amenre has five holes above it and five more below, the covering having extended nearly the entire length of the hull.

As presented in the Medinet Habu volumes, the data suggest that the extent of the assumed covering was somewhat variable; in examples 1, 2, and 13 it apparently did not include the head of the figure to which it was applied, and left the headdress exposed in examples 10 (Mut, Khonsu) and 14. In four out of five examples involving a divine bark, the shrine alone is covered. In the case of the exceptionally large figure of Amenre on the first pylon (example 9), the usual rectangular disposition of the holes is abandoned in favor of a more economical arrangement that follows the outline; a tendency toward the same arrangement is also seen in example 6, where the uppermost pair of holes is set back to conform to the backward tilt of Amenre's plumes.

There remains some uncertainty about the date of the practice here described. The holes evidently were made some time later than the completion of the reliefs, for they actually break into the nearby inscriptions in some cases (examples 5, 13, 14, 15) and the inscriptions were often obscured by the covering for which the holes were evidently designed (examples 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15). This disregard of the sculptor's work does not necessarily mean that the coverings were installed later than the reign of Ramesses III, and Borchardt in fact assumes that the evidence for such coverings is contemporaneous with the temples in which it appears. But the appearance and disposition of the holes is so very similar in the very latest examples, dating to the Graeco-Roman Period, that it seems possible that all the examples are this late, and that, even at so recent a date, the Ramesside temples in which they occur were still accessible and in use. However this may be, the practice of affixing a metal overlay on relief figures of divinities appears to be based on a tradition of popular worship that probably had its origin in Ramesside times, when special attention is given the relief representations of gods who are "in the doorway."

From the foregoing evidence one would conclude that the less privileged classes of Egyptians might present their petitions and prayers at any entrance in the exterior wall of the temple, and at almost any point where the exterior wall was engraved with a representation of the indwelling gods. Examples 13-14 are not wholly dissimilar to the others in this respect, for the west wall of the second court is at the same time the back wall of the portico, i.e. the façade of the "temple proper," beyond which the non-priestly petitioners were presumably forbidden to enter. This explanation cannot be applied to the second example (14), where the objects of popular worship are not figures representing the gods within their dwelling, however, but are the closed shrines in which the gods were confined when they were taken outside the temple in festival processions. The inclusion of the king's shrine among those that were covered is noteworthy; here the king figures as an object of worship, while in the other cases he confronts the gods as a priest, and for this reason, apparently, lacks a covering.

It would not be too much to say that for these petitioners the walls had ears; such an idea is quite literally expressed by the model temenos wall equipped with ears which was found in the small Mit Rahineh temple of Ramesses II in 1955 (University Museum Bulletin, Vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 24-25).

The admirable care which the staff of the Epigraphic Survey have taken to secure the utmost accuracy in their drawings is too well known to require any further encomiums. But it may be pointed out, in testimony to that accuracy, that the drawings have supplied all but four of the examples mentioned in the preceding discussion.³ The detail in question might easily have been omitted even by the most observant and conscientious copyists.

HENRY GEORGE FISCHER

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries, by *Erich F. Schmidt*. Pp. xx + 166, pls. 89, figs. 29, tables 14. The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, Volume 69, University of Chicago Press, 1957. \$85.

The large and impressive ruins of Persepolis have inspired many writers and have called into existence several large and impressive illustrated books. Several of these were produced in the nineteenth century, such as those by Flandin and Coste, Dieulefoy and Stolze. More recently, excellent photographs appeared in Pope's Survey of Persian Art and in Herzfeld's Iran in the Ancient East but, though none of these books will ever be superfluous, the most fully documented is the first

³ Examples 6 and 7 are reproduced in photographs only. Examples 11 and 12 are visible in the photographs but not in the drawings. Example 15 is more visible in the photograph

volume by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt of a series entitled Persepolis, published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The plates in this book, although not including all the sculptures known to have come from Persepolis, are nonetheless the most comprehensive set of photographs and drawings of the architecture and its decoration that remain of this famous site. This first volume also contains a great deal of information absent in the older books. Persepolis I will continue to be a book that everyone interested in Achaemenian art in general and in Persepolis in particular will consult and study. The carved reliefs of Persepolis are peculiarly informative on the arts and crafts of the period, because some of the sculptural scenes show delegations of men from the many lands of the Achaemenian empire bringing gifts to the King of Kings. It was therefore a natural choice for the Oriental Institute to use a photograph of part of such a scene on the dust cover of the second volume of the series on Persepolis. It is an excellent pictorial in-troduction to the subject, "Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries." Objects such as these were once contained within the Treasury after the ritual of presentation had taken place. Doubtless the excavators at Persepolis would have been delighted to have found some of the magnificent things that appear in these scenes, but they were disappointed in this hope. Nonetheless they discovered other things of great importance which are interesting for several reasons: some are artistically striking, such as a bronze pedestal composed of three lions (pls. 33, 34, 35), others reveal aspects of art and life under the Achaemenids, and many show the result of contacts with other countries. Also included among the finds are objects of preceding eras, both in Iran and other lands. This second volume, in fact, describes fully all that remained of the furnishings, the objects of daily use and other material things that survived the looting or the destruction of the palaces of Persepolis, and that further resisted successfully the corrosive action of time.

On the whole the general arts of the Achaemenians have been less well known than the architectural decoration of their palaces, which had been made familiar both by publications such as those mentioned above and by actual examples in a number of museums in various countries, especially in the Louvre. But, apart from the jewelry and other small material finds excavated at Susa, also exhibited at the Louvre, there was little Achaemenian material from Iran itself about which there was definite and unquestionable information. For this reason the publication of the results of the careful excavations at Persepolis have been eagerly awaited. All knew that Dr. Schmidt would do a painstaking piece of work, and Persepolis II is indeed proof of this. Due to the patience and skill employed in gathering the material objects, and the careful thought given to their actual and relative locations, much in-

than in the drawing. In the drawings of the present volume the detail seems to have been observed with particular care. formation has been gained which otherwise would have been lost forever. No object, no matter how broken or incomplete, has been considered too unimportant for inclusion, which can well be considered a merit. It does not follow, however, that there is no virtue in limitation and selection, and there are instances in which such restrictions could have been used to advantage. Contrariwise, it is a pity that, in a book illustrated in such detail, where every fracture in the broken earthenware and stone vessels, and where every wart of corrosion (even on fragments of the simplest metal objects) is shown, there are no drawings of seal impressions. It is unfortunately true that photographs alone of ancient impressions, so often incomplete and blurred, are not sufficient for a true understanding of this important material. In view of the excellence of the other drawings, one knows they would have been

superb and regrets the lack of them. Early in the book the fruits of the author's painstaking perseverance are evident. The careful recording of the distribution of the clay tablets revealed that some had been stored in upper storey rooms, thus confirming an earlier observation made by Herzfeld on those he discovered in the NE corner of the Terrace. This particular group, however, is still being studied and is not included in the present volume, which is concerned primarily with the seal impressions found in the Treasury. These impressions were on tablets and labels, the former mostly in a single room. Their distribution is most carefully noted, and the way in which the labels were attached is fully described, a task rendered easier since the consuming fire, which destroyed so much, preserved the clay and, though destroying the means of attachment, left intact much evidence in the form of the revealing cavities. The work of Cameron published in his Persepolis Treasury Tablets has been integrated with observations derived from the seal impressions, to yield fuller information on the status of the seals' owners whose offices or titles are never mentioned in the texts. As it may cause some confusion, one slight error of reference on page 11 must be noted: the Achaemenian cylinder seal published by William Hayes Ward in The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia is ascribed to the Metropolitan Museum. Actually this, with a number of others, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Ward No. 1053; Morgan Library No. 833), to which they were transferred many years ago. This collection has since been republished by Edith Porada in Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, Vol. I. The seal referred to is pl. cxxv, no. 833 in that book. Dr. Schmidt rightly states that the collection from Persepolis increases the range of known seal designs of the Achaemenian period and that it will help to date many of them more accurately, because a number of the sealings are affixed to exactly datable and informative documents of the time of Darius I, Xerxes, and Arta-

Only twenty-three actual cylinder seals were found, of which but fourteen are attributed to the Achaemeni-

an period. That earlier seals were among the finds, or that some of them were from Mesopotamia, is by no means surprising. These cylinders have been as carefully described as the seal impressions but less information could be gleaned from them as they have not, like the latter, any written texts in conjunction with them. Stamp seals and signet rings were also scarce but several useful observations are made in the examination of these and of some seal impressions, e.g., that Neo-Babylonian seals were still used in Achaemenian times. This in itself was known before, but the interesting point is made that they were used on Treasury labels. The reasonable possibility is brought up that some of these seals could have been made during the Achaemenian era. It is also observed that there is no cause to believe that there were Greek seal cutters in Persepolis itself, even if Greek (Ionian) craftsmen were employed for stonecutting as at Susa.

All the inscribed objects that were retrieved are discussed in detail, among them a wall peg of "lapis lazuli" of Darius I and the foundation deposits of Xerxes. In connection with the latter the views expressed by both Kent and Herzfeld are presented. Herzfeld, as a result of a later discovery, in the Harem, of a stone slab with a Babylonian version (pl. 20 B), finally agreed with Kent that Darius chose Xerxes above his brothers to be Crown Prince, and that death, not abdication, was the cause of Xerxes' gaining the throne. References and observations are also made about the "Daiva" text with its list of the countries of which Xerxes was king—a subject of considerable controversy.

A most interesting discovery was made of a large number of objects of green chert presumed to be for ritual use (pls. 23, 24). Nearly a hundred mortars and eighty pestles were found, also many plates and a few trays. Over two hundred of these were inscribed in Aramaic in ink; they have been studied by Cameron and will be finally published by Bowman. The inscriptions indicate names of the treasurers and assistant treasurers and year of the king's reign, but not his name. Cameron suggests that they belong to the period of Artaxerxes I, Darius II, or perhaps even later. Their use has been linked to the Haoma ritual of which the impression from a cylinder seal (pl. 7, no. 20) gives some details. There, clearly shown, is a priest standing before such a mortar and pestle.

Various other inscribed stones such as beads, eyestones, and cylinder seals are listed and illustrated, some of them being votive objects from Mesopotamia. Many of them had been set in gold, which had been torn away. Once they had enriched shrines other than that of Persepolis: some Assyrian, some Babylonian. One cylinder (PT 4772, pl. 26, no. 2) with Neo-Babylonian script shows the skirt of a god standing on a terraced base. This is quite unusual in that one edge of the dress is decorated with birds, repeated. Repetition such as this calls to mind some of the Scythian goldsmiths' work discovered in Zawiyeh and again on the later ornate scabbard of a Mede (*Persepolis I*, pl. 120) in attendance on the king. The remarkable thing

about the skirt of the god is the birds with outstretched wings which adorned the front of it. Their heads and bodies were in full relief, the profile projecting beyond the outline of the skirt, and the wings spread out flat. The garment of the god was therefore not just decorated with gold embroidery or flat plaques but in a still more striking fashion.

Another inscribed object, a plaque of bronze and not of stone, was revealed after cleaning to have a late Elamite inscription upon it. Cameron comments on this badly eroded document to which he gives a date of 7th to 6th century B.C.

Foreign things found in any ancient site naturally raise questions as to how and why they reached their destination. The site of Persepolis yielded a number of such objects, many of which, unlike those mentioned above, are uninscribed. They range in size from fragments of a large Greek statue to small amulets from Egypt. The statue (pls. 29, 30) was published ten years ago, but Miss Olmstead's theory of this "Penelope" has been challenged by Langlotz. A graffito of a man holding a weapon in his right hand and wearing a lion skin over a chiton also has every appearance of being Greek work (pl. 31, no. 2). It is scratched on local stone, and if the statue referred to above was imported from Ionia, in this latter case it was the artist and not the work of art that was imported. That there were reflections of Egyptian art at Persepolis is hardly surprising in view of the fact that Egypt was part of the Persian empire and that we know Egyptian workmen were employed on the ornamentation of Persian palaces. More interesting is a problematical terracotta head of a Persian wearing a hat trimmed with fur (pl. 32). The suggestion that it was made by a Greek artist is open to question. The absence of modeled heads or figurines in Persepolis, and their frequent presence outside of Persia, is a fair indication (even though there are none precisely like this) that this unique head was not locally made, even by a foreigner. It is far more likely that it was modeled by a Greek who was living in some part of Asia Minor under Achaemenian rule.

The position of animal statues carved in the round is discussed, and the point is made clear both in the text and in the excellent photographs that the standing animals, bulls and ibexes, needed a supporting column to sustain them. Unfortunately none of these animals, nor some seated dogs, survived intact (pls. 36, 37 B).

The finest of the pieces of sculpture and applied ornament is the tripod pedestal composed of three bronze lions (pls. 33, 34, 35). It has been suggested that this is of Ionian workmanship; the author's own inclination is toward the "northwestern provinces of the empire." A look at the two bronze lions in the Louvre, the Assyrian one from Khorsabad and the other Achaemenian one from Susa, gives no grounds for believing that the pedestal came from anywhere else than Iran itself. The stone couchant felines with one forepaw over the other, and the seated dogs, show how close

style could occasionally be in both Iran and Egypt in the Achaemenian era (pl. 36 A, B, D, E).

Attention is drawn not only to the practical device of inserting those parts of sculpture that would project, such as ears and horns, but also to the very extensive use of inlays of different materials. One of the most astonishing instances of the latter is the employment of stone "false teeth" for carved animals (pl. 41, nos. 17, 18). Although this seems somewhat shocking, it is quite in line with the anciently established custom of inserting eyes and eyebrows. Many of the inlays, such as the blue material used for beards, are fully described by Dr. Schmidt, and further notes on the composition and probable method of manufacture are added by Dr. F. R. Matson. No precise proof exists to show just where these materials were made. The fragments of inlaid work and the few pieces of metal ornamentation which have survived are just enough to indicate how great was the loss when Persepolis was destroyed. Two horses and some sadly damaged fragments of griffins and wings remain to show how spirited decorative art was in Achaemenian times (pls. 38, 39), and but few scraps remain of the rich and colorful inlays themselves (pls. 40, 41).

A chapter is given to personal ornaments, of which the finds also were rather meager. Nevertheless they illustrate various techniques of goldsmithing and the manufacture of jewelry. Table III gives a detailed list of the frequency of beads, pendants and spacers according to form and material, including unidentified stones. If used as comparative tables these lists can be misleading, for the addition of a single long string of beads of any one material would have thrown the relative proportions completely out of balance. A fragment of a mold for making bracelets (p. 79, fig. 16) adds to our knowledge, for it indicates that some jewelry was manufactured in the vicinity. As a result of careful observation the interesting and important deduction is drawn that fabrics were decorated with gold embroidery as well as by having gold ornaments sewn onto them. But for the meticulous work on the part of the excavators this valuable piece of evidence would have been lost (p. 78, fig. 15A, B).

In regard to the problem of why hundreds of stone vessels were wantonly broken the hypothesis is put forward that in many cases they were smashed in order readily to obtain shells, pedestals, rims or linings made of more valuable material than the stone itself-a very plausible and probable suggestion. A number of these stone vessels were inscribed and this revealed that some of them were made in pre-Achaemenian times and were imported. Among them are objects with the names of several kings of the Saite dynasty of Egypt: Psamtik, Nekau, and Amasis (pls. 47, 48), but Egypt was not the only country to contribute booty or gifts to the treasure houses of Iran. A bowl of Ashurbanipal with four lions climbing up to the rim (pl. 49) and a sherd of a haematite bowl with the Hittite hieroglyphs of the early first millennium B.C. (pl. 49) are included in the foreign treasures of Persepolis. It s

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will be observed that many of the Persian bowls and dishes are decorated with birds' heads, a fashion which exaggerates a tendency seen in late Assyrian art (pls. 53, 54). A number of bowls, dishes and trays were ornamented in this fashion, with handles in the form of birds' necks and heads either curving over inwards from the rim or in pairs forming horizontal handles. This form of decoration, so common in the Achaemenian period, was also fashionable in large areas of Europe not under Persian sway, though none carried it to a greater excess than the Scythian nomads who used it even to decorate deer antlers. Some of these Achaemenian vessels are designed skillfully, but there is a distinct clumsiness in the use of lions and lions' feet for decorative purposes. The plain vessels, on the whole, are the most attractive, and many were found, among them an enormous number of stone plates. Fragments of others, as well as one substantially complete (BMMA [December 1934, Section 2] 17, fig. 27), together with an Achaemenian bird's head of green stone with inlaid eyes, were also excavated at Kasr-iabu Nasr near Shiraz by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (ibid. 18, fig. 30). There is reason to believe that the stone portals and cornices at that site were transported from Persepolis, and so the question is raised as to whether small objects, such as those mentioned above, were looted from Persepolis. The transference to Kasr-i-abu Nasr could hardly have been contemporary, because the complete absence of earthenware vessels yielded by the excavations at that site indicates that it was not occupied in Achaemenian times. However, on the hill to the north of the site a number of tombs of the Parthian period were discovered.

It is unfortunate that there was such a dearth of vessels of glass and crystal at Persepolis because the objects made in these materials that have survived from the Achaemenian period are very few indeed. Also, by a bad turn of fortune and the rapaciousness of the spoilers of Persepolis, the number of metal vessels and other such things was regrettably small. References are made to the vessels carried by tribute bearers depicted in the sculpture, and photographs of them are shown. By an oversight, or by unavailability at the time the book went to press, there is no reference to a book (published in Persian) by Dr. M. T. Mostafavi, head of the Iranian Antiquities Service: Hagmatana (Teheran 1953), which illustrates several vessels of some importance found in Hamadan as well as some Achaemenid jewelry. Some of the latter has since been acquired by various museums including that of the Oriental Institute (Helene J. Kantor, Oriental Institute Museum Notes, No. 8: Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute, in JNES 16 [1957]

The conclusion drawn by Schmidt that metal was much more commonly used for the table than glass is surely a sound one. In an ordinary residential site the greatest number of vessels would be of earthenware. At Persepolis no very great quantity of pottery was retrieved, but this, though meager, definitely adds to

our knowledge, which hitherto has been entirely dependent on the pottery from Susa (a typographical error makes the reference to the publication of this by Ghirshman in Délégation en Perse 1934 instead of 1954). It is now possible to see that the shapes of some Sasanian vessels are directly descended from those of the Achaemenian era (for example, pl. 71, no. 10, with its square-cut rim; also no. 3, and pl. 72, no. 15). One type of bowl that is merely a variation of the Assyrian palace ware (pl. 72, no. 1) of an earlier age seems not to have survived the Achaemenian era, but others did, such as pl. 72, no. 3. Some of the forms lasted practically unchanged to the tenth century A.D. (pl. 72, no. 9; pl. 73, no. 3). Although this survival is what one would expect when the forms are practical and commonly used, it does not always happen. The extraordinary thing is not how little common pottery changes but how much. Even in kitchen ware there are usually just enough differences to give some certainty in assigning a definite period, but few Near Eastern archaeologists would be so bold as their Greek confrères, with limiting dates as close together as a mere quarter of a century.

The importance of the excavations and their full publication is emphasized by the finding of some scales of armor, for it is never represented in Achaemenian sculpture. The scales were of iron and bronze; a few of the former were gilded in the sense that they were covered with gold foil. It is interesting to note that the Assyrian custom of making scales with a central hollow ridge was still employed to some extent.

Some few weapons were found, and here was a clear indication of the accuracy of the stone reliefs. An axe of a type that seems peculiar to the Achaemenian period in having the rear end notched like the nock of an arrow was discovered in the excavations (pl. 78, no. 1; pl. 79, no. 1A, B). Its resemblance to an axe borne by a Mede in attendance on the king in the Treasury (Vol. I, pl. 120) is most striking. Tools and other miscellaneous objects are described and listed. From the "frequency table" that relates to these we learn that the most numerous objects in this category were gaming (?) pieces. Is it perhaps possible that such a list gives a false impression of the relative importance of activities at Persepolis? A number of weights were retrieved, including two with trilingual inscriptions, which are compared with other known specimens of the period. A short chapter is devoted to measures of capacity.

The coins, examined by Mr. Noè and others, produced a real surprise, for there was not a single imperial Achaemenian coin among them. Some were gold staters of Croesus, others of Alexandrian type. This, coupled with the fact that pre-Achaemenian coins as well as others made toward the end of the Achaemenian era were found in both the latest and earliest parts of the building, elicits Dr. Schmidt's caution on using numismatic finds for dating objects, especially in a royal storehouse. As though to drive home the point, it chances that the coins discovered

in 1933 below the stone foundation boxes at two of the corners of the main hall of the Apadana were dated more precisely by an argument based on the inscribed tablets than *vice versa*. In fact, for purposes of dating alone, the coins were of little assistance.

A chapter is devoted to the excavation of at least part of a cemetery accidentally found by an Iranian road gang near the spring which provides water for the neighborhood. The problem of dating is presented in full, and reasons are produced for excluding both Islamic and Sasanian periods. The choice between Parthian and Achaemenian proved more difficult and Dr. Schmidt, giving due consideration to the close resemblance between the pottery found in the graves and that found on the Terrace of Persepolis, comes to the conclusion that the cemetery belongs to the end of the Achaemenian period or to the early post-Achaemenian era. The argument against a Parthian period is made stronger by the evidence obtained by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition at Kasr-i-abu Nasr, for Hauser and Upton cleared some stone-built Parthian graves on the mountain behind that site. The pottery found in them in no way resembled that of the Persepolis Spring Cemetery.

This most valuable book ends with appendices by Dr. Matson and others, giving technical details and analyses of the various materials of which the objects from Persepolis were made.

A further volume on the Royal Tombs at Persepolis will be eagerly awaited, for it promises more excellent photographs and further information on one of the most fascinating sites in the world.

CHARLES K. WILKINSON

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Bornholm I Folkevandringstiden, by Ole Klindt-Jensen with contributions by H. Helbaek, E. Hoeg, U. Møhl, H. Tauber, English résumés by John Eames. Nationalmuseets Skrifter, St. Ber. II. Pp. 323, figs. 200 + 25, pls. 9 (1 coloured). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, 1957. 75 Dan. kr.

This new trophy of Scandinavian scholarship, a record of excavations carried out on the Baltic island of Bornholm from 1949 to 1956, comes suitably enough in a year which saw the 150th anniversary of the Danish National Museum, with which have been associated so many of the great pioneers of European archaeological studies. The scope of Dr. Klindt-Jensen's latest researches into the northern pre-Viking Iron Ages will already be familiar to American readers through his summary in *Archaeology* 11 no. 2 (1958) 81-86.

Bornholm's position 25 miles from the southern coast of Sweden and only twice that distance from Pomerania and the river routes into central and eastern Europe has long made it a focal point for settlers and marauders alike. Excavation has revealed a pattern of single homesteads linked by trackways and positioned on the fertile glacial clays fringing the main

interior granite masses, with attendant cemeteries concentrated chiefly on sterile gravel and granite ridges.

In the latter, early Iron Age twin-rite burial gives place to a general use of various forms of cremation some including temporary "mortuary houses," while pottery finds seem to indicate funerary banquets, a custom retained in Småland nearly to the present day. The reintroduction of inhumation around the first century A.D. may have been due to Celtic influence, while the discovery of ritually destroyed weapons in early cremation graves recalls similar bog finds paralleled in Jutland.

Turning from the dead to the living, the farmsteads cover the pre- and post-Roman Iron Age down to c. 500 A.D. To this date must belong the last occupation phase of the Gamleborg, a hill-fort to the east end of the island. This clearly temporary structure shows, no less than the evidence for the burning of the Sorte Muld and Dalshøj settlements, the results of those movements which give the Migration period its name. Here too one may note the hoards containing late Roman coins culminating in solidi of Anastasius (491-518 A.D.).

There is good evidence for the construction of the farmsteads; Sorte Muld in its last phase of occupation had two buildings, a general byre and a main L-shaped dwelling place of wattle-and-daub construction, the plan resembling that of the Roman provincial villas. Dalshøj, building C, had a central ridge pole and internal transverse walls paralleled by contemporary buildings in Jutland, N.W. Germany, and Frisia. Hans Helback demonstrates the high quality of the corn grown in the enclosed fields which surrounded the farmsteads, indicating that it must have been in times of stress, indeed, that the poor grain and weeds found amongst the charred remains of Sorte Muld were gathered. Ulrik Møhl's anatomical report is full of interesting points-absence of evidence for hunting but many bones of dogs which may be equated with increased use of the horse, likewise few fish bones but the presence of herring and sturgeon which points to regular catches, a fox's jaw whose molars show wear indicative of its having been kept as a pet, and remains of a whitetailed eagle whose bones are found in contexts from the Mesolithic onwards which can only be regarded as ritual. Here one must not omit mention of the skull, severed feet, and pelvis of a horse found in a pit at Sorte Muld. Dr. Klindt-Jensen points out that this and similar finds in Zealand and Northern Germany recall not only Herodotos' description of a Scythian chieftain's burial but also a series of nomadic rites involving the display of the skin, skull, and hooves of a horse noted from the time of Ibn Fadlan, the tenth century Arabian traveller.

It is hardly surprising that the ornamental wealth of the Bornholm farmers should reflect many points of origin, lacking as the island was in bog iron and salt, let alone precious metals. A bronze cylinder embellished with three human heads recalls the "tricephalos" god of the Gallo-Roman world. The bracteates or

gold medallions copying imperial coin types, no less than the coins themselves, illustrate a time when corn and livestock could be exchanged for fine Roman glass cups and multi-coloured beads no less than the essentials of life. More indirect links with the south are offered by the Hungarian style of some of the strange little "goldgubber"—plaques adorned with human figures. The great silver gilt brooches with knobbed or animal head terminals again show a mixture of Scandinavian techniques and Hungarian motifs, underlined by the find of two Scandinavian brooches in Hungarian cemetery sites. On Bornholm such exotic ornaments are found side by side with simple fibula types, some with a point of origin in South Russia, others in Poland and Eastern Germany.

Thus is built up for us a full picture of the wealthy but simple-living farmers of Bornholm in the period immediately before the major disruptions and invasions whose impact the island seems to have been amongst the first to feel. It will, alas, be a long time before it can be taken for granted that every excavation report whatever its field will, as here, be knit together with such scholarship as well as imagination, and long before carbon 14 dates and colour photographs of sections no less than object photography of a standard such as Mr. Larsen's become a matter of course. Non-Danish readers must indeed be sorry that both English summaries and caption translations stop short of the ground work of excavation itself. Nevertheless, in this study of the Dark Ages is light enough indeed, and an object-lesson in the presentation of archaeological reports for classicist and prehistorian alike.

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TROY, VOLUME IV: SETTLEMENTS VIIA, VIIB, AND VIII, by Carl W. Blegen, Cedric G. Boulter, John L. Caskey, Marion Rawson. Part I (text): pp. xxvi + 328; Part II (plates): pp. xxix + figs. 380. Princeton University Press, 1958. \$36.00.

This is the concluding volume of the University of Cincinnati's monumental publication of the Expedition to Troy, 1932-1938. It covers what everyone has waited for, the Troy of Homer and the Trojan War, and continues with its two phases of Bronze Age survival, its subsequent desertion for four hundred years, and its renascence as a Greek site down to the coming of Alexander. Roman Troy (IX) is omitted, but an appendix deals with its sanctuaries, and promise is made of supplementary monographs on coins, terracottas, animal bones, and miscellaneous finds (Introduction v).

Volume IV is final though not climactic. The material finds are fewer and less impressive than those of earlier levels, and since the top of the citadel was deeply disturbed by Roman building programs the stratification becomes progressively more contaminated and difficult to interpret. Blegen's familiar meticulous-

ness and attention to details, however scrappy, are more necessary than ever, for preconceived theories could have shaped this stratigraphic chaos very falsely. At times the evidence for emerging conclusions still seems uncertain, but nothing is hidden from public scrutiny.

The format and philosophy of presentation remain as before: brief general pictures of each phase and area followed by lengthy inventories of selected objects which make difficult, often tedious reading. An excavator's sense of responsibility toward each sherd he has found may convince him he should not stand between that sherd and his audience, but readers of Troy might well reflect on the distance between a field notebook, however well kept, and a piece of scientific literature. One also regrets that there is no general summary and no consistent attempt to coordinate the Cincinnati results with those of previous excavators. Blegen is probably justified in restricting his presentation to a catalogue and interpretation of his own stratified finds, but the result is, in a sense, that the archaeological history of Troy still remains to be written. However, the chronological foundation and cultural framework are solidly provided here.

Sequence of phases. In Volume III it was made clear that Troy VII a and VII b 1 are actually late phases of Troy VI, but that the Dörpfeld labels were kept to avoid confusion. The real cultural break comes in Troy VII b 2, characterized by intrusive Knobbed Ware with its probable Balkan-Thracian connections. In historical terms this means that VII a is the citadel of Troy VI as rebuilt after the disastrous earthquake of ca. 1275 B.C., with fortification walls patched up and the stones of fallen houses re-used for new, less pretentious structures; it endures perhaps a generation until it is violently destroyed by fire and looted close to 1240 B.C. Troy VII b 1 represents the efforts of survivors of this Trojan War to pull their town together again, but within a generation the barbarians have moved in, apparently on reasonably peaceful terms. These Knobbed Ware Peoples are in turn of brief duration, and the Bronze Age of Troy fades away for causes unknown, before the development of Protogeometric pottery, perhaps by 1100 B.C. Troy VIII begins with pottery of ca. 700 B.C. Blegen believes that the intervening centuries of Trojan culture were spent on the nearby eminence of Ballı Dağ, and that the citadel was only reoccupied when Aeolian

Dates naturally depend entirely on pottery, Mycenaean in the first three phases, East Greek and Corinthian in the last. The native Trojan ceramic repertoire changes but slowly and slightly during a thousand years, so that only the pre-established chronology of foreign imports provides the necessary cross-references to Mediterranean history. It is unfortunate, then, that not a single whole Mycenaean pot from Troy VII survives, that in many cases the sherds are too small and undistinguished for identification, and that the volume of imports has diminished so sharply since the end of Troy VI that chronology is ultimately based on local

colonists arrived in the Troad to stimulate trade (147).

Trojan derivatives of late Mycenaean styles for which no estimate of time-lag can be made precise. Nevertheless, in general and discounting "strays," the Mycenaean sherds of VII a are all attributed to Late Helladic III B, that is, to the period 1300-1230 B.C. according to Furumark's scheme; VII b I has sherds of derivative Granary and Close styles, VII b 2 still includes Granary but no Submycenaean. Blegen's tentative chronology thus runs:

Troy VI: destroyed by earthquake ca. 1275 Troy VII a: destroyed by fire ca. 1240

Troy VII b 1: survivors, one generation, ca. 1240-

Troy VII b 2: Knobbed Ware barbarians, ca. 1200-1100 (?)

Gap with no adequate pottery ca. 1100-700

Troy VIII: reoccupation and Greek contacts, ca. 700-Alexander.

Troy VII a. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had excavated this phase fairly thoroughly, so that Blegen was restricted to a strip near the South Gate of Troy VI where the remains of ten houses were found, and another strip along the east wall. Houses are jammed together, with re-used blocks and hasty party-walls, even backed up to the fortifications though a space had been left in earlier settlements; a characteristic feature is that storage pithoi are now sunk beneath the floors and covered with slabs to provide extra living space. Outside the walls to the southwest and east some houses had been badly burned while others curiously escaped. House 700 is interpreted as a bakeshop by the gate on the strength of its hearth and saddle querns; House 731 produced a goat and kid in one of the many pithoi below its burned floor. The excavators suggest that a period of imminent danger drove many Troad villagers inside the citadel walls, where crowding created an architectural slum and special efforts were made to store and dispense food (under siege conditions?). Unlike Dörpfeld, Blegen found indications of burning at many points; there were scraps of human bone in the streets, a skull in the doorway of House 700, and near the extramural houses the skeleton of a man, apparently struck down in flight and left without burial.

In pottery, VII a is characterized by a new version of Tan Ware with a darker slip; Gray Minyan continues with a few new shapes; imported Mycenaean pots are reduced to a trickle (60 sherds) while local adaptations increase, along with Mycenaean shapes in monochrome local fabrics and Mycenaean patterns on purely Trojan shapes. Blegen believes the imported sherds all come from the Mainland; the Local Mycenaean is in various fabrics and might have been brought in "from places unknown." No mention is made of the Mycenaean settlements in Asia Minor, from Cilicia to the Meander valley, or in Rhodes or Cyprus, which might have been trading through the Dardanelles. Cyprus contributes only eight sherds, all White Slip II; the stratification is not entirely certain (9, 24). No evidence of any kind was found for rela-

tions with Thrace, the Black Sea, Anatolia, or the east, but even so "there could have been connections through intermediaries with the Hittite areas and even with Mesopotamia" probably by sea (10).

Blegen makes an eloquent case for the VII a phase at Hisarlık's representing, on a practical level, Homer's powerful Troy at war (10ff). The walls of VI, still standing though patched, would be sufficient to impress men of Mycenae and Tiryns; the emergency housing, signs of severe burning, and scattered bones testify to siege and destruction. Dörpfeld did not find these signs because he read the Homeric catastrophe into the fallen masonry of Troy VI and had no need for a second catastrophe; we must believe with Blegen that the signs were there for those who could interpret them—at least that certain houses were burned and certain men were killed. If the evidence seems skimpy and the town itself shoddy, this is a matter for literary rather than archaeological healing.

The date for the Trojan War within a decade one way or the other of 1240 B.C. is likely enough, but not strictly proven by the finds presented here. It depends almost entirely on Furumark's termination of Late Helladic III B at 1230 B.C., a date which he arrived at mainly on stylistic, theoretical grounds. Proof could only come from datable artifacts, primarily Egyptian, found with Mycenaean III B pots in sealed Sea Peoples' destruction levels of the southern Aegean, or from historical documents. The chronological conclusions from Syria and Palestine are still uncertain; as for documents, the Trojans were illiterate and neighboring kingdoms did not correspond with them. The end of III B may eventually have to shift down closer to 1200 B.C. Furthermore, Blegen's material is extraordinarily scrappy. One of his prime objects for dating is a fragmentary Tan Ware rhyton with part of an octopus design preserved (fig. 244, 5-7), for which he finds no stylistic counterparts in Furumark but thinks more likely to be III B than C; in the next paragraph it "cannot be brought down later than Late Helladic III B" (59). All Furumark's examples with dots or strokes bordering the tentacles like this are actually III C (e.g. MP Mot. 21, nos. 22, 27, 29) but indeed the style is so crudely provincial that dating is bound to be imprecise. There are LH I-II "Vapheio" sherds from the same level, and Blegen's statement that "closed deposits of habitation debris which had escaped . . . contamination were scanty" is very much to the point (5). But if the date of the Trojan War is going to depend on evidence like this, it can never be more than hopefully approximate, and this should be made clearer in the general statements.

Troy VII b. This settlement had not been subdivided by Dörpfeld; it remained for Blegen to distinguish the earlier "survivor" stratum from the later "Knobbed Ware" phase. This precision is impressive in view of the Roman disturbance and the small areas of untouched ground available. Two streets and three houses show clear stratification, though most areas do not; there was generally, however, a progressive density of d

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Knobbed Ware in the upper fill. Confusion arises at times: Street 751 contained LH III B ware considered typical of Troy VII a in its lower levels (e.g. fig. 279 no. 3); Street 750 had two VII b pavements but Knobbed Ware seemed to occur both above and below (182ff); House VII \(\Theta\) went through two building phases neatly enough but both are dated to VII b 1 (228ff).

Dörpfeld had noted a new architectural characteristic of late VII houses in the use of rough small orthostate slabs for the lowest course (TI 193ff). Blegen recalls that orthostates had been used as early as Troy III though never with such frequency, and finds them especially characteristic of VII b 2 in association with Knobbed Ware (142). Yet in House 762 he found "one rough orthostate" 0.35 m. above the foundations in the earlier, "survivor" phase (196), and later suggests that this masonry style originated at the beginning of VII b 1 before the appearance of Knobbed Wares (229). Neither architecture nor stratification, then, provide any clear information about the Knobbed Ware peoples. One also finds such desperate notes as that Area 786 contained "Mycenaean Ware. Almost all small sherds, one-third to one-half probably or possibly survivals from earlier layers" (228). The picture is further clouded by the discovery of a puzzling "early geometric" ware at several "undisturbed" points. It could not be distinguished from "certain decorated wares of Troy VIII," "usually attributed to the seventh century," "perplexing and still unexplained" (158). Dörpfeld had found this ware in some abundance, and Schmidt felt he could distinguish it from the geometric of Troy VIII (cf. TI 199, 200, 300). Some pieces have concentric compass-drawn circles, but Blegen doubts whether they can be called local Protogeometric (147), and thinks intrusions from Troy VIII have after all passed his usually eagle eye. This geometric occurs along with Mycenaean of both III B and Granary styles in the two-phased house of VII b 1, and a contemporary undisturbed martyr produces the following lot: a pyxis of III C:1 type in Gray Minyan ware (fig. 273 no. 10), 5 imported Mycenaean pieces of which two at least look III B (fig. 278 nos. 3-5), a local imitation of III B panelled style (ib. no. 9), a single genuine Protogeometric sherd (no. 26), a dozen early geometric fragments ("stratification certified," 233), and Knobbed Ware.

The excavators are to be congratulated on extracting any history at all out of this welter. All that seems clear is that Troy was still importing Mycenaean pots after being sacked by Mycenaeans, that the Knobbed Ware barbarians brought nothing cultural with them except their ugly handmade pots, and that after a peaceable mingling for a couple of generations both Trojans and intruders disappear. Dates are difficult, though Mycenaean styles of the early twelfth century have considerable influence. No attempt is made to name the Knobbed Ware peoples: Danubian ceramic parallels are denied, Schmidt's preference for a Thracian origin is mentioned sympathetically with stress on

the need of excavation to prove it, and we find a further tentative suggestion that this is actually an Anatolian, not western, intrusion, a backward culture moving coastward in the upsets attending the collapse of the Hittite Empire, perhaps from near Kusura (169). Phrygians are nowhere discussed. What caused the people of VII b 2 to move to Ballı Dağ is not clear, nor what the excavators found on that mound to bridge the four hundred year gap, although a trial trench was made (Vol. I, 7, 11, fig. 37). An earlier report stated that Ballı Dağ was characterized by late Classical and Hellenistic pottery, with some late Bronze Age pottery too but no architecture (AA 1935, col. 304).

304). Troy VIII. A new fortification wall is built: the main well with its flight of stairs is enclosed within the city. Houses are small, of rubble and clay mortar. There are no archaeological subdivisions for the entire period. The Cincinnati Expedition's major discovery was the sanctuary enclave southwest of the city walls, built in the first half of the seventh century and continuing through Hellenistic and Roman times (appendix). This yielded a number of votive pots and terracottas; the culture is oriented entirely westward, with strong East Greek and Aeolic affinities, secondarily showing Attic and Corinthian contact. A local gray ware continues, which Blegen thinks must have been handed down from Bronze Age Troy through the survivors on Ballı Dağ (147-48; cf. Tl 2). Among contemporary wares it is most similar to "Lesbian bucchero," which underlines Trojan connections with the Aeolian colonists from that island. An unidentified geometric ware, "G 2-3," also occurs at Antissa on Lesbos where it was dated by Miss Lamb to the ninth century, and on Samothrace where it was dated by Lehmann to the seventh (254; cf. BSA 32 [1931-32] 56; Hesperia 21 [1952] 36). The East Greek pottery includes Rhodian and other less obvious fabrics; Corinthian begins with a Protocorinthian aryballos of ca. 700 B.C. and continues through the early sixth century; Attic is mostly black-figured scraps but continues to the early fourth century. Some of the earlier pieces might come from colonists at Sigeion (not mentioned) rather than Attica. Pottery and architecture both suggest that Troy VIII stagnated in the fifth and fourth centuries and was only revived as a town by the Ho-

Mr. Blegen, Mr. Boulter, Mr. Caskey and Miss Rawson are to be greatly congratulated, not only on having achieved their desired objective of reconstructing with scientific precision the history of one of the most important sites in the ancient world but also on having presented their results with such swiftness, detail, and reliability. Scholars who have waited for the last word on the date of the Trojan War, the correspondence between the Homeric and the real Troy, the international relations of northwest Anatolia in the Sea Peoples' era, the coming of the Phrygians, the early Greek colonization of the Troad, and the city which excited Alexander, may feel disappointment in

meric nostalgia of Alexander.

the results. No doubt the excavators were disappointed too, but Cincinnati went to Troy in search of precision rather than grandeur. The four impressive volumes of *Troy* should serve as a model to more dilatory and less conscientious excavators; the Semples, to whom this volume is dedicated, and the University may feel proud indeed at the patience and intelligence of the completed work.

EMILY TOWNSEND VERMEULE

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THE MYCENAE TABLETS II, edited by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., with an introduction by Alan J. B. Wace and Elisabeth B. Wace. Translations and Commentary by John Chadwick. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. Volume 48, Part I. Pp. 122, figs. 149, facsimiles 72, chart 1. Philadelphia, 1958. \$3.00.

Although recent work has dispelled much of the darkness which once shrouded Linear B, it is none the less true that continued and increased illumination both on and from the Mycenaean records can be achieved only through the best combined efforts of archaeologists, epigraphers and linguists. This publication of all the tablets found at Mycenae before 1958 is a model of such cooperation, and it is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Michael Ventris, who made possible the reading of the tablets. It is, in part, a second edition of The Mycenae Tablets (A Transcription by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., with an Introduction by Alan J. B. Wace, ProcPhilSoc 97, 422ff), but completely reworked in the light of Ventris' decipherment and with the important addition of tablets found in 1953 and 1954.

The archaeological setting of the tablets is lucidly described and admirably illustrated with a general plan of the site, house-plans, photographs of the site and pictures of objects found in context with the tablets. Professor Wace here again maintained that these buildings (House of Shields, House of the Oil Merchant, House of Sphinxes) were private houses, tying in the identification with the extent of literacy. The exact location of the tablets in the fill, in the rooms, in the houses, and in relation to other objects provides all the information which an interpreter of the tablets may reasonably require of the excavator.

The presentation of the tablets and of all other inscribed material found at Mycenae is in the most useful form; full-size photographs with facsimile drawings on the facing page are followed in the next section by copies and transliterations of the texts with an apparatus of variant readings and notes. The order of the tablets in these two sections may cause some difficulty, since the photographs are presented in numerical order (and hence place) of discovery and the transliterations are in the order of Bennett's classification, but the resulting reference back and forth

from apparent subject matter to provenance is sufficiently valuable to offset the inconvenience.

In the epigraphic commentary Bennett provides an analytic grouping of the hands, distinguishing them not only by letter-shapes but also by the form and make-up of the tablets. He then goes on to interpret the contents of the tablets from every possible point of view except the linguistic: ideograms (use and meaning), quantities (absolute and relative), adjuncts, arrangements of words and ideograms, paragraphing, provenance, relations between tablets, and clay sealings (how they were made, inscribed and used). The results of such examination are impressive in the amount and variety of information on the nature of the records. And finally in the linguistic commentary Chadwick provides translations where such are possible and, where they are not, makes some suggestions, citing parallels and pointing out possibilities.

The tablets from the House of the Oil Merchant include one listing men, another dealing with oil and a group of records involving transactions in wool. From the House of Sphinxes come one tablet listing men and a series recording condiments in a variety of transactions amongst a small group of people; from here also come one tablet listing various types of pots and a group of clay sealings inscribed with some of the same pot-names. The accidents of preservation and the comparatively small number of tablets make it difficult for the authors to draw any firm conclusions about the nature of the activities carried on in these buildings. They have wisely gone as far as they can go in interpretation and left a clear statement of unsolved problems for the time when increased knowledge of the Mycenaean language and the discovery of new tablets make further conclusions possible.

MABEL LANG

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AKRAI, by Luigi Bernabò Brea. Con la collaborazioni di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli e Clelia Laviosa. Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale, Serie III, Monografie Archeologiche della Sicilia, 1. Sotto gli auspici dell' Assessorato della Pubblica Istruzione della Regione Siciliana. Pp. 187, figs. 64, pls. A-B, 1-34. Catania, 1956.

A new series of monographs dedicated to the archaeology of Sicily is happily inaugurated with the present volume. Never since the active days of Paolo Orsi and Biagio Pace has Sicilian archaeology made such remarkable strides forward as during these last years. Much of the merit for this happy fact goes to the author of this work who, in the capacity of Superintendent of Antiquities of Eastern Sicily, is vested with the supreme responsibility for archaeological and museum activities in this important part of the island. His own work and his inspiring example have given a new impetus to postwar archaeology over the entire

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island. The material prerequisites for the intense archaeological activities have been, and are, furnished by the seemingly inexhaustible funds of the "Cassa del Mezzogiorno." The island likewise enjoys the benefit of a culturally interested and enlightened regional government, but without the right men and women in the responsible archaeological positions, the results would not have been what they are.

The author prepared this monograph during the war years when he was newly appointed to Syracuse, and in it he publishes and discusses what was then known of the inland Greek city of Akrai. The manuscript was ready before the great new excavation program was started in 1953, and Miss Clelia Laviosa who was in charge of the later work has added her new observations to three of the chapters.

When the Syracusans founded Akrai in the seventh century B.C. the place had a long prehistory which Bernabò Brea documents in a chapter full of factual information and fine archaeological observations. The area was inhabited as early as late Neolithic times and its life can be followed more or less sporadically down to the arrival of the Greeks. Thucydides tells us that this happened seventy years after the foundation of Syracuse which, in the terms of the traditional chronology, would mean the year 664/663. The author is hesitant in accepting such a date, and states that Protocorinthian vases are not known from the place. The earliest datable vases are two specimens of Payne's transitional class of about 640-625 B.C. (pp. 17-18). It may however be noted that among sporadic material from the necropolis, there is actually recorded a fragment of a Protocorinthian kylix (117). One would like to join the author in his cautious statement that new excavations may complete the evidence. It is of particular interest to note that around the middle of the seventh century Syracuse made her first decisive step towards the domination of the hinterland by planting a secondary colony of Greek settlers on the borderline of the mountainous interior of the island. It was to be followed by more operations of the same kind, less well documented but of still wider geographical scope and of comparable historical importance.

The material remains of archaic Akrai are sufficiently extensive to allow us to reconstruct a picture of a small but flourishing Greek polis. The tombs of the two necropoles were both partly explored by the pioneer archaeologist of Akrai, Baron Gabriele Iudica, from 1810 to 1813, and subsequently looted by clandestine diggers. Iudica's finds went to his own collection and many of them have inevitably been dispersed, but much is still on hand in the Museo Iudica in Palazzolo. What is equally important is that Iudica made fine observations and published his finds in a monograph in 1819. The archaic material consists of Corinthian and Attic ware, the local imitations thereof, and a minor amount of indigenous Siculan vases.

Two important fragments of limestone sculpture of early sixth century date and a series of architectural

fragments, found in different places, belonged to the early temples of the city. One of these temples has recently been found and excavated by Miss Laviosa but is not dealt with in this work. Among the architectural fragments one should particularly note two pieces of early Doric capitals which in addition to the three common annuli at the base of the echinus are decorated with a bead and reel astragalus. A similar example of Ionizing elements in Sicilian Doric architecture is the triglyph block—well known to specialists—decorated with running spirals and palmettes, also from Akrai, and here fully discussed.

The fifth century is scantily represented, while the fourth and following centuries have yielded much material. The lacuna may be filled by further excavations, and it is too early to say that the classical period was a time of reduced wealth and civic activities in the city. It should, however, be remembered that the fifth century is the period of prodigious growth of Syracusan power and prosperity, a fact that may have tapped some of the resources of Akrai.

In the topography of Akrai the quarries have a prominent place. The "Intagliata," the "Intagliatella" and the western quarry were probably all worked from archaic times and show the intensity of the building activity in the early years of the colony. In later times there developed in the quarries a cult of the heroized dead with the inscription HPΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ frequently recurring on the quarry sides. Small votive niches were cut in the perpendicular walls and in them were inserted pinakes, probably of wood or other perishable material commemorating the dead. The niches may also have only housed an inscription painted on the rock and now completely vanished. The cult in the quarries seems to have begun in the fourth century and continued down into the first century B.C. In early Christian times they were used as burial places and an elaborate system of catacombs were cut into their walls. In other parts of the same quarries the poor population of Byzantine times carved out cave dwellings for themselves.

The remains of the city wall are fragmentary but impressive. Built as a solid ashlar structure, it resembles Dionysius' early fourth-century fortifications in Syracuse and may actually date from his reign.

The two best known monuments of Akrai, the theatre and the adjacent bouleuterion, receive a full discussion and publication in chapters 7 and 8. The author gives good structural and other reasons for believing them contemporary and parts of a great plan for the renewal of the agora area of the town, datable to the third century, to the reign of Hieron II. The monuments are now fully excavated and well restored.

To the west, outside the city wall lies an interesting sanctuary which in the local toponymy is known as "I Santoni." Bernabò Brea's publication of this unique monument (chap. 13) is full of sharp observations and convincing interpretations. It is a sanctuary dedicated to Cybele or Magna Mater with niches carved in the rock housing rock-cut images of the enthroned

goddess and her companions. The iconography of the goddess is rightly compared with the votive stelai from Piraeus in the National Museum of Athens. She wears a modius or polos instead of the Asiatic turreted crown, and the same image is repeated over and over again. We are confronted with a Hellenized version of the goddess and, I would suggest, a special Sicilian version, where her form and function approached those of Demeter and Kore.

The last chapter consists of a sylloge of inscriptions prepared with his usual care and acumen by Prof. G. Pugliese Carratelli.

The monograph on Akrai fulfills its purpose extremely well and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by many similar publications. It sets a high scholarly standard, and I would particularly call attention to the excellent plans and drawings, designed by the late Prof. R. Carta and his successors A. Giucastro and O. Puzzo. If the reader of the catalogue of finds and particularly of its pottery section now and then is confused by wrong references to the plates, he is advised to go to the index of plates at the end of the book where these mistakes are eliminated.

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STUDIEN ZUM ILISSOS-RELIEF, by Nikolaus Himmelmann-Wildschütz. Pp. 43, ills. 30. Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1956.

The "Ilissos relief" of which the title speaks is the well-known Attic gravestone of the fourth century B.C. found in 1874 in the bed of the Ilissos. An old father wrapped close in his mantle and leaning on his staff stands gazing in deep sorrow at a young man who must be his dead son. The youth, characterized as a hunter by the club at his side and the hound at his feet, is nude (his chlamys laid aside) and stands looking outward, oblivious of the old man. A tiny servant boy in the corner is sunk in grief or sleep.

This moving work, artistically one of the finest of the classical Greek grave-reliefs, seems to the author to embody most explicitly certain elements in Attic gravestones which have been neglected in recent attempts to explain the meaning of these monuments. Miss Richter in her catalogue of the Greek sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art has written: "The prevalent view that the departed were shown in their everyday life has recently been enlarged and deepened by Friis Johansen in his Attic Grave-Reliefs; he argues that the deceased are shown in heroized form with members of their family 'in a common sphere beyond time and place'." Without denying the importance of Johansen's contribution, Himmelmann-Wildschütz feels that the element of union has been overstressed and that the features which seem exceptional in the Ilissos stele, the unbridged gulf that separates the dead from the living, the grief of the survivors and the heroic detachment of the departed (amounting to a

kind of transfiguration in the later reliefs), are actually present to some degree in a great many Attic gravestones of the fifth and fourth centuries.

By a number of well-known examples he shows that the figure of the dead is often easily distinguishable from those of the living by its very quality of detachment, most often seen in the direction of the gaze, which is not fixed on the survivors as their gaze is fixed on the departed. "Der entrückte Tote, deren Blick in dieser Welt kein Ziel mehr findet" shows this detachment even in single-figure stelai, where the dead may make the gesture of some everyday action, such as an athlete scraping himself or a woman holding up a mirror, but fails to follow the action with his glance. The author admits some exceptions to this rule for separating the living from the dead, and the reader wandering through a representative collection such as that in the Metropolitan Museum in New York will find more doubtful cases than the book leads him to expect, but the point remains an im-

The changes in type of composition and number of figures that occur in grave-reliefs around the middle of the fourth century do not obscure the isolation of the dead. Rather, it is dramatized. A kind of heroization is expressed in various ways. The youth of the Ilissos stele is nude, though in Attic art hunters are normally shown clothed, and there is much about the figure that recalls heroic statues, such as the Lansdowne Herakles. Death may reverse the normal canons of etiquette: a deceased husband sits while his wife stands, or a young woman is shown seated before a standing matron. Finally, women sometimes appear seated on thrones instead of the usual comfortable household chairs. In this connection the author accepts Miss Richter's date of around 400 B.c. for the New York fragment from Lowther Castle showing a woman on a throne, merely commenting that it is alone in the earlier period. Is this not rather another argument for making it later, as the depth of the relief and its suitability for a high position suggest?

In a concluding section on the origins of the classical Attic grave-relief, Himmelmann-Wildschütz explores Johansen's theory of influence from Spartan hero-reliefs and comes to the conclusion that there is no direct connection. He perhaps goes too far in his attempt to deny all heroic and chthonian attributes to the figures on archaic Attic gravestones. Even if the pomegranate is explained away as an athlete's victory-prize and the wreath as festive trappings, the Homeric war-chariot in the lower panel of a stele in New York (not considered by the author) cannot be taken as a scene of everyday life.

For the shape of the classical broad stele and its architectural conception the author rightly compares archaic Attic votive reliefs, the seated potter relief from the Acropolis and the so-called Three Graces relief. As to whether the broad stele occurs among archaic grave-monuments in Attica he is less positive than Johansen, who denies it altogether, but agrees

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with him that the so-called "Marathon-Runner" is a votive rather than a grave relief. By now it seems worthwhile to recall attention to the finding-place of this stele, which speaks strongly in favor of its being a gravestone. It was found between the Piraeus Gate and the Sacred Gate (c. 100 m. from the Church of St. Athanasios Chalkouris) in a heap of stones near preserved traces of the city wall. The excavator (Philios, ArchEph [1903] col. 44) leaves it uncertain whether or not the heap of stones actually represented some of the filling of the wall lying in situ, but he had no doubt that the wall was its source. As the recent excavations of Threpsiades near the Piraeus Gate (Praktika [1953] 61-71) have again shown, sculpture from this source is almost, if not entirely, all sepulchral.

As the present volume is rather like an extended review of Johansen's, so a proper review of it would again become a volume, so many are the small but vital questions that remain uncertain or only partly solved. We owe thanks to the author for having shown the extent of the uncertainty, for having lent his sensitive observation to the successful interpretation of some of the most beautiful monuments, and especially for having illustrated a few of the best in fine new photographs by Miss Eva-Maria Czakó, which make them more vividly present to the reader than they have ever been before.

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WERKSTÄTTEN ORIENTALISIERENDER KERAMIK AUF RHODOS, by Wolfgang Schiering. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.) Pp. 151, figs. in text 5, pls. 16, "Beilagen" 11. Berlin, Mann, 1957.

Dr. Schiering's book is the most detailed work so far published on the seventh- and sixth-century pottery commonly known as "Rhodian." The author divides this pottery into three groups, which he considers to have developed independently of one another: "Kamiros," "Euphorbos," "Vlastos." He subdivides each group into three other groups: Early "bloom," dated 660/650 to 635/630 B.C., Late "bloom," dated 635/630 to 615/610, and Late, dated 615/610 to 560/550 B.C. He derives "Kamiros," "Euphorbos," and "Vlastos" from an Early Orientalizing group, dated ca. 675 to 650 B.C., which he derives from a Transitional group, dated 700 to 675. He also has a group composed mainly of bird bowls, which lasts throughout the seventh century.

After a brief introduction, there is an eleven-page cursory discussion of the three main groups, their style, development, dating, and distribution. This is not followed by a descriptive catalogue of any group. The author's attention has been concentrated mainly on forms, ornaments, and the figured decoration, which cover almost five-sixths of his work. This is evidently the part of the book to which the author attaches most importance, and patient work and deep learning have gone into each of these chapters. The

reader will find there instructive observations in plenty, with a wealth of erudite references very valuable for the study and comprehension of "Rhodian" pottery. At the end of the book there is a clear but brief summary. The illustrations are good and they include many unpublished pieces.

The book is of exceeding interest to scholars in this field and of fundamental importance for the knowledge of early Greek pottery. To the non-specialist, however, the lack of descriptive lists creates a certain stylistic confusion, as the chapters on forms, ornaments, etc., are not perfectly coordinated with the others, so that the differences between one main group

and another are not always clear.

The grounds on which the dating of these groups is based are somewhat loose, for the chronological evidence is not scrutinized to the full. The idea that the three groups, "Kamiros," "Euphorbos," "Vlastos," are parallel and independent manifestations lasting about a century is open to criticism. The reviewer sees (1) a Kamiros group, which is the most genuine "Rhodian" group, (2) another group, and (3) a group composed of the fusion of the two. The rest of the material sprang up (in several sub-groups) after contact had been established with mainland stylistic traditions. A good illustration of this view is offered by the Brussels oenochoe (pls. 3, 1 and 12, 2). It shows, on the one hand, an admixture of local "Rhodian" and mainland stylistic features, seen (a) in the pairs of small cross-lines on the horn of the goat (pl. 12, 1), made in imitation of the incisions on horns of Corinthian goats; (b) in the reserved arc on the thigh of the other goat (pl. 3, 1), an imitation of the incision, or incisions, on the thighs of most Corinthian animals. On the other hand, the same oenochoe also shows a degeneration of assimilated Kamiros features, seen (a) in the horn of the first goat (pl. 12, 1), drawn partly in outline and partly massive, combined with an absence of ear, explicable only as a fusion of a massive horn and an outlined ear of the Kamiros style; (b) in the three-legged attitude of the same goat, derived from a combination of a running and a walking Kamiros animal. The Brussels vase, therefore, though considered by Schiering to be the earliest Early Orientalizing Rhodian oenochoe (ca. 675 B.c.) must belong to a much later date and style.

Aside from these disagreements, which arise from the fact that the author has followed and further developed Professor Andreas Rumpf's earlier scheme (IdI 48 [1933] 55ff), there is no doubt that he has produced an impressive work which will help other scholars in this field for a long time. Time will test

the validity of his conclusions.

CHRYSOULA KARDARA

ATHENS

EXPLORATION ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE DELOS XXIII: Les FIGURINES DE TERRE CUITE, by Alfred Laumonier.

Pp. 315 plus Addenda. Plates, bound separately, 106 (two in color). E. de Boccard, Paris, 1956.

Those who interest themselves in the plastic arts will welcome this long-awaited volume in the great series publishing the results of the excavations at Delos by the French School at Athens. By American standards, this publication is lavish. Full descriptions, abundant illustrations and an introduction providing information on provenance, technique, and relevant details make up a publication that must be consulted by all those who study the Hellenistic world. Scholars will applaud the attention given to the pictures, though others may regret that scientific considerations have sometimes overweighed artistic propriety. It is jarring to see light and dark backgrounds on one plate, or, indeed, to see black backgrounds at all, but students can only be grateful that the pictures are sizable, legible, numerous and varied. All too rarely do publications give so many views of one figure; the profiles are a great boon. Americans can only envy a system that has enabled the author to work for thirty years on an excavation publication and that has provided the funds for adequate publication.

The book contains material of a wide range of interest. A number of archaic pieces, including the beautiful masks reproduced in color (pls. 11 and 17) speak vividly of the relations between the navel of the Aegean and the outlying regions of its body politicand religious. Most of the material, however, dates from the late Hellenistic period. It was preserved, as ever in antiquity, by destruction in the early first century B.C. Its variety, its religious content, its artistic excellence help us to gain a clearer picture of that fascinating era. For the art historian, the most important pieces are large statuettes, unhappily fragmentary, similar to their numerous sisters at Delos and elsewhere in bronze and marble. A few are veritable works of art comparable with well-known pieces attributed to Smyrna (e.g. nos. 300, 600, 657, 663, 679, 685). These comment not only on the interrelation of media but also on the popularity of sculpture among the ordinary folk of this period.

Since the Hellenistic field is at present confused without clear chronology, we must confess disappointment that even a full publication of excavated material gives practically no reliable dating. The reasons are various, many not the fault of the author, but rather a warning to all field expeditions. The most striking shortcoming is the inadequacy of the records. The provenances given are just too vague. Even if we know the date of the Stoa of Antigonus or of the Agora of the Italians, we cannot tell from the publication where an individual piece was found: in the destruction debris of the building, in its floors or footings, or even perhaps in the earlier earth beneath it or piled upon it in mediaeval times. The neglect of such records has limited the usefulness of the book. To give only one instance: in a potter's shop, among Hellenistic figurines, two archaic pieces turned up

(nos. 195, 200). Are they, as Laumonier suggests, "conservées sans doute comme curiosités, comme antiquités dans la maison" (p. 19) or were they actually under the floors or brought in with earth fillings of much later times? The evidence that might have enlivened our knowledge of the mentality of coroplasts is forever lost.

For another source of dating, namely for tomb groups, the author could presumably have given more useful information. He often mentions graves without telling us of their contents, as for example "Tomb B at Rheneia" in which no. 262 was found along with a red-figured lekythos. We should all like to know the date, even the painter of that vase. The dating of certain graves, "s'échelonnant de 426 à l'ère chrétienne" might have been summarized a little less succinctly. Since the author had before him Mrs. Stillwell's publication of the terracottas from Corinth, a model in the use of dated deposits, he can reasonably be asked why, when he saw how helpful such information could be, he did not give it for Delos?

This neglect is all the more remarkable in an author who pays at times even excessive respect to the evidence from contexts. In the case of no. 685, the figure of a woman seated in much the same pose as the Tyche of Antioch, he has overdone his conscientious attention to provenance. The piece was found in a room in the Agora of the Italians which was not built until the end of the second century B.C. Laumonier therefore says, despite his own surprise, that "le lieu de provenance laisse aucun doute sur la date." Surely this is over-simplification. A solid mass like this handmade model, without head or protruding limbs, could have tossed about in the earth a long while before it reached the Agora of the Italians. The finding-place must be taken to indicate only the terminus ante quem for its manufacture. Artistic feeling and stylistic comparisons must surely be allowed their voice in these difficult analyses.

In general, Laumonier does use comparative evidence for chronology and in general we cannot quarrel with his results. He relates the archaic material very properly to the publications of Rhodian graves; for the Hellenistic, he has much, but less exact documentation. He adduces several parallels from the marble statuettes also found in the excavations of Delos, a procedure trying to the reader because most are unpublished. Laumonier finds that the vast bulk of surviving figurines are those that were extant in the beginning of the first century B.C., that is, just before the sack of 88 B.C. and a few thereafter, apparently down to about 57 B.C. From the lack of earlier material, Laumonier deduces a great lacuna from the fourth century, when the graves cease, to the late second century, when the houses and public buildings begin to contribute large deposits. He compares this situation with that he believes to be true at other sites such as Tanagra, Alexandria, Myrina, where the later material appears to come only from cemeteries. This view is beginning to be modified by the evidence from 63.

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recent excavations. In Corinth, Athens, Ilion, Alexandria, Thrace and Crete, for example, many early Helenistic figurines have been found in towns and sanctuaries, though without contradicting the apparently certain fact that the manufacture of terracottas increased greatly during the last pre-Christian century.

creased greatly during the last pre-Christian century. In other matters, as in chronology, the reader is disappointed at the restraint of the author. Although he is admittedly not writing a history of Hellenistic terracottas, Laumonier might at times have focussed a little more crisply on certain aspects of that wide horizon. He too often merely lists comparative material, without coming to grips with the issues involved. For instance, he calls articulated figures "dolls" and then, referring to other theories of their character, confuses the reader, without attempting an analysis or even a decision on other interpretations. His parallels often seem weak, as in the case of an important piece, no. 273, which, in the reviewer's opinion at least, bears little resemblance to Boston no. 88. In other instances, suggestions and parallels are sown from the sack rather than from the hand. To take a striking example: for no. 300, a sculptural-looking Artemis, various comparisons are tentatively presented and then withdrawn, leaving this highly characterized piece without affiliations or date. Vague resemblances to Ptolemaic portraits, as Westholm long since has pointed out (Temples of Soli, 191) merely indicate a general date for a fashionable facial type and do not clarify a terracotta representation of Artemis. In this case, moreover, two close parallels which are not mentioned do bring this head into clearer focus. One is a large fragment, possibly also an Artemis, from Delphi (Delphes V, pl. xxvII), the other a large head from Corinth (Hesperia 18 [1949] pl. 14, 6). These two are so similar as to suggest that they come from one shop, presumably in Corinth. As the Corinthian head was found in a well that was used until nearly the time of the destruction of 146 B.C., we can assume that this type of large sculptural statuette, close in feeling to a bronze, was being made during the first half of the second century. The Artemis of Delos resembles these two heads fairly closely. All three heads have in common: the shape, the plastic hair modeled in lively strands, the long narrow eyes, the long nose, the bowed mouth, the rather small protruding chinall features characteristic indeed of the Ptolemaic rulers, as Laumonier points out, but obviously modified during the second century by classicizing tendencies and certainly far from any thought of genuine portraiture. That this precisely defined facial type continued to be popular throughout the second century, gradually becoming less subtle and more stodgy is made clear by abundant evidence from Delos, for example by no. 335-6, a herm-head, which follows the old tradition, but has lost the earlier crisp eyelids, the delicate nose, the bowed lips. The genuine plasticity of the hair and wreath of Artemis have developed, on the herm, toward over-emphasis to the detriment of the features. Since this herm was found in a shop that was de-

stroyed in 88 B.C., we can safely take it as a representative—of which many more existed in the same shop of the monumental style as it was rendered in the early first century.

This is merely a sample of the value of the evidence from Delos, if it is worked through to its fullest results. More still could be learned from a detailed analysis of the contents of the two coroplasts' shops. By comparisons and synthesis, it would be possible to detect, from the mass of evidence presented in this book, which styles were waning and which growing in popularity in the early first century B.C. It seems a pity that the author did not himself attempt to understand the significance of his material in showing the shifts of taste and technique during this little-known period. Recent publications, such as those by Mrs. Stillwell, Miss Goldman, Mr. and Mrs. John Young, to name a few outstanding examples, have shown how effectively those who know the material at first hand can make their syntheses.

We must not, however, speak ungraciously of an author who has worked so long and so conscientiously over such a large body of material. He has fulfilled his aim, not to make an exhaustive study of the figurines of Delos, but to present a mass of excavated documents, "avec le plus de précision possible." For this we are certainly grateful. We appreciate the observations on techniques, on distribution, on importations. He has generously done the hard chore of cataloguing and left to others the rich opportunity of analysis and the chance to pursue further the story which he modestly refrained from writing.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Greek Theatre Production, by T. B. L. Webster.
Pp. xv + 206, pls. 24. Methuen and Co., Ltd.,
London, 1956. 25 s.

No novice in the kitchen will be as surprised by the potentialities of a package of rice as the reader who thinks these ten score octavo pages will be an evening's survey of Greek staging. The book is a marvel of compression. In consequence, it requires the reader to be knowledgeable and to do his share of work by manipulating the apparatus devised to produce brevity.

The following excerpt from page 65 will illustrate the mechanics of presentation. "In the Lysistrata three masks are needed for Lysistrata, who has raised brows (8, 707), Lampito, and the chorus who are older (637); I take Kalonike and Myrrhine in the first scene and the three women who appear later to be members of the chorus. A straight-nosed mask with a mop of hair (R), which can be seen on the Aixone relief (31) and on a popular figure from the second New York set of terracottas (12b), could be worn by Lampito, and the chorus could wear one of the old women's masks. Of these two can be distinguished, a little old snub-nosed wizened mask (U), worn by the nurse in the first New

York set (11a) and by the procuress in the Würzburg group (18), and a fat woman (Y) known from several terra-cottas (e.g. 19). We have to postulate a third old woman for the parade of uglies in the Ekklesiazousai: the first (940) is snub-nosed (U) the third is like a toad and a monkey (1072, 1101) and

should be the fat woman (Y)."

Even this brief passage will indicate the need of an enviable familiarity with Greek drama to follow the argument in detail and with speed. The bracketed numerical references to the texts are usually obvious as such, unless they happen to refer to the opening lines of a play. The other numbers refer to the selected catalogue of objects and monuments which, in addition to the plays themselves, provide the evidence for the author's reconstruction of the way in which the Greeks put on their dramatic performances "from the earliest times down to the late Hellenistic period." This published catalogue is but part of the compilation which Professor Webster has made over a period of years as an expansion of the already impressive assemblage to be found between the covers of Margarete Bieber's books on the history of the ancient theatre. There is a distinction in the references from text to catalogue which, unfortunately, is not typographically very clear for numbers: italics mean that the object in question is illustrated (as the Aixone relief in the quotation just given). Since numbers are repeated for alphabetical sections in the catalogue, the reader of the excerpt above must remember that (31) really means (B31), for he is dealing with the section on Old and Middle Comedy. He finds his plate references in the catalogue. The reviewer's copy is now peppered with marginal references to illustrations for smoother and faster rereading. The majority of objects not illustrated in this volume are reproduced in Dr. Bieber's History of the Greek and Roman Theatre, so her book (due to appear shortly in a new edition) is indispensable as a companion. Finally, the bracketed capital letters in the quotation refer to Webster's own designations of Pollux' types of mask. All these devices were, of course, dictated by a commendable desire for economical publication, but they are a creaking and cumbersome mechanism.

The choice of a passage dealing with Pollux may seem unfair, since any such discussion is bound to be a web of cross-references. But while it reveals mechanical difficulties in presentation, it also shows succinctly the accomplished mastery of material by the author and his intimate knowledge of details which permit him to shuttle rapidly through the web and deftly weave the pattern of his argument. He is completely absorbed and occasionally expects similar preoccupation. "A good Tettix can be seen on the Pergamon frieze..." (p. 85) is a statement that will startle the less engrossed who need to pursue the reference to the catalogue to realize that this bald mask is from the gymnasium at Pergamon and is not a freak amongst the famous gods and giants of the altar. The quotation also reveals that we have, in effect, a scholar's notes expanded into readable form to

make them available to those similarly interested in a complex and fascinating aspect of antiquity which still influences our own cultural expressions. No one can make a serious study of Greek theatre without consulting the wealth of condensed thought presented here.

The discussion follows a geographical plan, dealing first with Athens, then Sicily and Italy, and then, in increased tempo as the quantity of evidence tapers off, with mainland Greece outside of Athens, the Islands, Asia and Africa. Plays and ancient writings, the theatres themselves, and various objects related to drama offer information, sometimes forthright, more often elusive.

The interpretation of the evidence is neither easy nor simple and the details will always attract differences of opinion. The most subjective aspect of the problem. acknowledged by the author, is the recognition of theatrical equipment implied in the action and speech of the plays. How often are verbal descriptions of surroundings made in default of visible settings and how often is the observer expected to eke out the performance with his mind? The texts indicate that there were, by the fifth century, various entrances, two levels, a crane, and some sort of painted scenery. The elaborations upon these devices are conjectural and the reviewer finds herself hesitant to follow the author all the way in some of his speculations. Is it really "difficult to imagine how the Prometheus or the Ajax could have been produced without some kind of scenery" (p. 14)? Scenery would be helpful but not essential to the mise en scène and the chorus, adroitly placed, could conceal substitutions without straining credu-

Concerning the theatres themselves, although the dimensions imply remoteness between audience and players, the peep-show effect suggested on p. 4 is extreme. Many a person, who may not have had the opportunity to enjoy the experience of watching a performance in an ancient theatre, has sat at the top of a moderate-sized American football stadium, with twice the capacity, and not felt that he was watching Lilliputians. In fact, the expressive gestures and actions of individual athletes are surprisingly clear, in spite of distance, helmets, and shoulder-padding.

In contrast to written and architectural evidence, there is an embarrassment of riches when we come to objects related to Greek drama, for here the material is copious, varied, and frequently datable. Professor Webster devotes a good portion of his book to a study of Pollux and the intricate equation of descriptions, representations, and characters, offering interesting and ingenious solutions (such as the second false-maiden, p. 86, and the differentiation of households by style of headdress, p. 93). The basic difficulty in this game of matching has always been the limit to which a second century A.D. account can be extended backward in time. But without speculation we will make little headway, and we must applaud the efforts of those willing to take calculated risks.

Although an important work of reference, this is no

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K-ration to be nibbled in moments of stress; it is a accurate index, it is filled with facts, pertinent refbanquet to be consumed with full appreciation of the imagination, careful preparation, organization, and experience of its cordon bleu chef. accurate index, it is filled with facts, pertinent references, and brief but sensible commentary. In short, it contains a wealth of information: archaeological, historical, and epigraphical. Much of

Frances Follin Jones the art museum, princeton university

Inscriptiones Graecae, Vol. IX, Pt. I, ii, Inscriptiones Acarnaniae, *Guentherus Klaffenbach* (ed.). Pp. xxxi + 98, pls. 5. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1957. DM 130.

In 1932, Klaffenbach published the editio minor of Aetolian inscriptions and expressed the hope that the revision of IG IX would be completed soon in one additional fascicule. Events of varying magnitude prevented the realization of that scheme, and a new plan has now been adopted: the inscriptions of each remaining area will be published in separate fascicules, as has been done first with Aetolia, and now with Acarnania. With the announcement of this change in plan has come a change in appearance, and in the Acarnanian fascicule the reader encounters a new font of Greek letters which is to be standard for the corpus in the future. The new type is large, clear, and well-spaced, and has already become familiar from its use in an increasing number of journals and editions; its superior legibility will surely win the universal appreciation of scholars.

The first edition of IG IX, published by Dittenberger in 1897, contained 96 inscriptions from Acarnania: Klaffenbach publishes 382 different entries, including several important tituli Acarnanum extra Acarnaniam inventi. Of this total, 135 are published here for the first time—an indication that inscriptions can be found in Acarnania only slightly faster than they disappear; no less than 134 stones are reported lost. While it is true that the number of known inscriptions from Acarnania has increased considerably in recent years even without much systematic excavation, the general paucity of documents on stone from this region is striking when compared with many other parts of Greece. Enough inscriptions survive to belie any notion of semi-barbarous illiteracy, and the explanation may possibly be found in the material. In another recent and valuable study, Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones, P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne have shown reasons for believing that some stonecutting techniques in this area, particularly in the third and second centuries B.C., were derived or imitated from bronzeworking. This suggests a widespread use of bronze for documents both of a public and of a private nature—and in fact, a number of inscriptions on bronze are known from this region-and may explain the relative scarcity of writing on stone in Acarnania and its vicinity.

The user of this fascicule will soon find that, like some of its companion volumes, it is much more than a collection of inscriptions. From the useful and carefully compiled Fasti Acarnanici to the complete and

accurate index, it is filled with facts, pertinent references, and brief but sensible commentary. In short, it contains a wealth of information: archaeological, topographical, historical, and epigraphical. Much of this material is as interesting to the non-specialist as to the epigraphist, but the latter especially will find Klaffenbach's expert treatment well up to the high standards of the series. The inclusion of several good photographs and a sketchy but useful map of the area bears out the excellence of the editor's judgment, and causes regret for Willamowitz' decision that such illustrations be omitted from the Aetolian fascicule, where they would have been equally valuable.

A few points deserve treatment in detail. Another fragment of No. 209 was rediscovered by the reviewer in May, 1958, built into the wall of Ft. Punta some ten meters east of the gate where Kirsten saw fragment A. The rediscovered fragment preserves the original right edge (and bottom?) of the stone with a recessed fascia, and contains parts of lines 10-21.

No. 209 Fragment B

- λᾶι καὶ το[ῖ κ]οινοῖ τῶν ᾿Ακαρνά-τάδευμα φιλοπονίαι καὶ τέδὲ εἶμεν Διογένη Διογένους
- ων καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶι ἐν ᾿Αεἰράνας καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκαὶ εὐεργέταις τοῦ κοινοῦ
υαcat
ναcat

-δα προμ[ν]άμονος δὲ τῶν
-τέος δὲ βουλᾶς Νικία
-μεν καὶ εὐεργέταν τῶν ᾿Ακαργόνους καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶι καὶ
-ς καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν
υαται

This additional fragment bears out the general accuracy of Le Bas' text, the most significant difference being at the end of line 17, where Le Bas read

ΔΑΠΡΟΜΝΑΜ (5-6) ΔΕ. How Philetas' anonymous friend and schoolmate (Pandora 13 [1863] 490f) recorded the full width of lines 2-10 and 17-22 without seeing the intervening lines (which he reports as lost) remains a mystery. It is all the more mysterious since his readings purport to have been made in 1810, while the fort in which the surviving fragments are preserved, apparently as part of the original construction, was already standing in 1805 (Leake, Travels in Northern Greece 1 [London 1835] 174; the plan, 4, 42, seems to date from his second visit in 1809).

No. 241 deserves mention as an interesting recent discovery. An Aetolian-Roman treaty of the late third century B.C. found at Thyrrheum in 1953, it provides for the division of spoils captured by either party or both together in their operations against Macedon (Livy 26.24). It is to be hoped that elsewhere Klaffenbach will defend his rejection of McDonald's plausible interpretation of lines 21ff more fully than he does in the addenda (p. 77).

No. 424 from Oeniadae might almost have been printed separatim as spurious; certainly the editor is correct in rejecting its authenticity as heretofore recorded, and his explanation of the "reading" reported by the excavator is almost as certainly correct. Cyriacus' sketches contain many examples of curious juxtapositions (in addition to the one cited by Klaffenbach, cf. the "Tower of the Winds" placed atop the monument of Philopappos, ASAtene N.S. 3-5 [1941-43] 160 n. 1, with fig. 4), and a close examination under excellent lighting conditions (in March, 1957) has convinced the reviewer that this is one such oddity. The inscription, if it exists at all, must be sought elsewhere.

No. 576, a graffito on the handle of a silver ladle, should continue to be regarded as coming from Acarnania on the basis of present evidence. Klaffenbach's suggestion that it is Eretrian is attractive, but it is even more tenuously supported than is the reputed Acarnanian origin of the piece.

The reader will find no mention of No. 3 from the Aetolian collection (the bronze plaque from Thermum) among the *tituli Acarnanum extra Acarnaniam inventi* on p. 70—an omission only partially offset by the brief citation in the *Fasti* (p. xx), and all the more regrettable in view of the new and deliberate division of fascicules.

It is extremely fortunate that No. 583, the decree of the Acarnanian koinon concerning the maintenance of the sanctuary and games of Actian Apollo, was able to be included in this collection. Although the topography of the sanctuary remains disappointingly vague, the existence of the grove mentioned by Strabo (7.7.6; C325) is confirmed, an "Heleneion" added to previously known features of the site, and much that is of interest can now be added to previous knowledge of the history of the sanctuary and its relationship with the League. The editio princeps of this inscription, based on a study of the stone as well as squeezes and photographs, is slightly more conservative than Klaffenbach's text (especially in regard to dotted letters), and is perhaps to be preferred on that account. It is unfortunate that further photographs of this stele were not published by Klaffenbach instead of some of the less consequential pieces he does illustrate; scholars still have no adequate control over the readings of this important inscription. To Klaffenbach's bibliography, now add the further prosopographical note by Habicht, Hermes 85 (1957) 501ff.

Nos. 589-595 are now in the schoolhouse at Vonitsa. No. 591 has been broken into three pieces; Nos. 593 and 594 are both broken in two.

In fine, this fascicule is an extremely useful and thorough piece of scholarly work. It is not too much to say that in addition to an excellent epigraphical publication, the editor has produced the most valuable treatment of the region since Oberhummer's Akarnanien appeared in 1887, and it is to be hoped that this work will stimulate still further study of an interesting but neglected area.

COLIN N. EDMONSON
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Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae, Vol. I, by G. Mihailov. Pp. 262, pls. 122. Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Serdicae, 1056.

Mihailov's corpus of Greek inscriptions found in Bulgaria will be completed in five volumes, the final one containing indices with geographical tables. Our first volume includes the inscriptions from the coast of the Black Sea. The largest group comes from Odessus (later Varna and now [1956] Stahlin, a town to be distinguished from Odessa in USSR). Within each geographical division, inscriptions are listed according to types: decrees, catalogues, letters, dedications, sepulchral inscriptions, etc. The editor states that since Vol. V will not appear for many years he has added indices to Vol. I, and these prove to be very complete.

M. publishes the minuscule texts of approximately 475 Greek inscriptions. He is careful to report in each instance whether he has examined the stone, and his detailed critical apparatus records all variant textual readings in bold-face type. There are 122 plates which reproduce photographs or drawings of most of the stones available to him. Unfortunately, the photographs are sometimes not of the best, nor is the reproduction. The percentage of stones reported as lost is remarkably high. Some 76 texts are preceded by the words: Periit, Non vidi, Ubi nunc sit, nescio, Periit in mare, or similar phrases.

The work contains some forty-odd previously unedited texts. Most of these are sepulchral inscriptions from Apollonia and date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Some idea of the difficulties under which the editor has labored can be gleaned from the fact that M. reports that he did not see stones which are now in the museum in Odessa (USSR), as well of course as those in the Hermitage Museum. He states, moreover, that such basic publications as Le Bas and Collitz-Bechtel, as well as articles of A. Wilhelm, were not available to him. On the other hand, he quotes from many works which are probably inaccessible to most schol-

The more important inscriptions include a lengthy honorary decree (no. 13) of the year 48 B.C. passed by the people of Dionysopolis; no. 29, which is an interesting example of an inscription transported, for no apparent reason, from Bulgaria to Kumi in Euboea; a decree of the city of Odessus (no. 40) mentioning an embassy of King Pharnaces I (185-170 B.C.); a decree of Apollonia (no. 392) in honor of a commander of a military detachment sent by Mithridates. Several inscriptions attest the popularity of the Samothracian mysteries. The student of prosopography will discover many hitherto unattested names; the editor makes no attempt to explain their nationality. Many of the stones have sculptured reliefs.

As recently as 1941 Rostovtzeff (Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World 3 1334 n. 55) lamented that none of the Greek cities of this area have been excavated; and Kazarow, in Chapter 17 of CAH

8, has commented on the scanty nature of the archaeological material and the difficulty of obtaining a general picture of the history of Thrace. M's corpus, when complete in five volumes, will help fill this gap, and will undoubtedly become an indispensable tool for a more comprehensive history of this region.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ACTA CONGRESSUS MADVIGIANI, HAFNIAE MDMLIV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CLASSICAL STUDIES, VOL. IV. The Classical Pattern of Modern Western Civilization. Urbanism and Town-Planning. Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1958. Dan. Cr. 30.

The organizers of the 1954 Congress at Copenhagen deserve grateful recognition for the successful manner in which they have accomplished a difficult undertaking: they chose, for a section of the Congress, a field of interest in itself, urbanism and town-planning, and one which amid the preoccupations of the present age demands particular attention; they entrusted its interpretation to a group of distinguished specialists and invited further discussion on the part of a well-chosen circle of fellow-workers; last, but not least, they have produced the present admirable volume within four years, by no means grande mortalis aevi spatium.

A distribution of the sub-topics primarily on a geographical basis was indicated, and this has proved to be a roughly chronological sequence as well, allowing for the fission of the Italian part into the comprehensive title *Urbanism in Italy*, and the additional heading, which in strict logic might serve as its preliminary, The Early Development of Roman Town-Planning.

Ancient Urbanism in the Near (and Middle) East (pp. 7-26) is treated by J. Lauffray. Those grandiose creations of the Mesopotamian rulers that aroused the admiration of Herodotus and have in part been revealed by the excavating activities of the past half-century appear to lie outside the main current of influence here recognized: their place was taken by the foundations of the Seleucids and by Alexandria, the only important city which conditions in the Nile valley led Alexander and his successors to establish and develop. The plans of a number of these have now been recovered: the type is a monotonous and precise checker-pattern. In Roman imperial times they exercised a considerable influence on the principles of Roman urbanism, themselves originally derived from oriental formulae, and this influence accelerated the development of Rome in the second century of our era as a great Mediterranean city.

Ancient Greek Town-Building (pp. 27-86) is accorded, as it deserves, abundant space: not only do the achievements of this gifted people demand, as always, respectful consideration, but it is here that progress in recent years has been outstanding. The sociological implications of the "Townscape" set the tone for

Anthony Kriesis' austerely philosophical interpretation, covering the entire span from neolithic settlements to classical and Hellenistic times, and distinguishing first the Irregular Pattern and then the Regular Pattern; a further chapter deals with town-building elements, especially the civic center and the dwelling house. In a conclusion, urbanism on Greek soil is recognized as a link in "the long chain of town building history all over the world," with its tradition of the two fundamental patterns; and its bearing on the problems of

the present and the future is suggested.

A. Boëthius' treatment of Urbanism in Italy (pp. 87-108) summarizes the views which he had developed in a series of publications; the copious and varied material on which these are based, together with his considered interpretation, should be available in his Jerome Lectures, adequately illustrated, before these lines appear in print. The central problem here, which emerged with clearness in the discussion following the paper, is that of the Mediaeval and later survival, or the fresh invention, of certain characteristic elements in the townplan of Rome as it developed after the Neronian fire and was perfected during the second century of our era: the insulae with their tabernae and arcades. Here, as the participants in the discussion realized, the two processes, tradition and invention, were not mutually exclusive, but on the contrary were supplementary to each other: an innate urge for a particular mode of life in the Middle Ages was stimulated and its satisfaction facilitated by the heritage from the ancient system. What still requires explanation, as Professor Romanelli observed during the discussion, is the prevalence of porticoed streets and kindred open spaces in North Italy (Bologna; the Piazza San Marco in Venice) as contrasted with their relative scarcity in the Peninsula proper. In any case, their beneficent function as a shelter from rain and snow is felt more keenly in areas of greater precipitation.

For many readers, Professor J. Ward Perkins' treatment of The Early Development of Roman Town-Planning (pp. 109-129) will prove the most informative and most helpful portion of the volume. After relieving us, finally, of the incubus of attempting to interpret early Rome in terms of axiality and symmetry-the current doctrine regarding the terramare lacks objective foundation-he points out that "Italy was a late-comer in the field of urban civilization": the basis of the early economy was agricultural, the village and farmstead were the units. In recent years such villages have been recognized and excavated. The introduction of new ideas, presumably originating in the East, appears to have been due at certain stages to the Greek colonists of South Italy and Sicily, but Professor Ward Perkins presents serious reasons for attributing to the Etruscans a larger share in the process, in its earlier phases, than has generally been realized. The definitely Roman procedure itself has now become clear at the military colonies of 303 and 273 B.C., Alba Fucens and Cosa. In the later urban foundations, the influence of military planning is discernible. Sites in plains presented different problems from those on defensible hilltops. But this is a closely-packed article which defies summarizing: its every sentence demands careful consideration.

This volume, however, should be accepted not only as a summing-up of results achieved but as a preliminary to further undertakings in its important field. With this in view, it appears permissible to offer the following brief suggestions.

One of the most important literary sources for Roman town-planning, Strabo's description (5.3.8) of the Campus Martius, does not make satisfactory reading in the form in which it has been transmitted. Its difficulties, however, vanish with the realization that the Geographer, in preparing the revised edition of his work, set his additions in the margin, and that in the present instance he added a paragraph devoted chiefly to the burial-places of Augustus and his family; in the subsequent process of copying, this was inserted at the wrong point in the text. The difficulty was realized, and what would appear to be the obligatory solution proposed, as long ago as 1890, by P. Meyer in his Straboniana, 20-21, but, so far as we know, his proposal has passed unheeded save for our own modest attempt to utilize it (BSA 22 [1916-18] 48-50). If it is too much to expect others to consult these two discussions after so great a lapse of time, at least the suggestion may be permitted that they reread and reconsider the passage in Strabo as it is currently printed, with a view to the sequence of the several topographical elements in the description.

Recent discussions appear to have overlooked or disregarded a matter which appeared to Vitruvius (1.6) to be relevant to the problem of city-planning: the adjustment of the lines of streets and open spaces to the prevailing winds. Here as elsewhere the old Roman engineer may have been not only transmitting the precepts of several generations of predecessors but also offering the fruits of his own experience and observation. Can we afford to disregard what he has written? The question may perhaps be submitted to the consideration of contemporary town-planners.

A different range of ideas, and one lying more immediately in the sphere of interest of the medical and psychopathic faculties, is invoked by the picture here presented of living conditions in Imperial Rome: those countless families condemned to a cheerless existence in the tabernae with their cenacula or pergulae, enclosed behind porticoes, with no direct sunlight, and a minimum of cubic space of air to breathe. The answer usually given, that Italian town-life centers about the piazza and the activities of the street, is only partially adequate for the waking hours-it makes no allowance for the night passed in such confinement, still less for the claustrophobic dreams inevitably induced and for their effect on the psyche of the individual and the mass. This appears a promising field for research, even though the spacious and opulent environment in which much of the conventional Roman literature was composed detracts from its value as material evidence.

But quite apart from such minor suggestions, it is gratifying to observe that the four years that have elapsed since the Copenhagen Congress have been fruitful ones from the standpoint of the subject here treated. Progress has been cumulative and rapid. More townplans have been revealed, partly with the aid of airphotography, beginning chronologically with the fabulously early Jericho, and extending in space as far west as Nuragic Sardinia (Barumini) and as far north as the marshes at the mouths of the Po, including also several Greek sites in Sicily (Scornavacche, Halaesa) and the prehistoric settlements on the Lipari Islands. Of further publications there has been no lack (see the relevant sections in the successive volumes of Fasti Archaeologici): we mention only one, Ferdinando Castagnoli's section, pp. 1-186 with city-plan, of Vol. XXII, Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma of the Ist. di Studi Romani's Storia di Roma (the bibliography, pp. 169-86, will serve in general as a convenient guide to both the older and in particular the more recent publications in its special sector of the field).

A. W. VAN BUREN

ROME

RECUEIL GÉNÉRAL DES MOSÄIQUES DE LA GAULE. I. GAULE-BELGIQUE, by *Henri Stern*. (Sup. Gallia X). Pp. 105, pls. 56. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1957.

This small volume of 105 pages is the first fascicle of a comprehensive catalogue of the mosaics of the Roman Provinces. In the preface, M. Alfred Merlin traces the growth of the concept from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present time; in the foreword, M. Paul-Marie Duval outlines the project in more detail. The region chosen is the western part of Roman Belgium. A catalogue of 140 mosaics arranged according to the territory of the various tribes of antiquity follows an introduction in which M. Stern states the difficulties of the task and establishes the method of procedure not only for himself but for the fascicles to follow. The order of presentation is as follows: place and date of find, dimensions and condition when found, present dimensions and state, present location, description, bibliography, references to illustrations, comments, dating if possible. Ten Mediaeval mosaics are treated in an appendix. For the convenience of the student, the author has added a list of a dozen entries in the Inventaire that contribute nothing to his study and a table of those corresponding to his enumeration. A topographical index alone was considered sufficient for the fascicle, since a subject index is to be added when the fascicles are gathered into tomes. Fifty-six plates illustrate the text adequately and form an invaluable aid for the student of the mosaic art.

Since these mosaics cannot be dated on external evidence, a chronology can be established only by a comparison of the internal evidence with mosaics found elsewhere. The author has divided his mosaics

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geometric designs in black and white, well known from the mosaics of the first and second centuries in Italy. Although the author contents himself with a general ascription to the first-second century in the catalogue, he ascribes nine (nos. 8, 16, 23, 31, 93, 94, 101, 121, 122) to the second half of the first century. I heartily agree with his tentative dating of no. 31. The effect is entirely different from that of a somewhat similar use of opus sectile which I dated in the second century B.C. Because of the small size of the tesserae, I should add no. I to his list. All others are, or at any rate can be, products of the second century. The second group he rightly attributes to Septimius Severus and his immediate successors. This second category shows figured insets, usually polychrome, in all-over patterns, in which color is also often used with discretion especially in the guilloche borders outlining the design. With one exception, he ascribes none of the antique mosaics to a date later than the middle of the second century. No. 77 is quite definitely from the fourth. It is my impression that the rectangular guilloche appearing in one fragment from Vailly (no. 80 A) does not occur in Italy before the 4th century. Photographs can give a false picture of regularity. If dating from photographs is difficult, that from prints and drawings is well nigh impossible. The author has used all this material with a due sense of its relative importance.

Few patterns occur that cannot be found in the mosaics of Italy, and these appear in drawings which cannot be used as absolute evidence. The panels depicted in no. 25, the miniature pediments alternated with lunettes in the border of no. 113, large and small curvilinear squares alternated in the interlaced circles of no. 13, and light curvilinear squares with small crosses superimposed on dark ones in no. 87 are new

An interesting sidelight on life in the Provinces comes from the discovery of at least seven mosaics (nos. 93, 118, 119, 120, 122, 135, 137) connected with hypocausts which were installed to bring comfort to living quarters. A workshop abandoned in haste at Pont d'Ancy showed that tesserae were sometimes prepared near the quarries for distribution to nearby sites.

The reviewer is especially grateful to M. Stern for the completeness with which he has amassed and presented all the material. Nearly half the mosaics are no longer in existence. Of these, a dozen perished in one or the other of the wars which have swept over the district in this century. Of others there is only brief mention. Only three can surely be studied in situ. The rest are in museums where they have often sustained restorations. No. 140 may give indication of a wall mosaic of glass tesserae.

The author has set a high standard for the fascicles to follow in arrangement, content, illustration, and documentation. I have noted only one typographical error, XXXIII for XXXVIII on p. 14. No one can understand better than I the difficulties involved in a

into two categories. The first, which he ascribes to study of this kind or feel a deeper appreciation of the the period between A.D. 50 and 140, shows mostly competence with which M. Stern has brought his difficult task to completion.

MARION E. BLAKE

ROME

DIE STATTHALTER DER RÖMISCHEN PROVINZ DAL-MATIA VON AUGUSTUS BIS DIOKLETIAN, by Adolf Jagenteufel. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, XII. Coll. 146. Vienna, Rudolf M. Rohrer in Baden, 1958.

After a brief introduction on the origin and extent of Dalmatia as a Roman province the author presents us with a chronological survey of the governors in which the focal point of interest is the date of the governor's stay in the province. But historical and social problems are by no means neglected, for wherever these have any bearing on the date they are carefully examined and used. Most important for the control of the author's reasoning is the reproduction of all the pertinent texts for each of the governors, a detail which makes the work extremely useful and complete in itself. Although most of the dating and arguments are naturally based on the great contributions to Roman prosopography by Groag and Stein, the author of this work does not simply follow slavishly these great masters, but in many places he is bold enough to disagree and think for himself. At times, however, one does have the feeling that some material has been simply reworded from the standard works of Groag, Stein, De Laet, Barbieri and others; this is inevitable in a book of the present type and the author can hardly be criticized on that score. At the end of the volume are twenty-one columns of text devoted to the rank, cursus honorum, and origin of the Dalmatian governors as well as a register and an index.

Some of the results of this investigation are quite interesting. We see, for example, that in the period when Dalmatia had a legion within her borders—the period down to the end of Domitian's reign—the interval between the consulship and the Dalmatian governorship could be as short as two years and as long as thirty-one years, while the majority were nine years or longer. This is a point worthy of notice. After Domitian's reign the province no longer had an occupying force of legions, but remained a consular province nevertheless-with perhaps but one exception-and there was a noticeable shortening of the interval between consulship and governorship (one or two years). The author also analyzes the careers of the governors from the viewpoint of previous and subsequent ap-

A few typographical errors exist, but none of them needs to be mentioned here. In the matter of accuracy in detail I limit myself to but one observation: on col. 54 the author makes use of Trajan's titles of Optimus and Parthicus to date the governorship of C. Iulius Proculus. He ought to have consulted the remarks of F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford 1948) 34ff, for the exact date on which the titles were given is not known with the accuracy assumed by the present author. However, Adolf Jagenteusel is to be congratulated on a good piece of work. Let us have more from him along similar lines of research.

ROBERT K. SHERK

THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

DIE GRAEBERFELDER VON LAURIACUM. DAS ZIEGEL-FELD, by Aemilian Kloiber. Pp. 208, pls. 81, figs. 5, aerial photo 1, maps 2. Oberoesterreichischer Landesverlag, Linz/Donau, 1957.

Lauriacum was a Roman castellum and settlement along the Danube *limes* in Noricum, Upper Austria of today, located 20 km. east of Linz on the south bank opposite Mauthausen. The place of the castellum was well chosen between the mouth of the Enns river to the east and that of the Bleicher creek to the west. The city of Enns is only 250 m. away, east of the former camp.

The area is a rich one, archaeologically speaking. Until 1951, when the first systematic excavation started at Lauriacum, 5 burial grounds of the Roman period were known; after the excavations from 1951-57 they numbered 27.

The cemetery "Ziegelfeld (-brickfield) is located directly south of the castellum stretching 260 m. in length and 52 m. in width. After about 150 graves had been destroyed when basements were dug for a housing project, 271 graves were unearthed containing 201 skeletons.

The burials cover the time span from about A.D. 350-630 (and one Carolingian warrior grave from A.D. 750). The earliest graves were in the east, the latest in the west, and an arrangement of some 30 rows was observable.

The interesting thing concerning this cemetery is its proven continuity through a "change of population." The skeletons are uniform in type and there is obviously no change due to arrival of heterogeneous elements. If, therefore, the Baivarians "immigrated" they must have been virtually of the same stock as their predecessors.

The excavator was able to distinguish areas in the cemetery: one for children, one for victims of epidemics, one in the central part consisting of stone cists with or without lids. The blocks of which these cists were built were taken from earlier Roman grave monuments and the reliefs on them were badly damaged.

There were four types of graves: 1) without any coffin; 2) with "dead slabs" (the dead had been placed on a board); 3) with wooden coffins; 4) stone cists or graves with mortar-bound stone walls, or cists enclosed with Roman grooved tiles.

Kloiber proved to be an excellent observer; he registered all the positions of the arm bones and studied

the possibilities of their changes through decay, washedin soil, roots, animals, etc., with the result that he was able to distinguish pagan and Christian arm positions. Positions of feet sometimes proved that shoes had been on them, and golden buckles were observed. His refined observation enabled him to show how much later secondary burials took place, in grave 27/1952, for example, six months after the first one.

After Christianity became uncontested, the stone cists were built with relief plates from earlier monuments, showing Herakles, Orpheus, Nereids, boar hunt, portrait (Capitonius Ursus), maiden with basket (illustrated). This provincial art used conglomerate stone material, thus adding to the rustic style of these reliefs, but they have some refreshing simplicity.



These stone cists belonged to an elevated social group, very likely to clergy. Kloiber observed that the skeletons in the stone cists are of smaller stature than in all the other graves. Interestingly, one cist contained a skeleton of a pigeon, found next to the head of the skeleton of a 60 year old woman.

The dating of the graves also offers a special problem. It was obviously customary to pick up earlier Ro3

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man potsherds and coins and to put them into much later graves; this custom was observed even in Christian graves which were bare of any other deposits. The time difference between the latest coin and that of the archaeological material is 240-250 years. For example, the Baivarian grave 5/1956 contained earrings of the 7th century, and its coins dated 358-69, 365-78, 356, 367-71. Many terra sigillata sherds are datable to the 2nd century. The bulk of the graves, 200 of them, are from about 350-400.

A reversed case of dating problem was offered by grave 26/1952, where the "dating" fibula was certainly from the early 2nd century, while the grave, being undisturbed, contained six coins from 350-375.

There are two story-telling graves. No. 12/1953 is that of a child; it contained a tutulus silver fibula of Germanic origin from northeastern France, safely datable to the late 4th century. The coin found shows Solomina, wife of Gallienus, A.D. 265/66. But the glass vessel in the grave comes from the 6th century, is also made in northeastern France or Belgium, and thus naturally dates the grave to that century. It is a Germanic grave, as indicated by fibula and globular glass bottle, and on the strength of the arm position (straight along the body) it is pagan. The other grave, 25/1953, is that of a 25 year old woman; it contained a wide glass cup with garland pattern and a glass bottle with a globular body and long neck from Belgium, silver shoe buckles, and three gilded silver fibulae with semicircular head plates which are chip-carved. She had on her hair a decorative silver arrow with a gilded animal-style bird's head. All these trinkets, including silver bracelet and finger ring, are surely from the beginning of the 6th century. The two coins date 375-392 and 388-392. This grave, too, shows northwestern connections.

The pottery, rare in this cemetery, is quite identical with finds in Pannonia. Lauriacum was destroyed by the Avars about A.D. 700. The Baivarian graves at Lauriacum are, as Kloiber points out, the oldest observed in Upper Austria from the time when the Carolingian dynasty started to come into power in France. The cemetery also contains a mysterious problem, a stratum stretching 6.40 m. x 8.70 m. above five graves, and composed of closely packed horn cores from different types of cattle.

The biggest part of the publication deals with the protocol of excavating graves; this is very instructive and should be studied by novice excavators. The final analysis is excellent and it is regrettable that these fifteen pages are not available in English; a translated summary of this excellent report could probably have been arranged. The photography is also quite good.

GEORGE LECHLER

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

LES RUINES DE DOUGGA, by Claude Poinssot. Pp. 82, pls. xxi, figs. 7, folding plan 1. Secrétariat d'Etat

à l'Education, Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts, Tunis, 1958.

Thugga (the modern Dougga) played no very conspicuous part in the history of ancient North Africa. Situated in hilly country 100 km. southwest of Carthage, it was a small agricultural civitas of Libyan origin, beside which, after the formation of the Roman proconsular province, a pagus of Roman farmers and merchants grew up. In the reign of Septimius Severus civitas and pagus were united in a single municipium, whether with Latin or Roman rights we do not know; finally under Gallienus the municipium was promoted to colony. But by then the days of the town's prosperity were numbered. Despite epigraphical evidence for a slight revival under Diocletian and again under Valentinian, there can be no doubt that Thugga shared in the general decline of the Empire in the fourth century, and after the Vandal occupation only the ghost of a town remained to be fortified by the Byzan-

But though of little political importance in antiquity, Thugga can boast a remarkable number and variety of archaeological remains. A civic pride, unsurpassed even in North Africa, crowded its steep, closely circumscribed site with an extraordinary profusion of public buildings terraced one above another on the hillside; and time and man's "injurious hand" have spared more here than at many another North African site less remote from the main centers and lines of communication of Islamic civilization. Some of the monuments of Thugga are already familiar from the textbooks: the unique Libyan obelisk-tomb of ca. 200 B.C., the well-preserved theater and Capitol, both built in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Severan Temple of Caelestis in its splendid semicircular precinct. Other buildings are here published for the first time, including five important private houses, mostly two-storeyed, three courtyard temples, and the large and elaborate Gallienic baths, a notable addition to our knowledge of Roman thermal establishments.

M. Poinssot's short but scholarly guide could hardly be bettered. An introductory section provides the visitor with exactly the background he needs to bring the ruins to life. A concise and lucid outline of municipal history is followed by a general sketch of the streets and houses, of building materials and methods, and of the economic, social and religious life of the inhabitants. The descriptions of the ruins themselves are clear and full but not overburdened with detail. Two itineraries are suggested: one for the touriste pressé, who can gain a nodding acquaintance with the major monuments in the space of an hour; the other for the more fortunate traveller with at least three hours to spare and the energy to explore the whole site. Both itineraries are marked on a large folding map of the excavations at the end of the book, while detailed plans of several of the more important buildings are provided in the text. The plates, which include some snow-scenes (not, one hopes, typical), are well chosen and reasonably well produced. Possibly a smaller format would have been an advantage for the book as a whole: one can imagine its rather floppy to x 8 inches getting out of hand in one of those upland gales which, so the author tells us, used to set the remains of the Capitol rocking before they were consolidated.

M. Poinssot modestly describes his work as a simple guidebook for tourists; but it is a great deal more than that. Specialists will welcome Les Ruines de Dougga as a stimulating prologue to the detailed study of the site now in course of preparation by the author in consultation with his father, M. Louis Poinssot, the doyen of Thuggensian archaeology.

DENYS E. L. HAYNES

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

L'Antiquité Chrétienne du Musée du Louvre, by Etienne Coche de la Ferté. Pp. 128, figs. 88. Editions de l'Œil, Paris, 1958.

This volume is a catalogue designed to accompany an exhibition of Early Christian and Byzantine art recently installed by the Louvre in the Salle des Sept Cheminées. The exhibition comprises eighty-one objects, stone sculpture, ivories, bronzes, gold and silver pieces, ceramics, paintings and mosaic, brought together from various departments of the Louvre to form the nucleus of what may grow into a section of Christian Antiquities. Each piece is well illustrated and, in the catalogue proper, is carefully described and analyzed both stylistically and iconographically. Bibliographical references are also included. This part of the book will be of most interest to the specialist as it includes some objects not hitherto published.

The introduction, which is over half the volume, gives an account of the formation and development of Christian art. For the West, the author treats only the Early Christian period, 3rd to 6th centuries. In the East he carries the history throughout the whole Byzantine period to the end of the 15th c., and includes also a discussion of Russian icons of the 15-17th c. The eighty-one objects of the exhibition serve to illuminate this section. The introduction will be of most value to the educated layman who wishes to obtain a general knowledge of the field and does not want to be bothered by intricate questions of attribution, date, or source. M. Coche de la Ferté has done an excellent job of presenting a complex problem in accurate and understandable form.

JOSEPHINE M. HARRIS

WILSON COLLEGE

THE FRESCO CYCLE OF S. MARIA DI CASTELSEPRIO, by Kurt Weitzmann. Pp. vi + 101, figs. 4, pls. 32. Princeton University Press, 1951.

Eight years have elapsed since Kurt Weitzmann wrote his reexamination of the date and style of the

frescoes of Castelseprio. The monograph, not previously reviewed here through no fault of this reviewer, still stands as a monument of aesthetic analysis in the field of Early Christian and Middle Byzantine art. The present review of the monograph itself does not come too late since Castelseprio is as much of a problem today as it has been ever since 1944, when the frescoes miraculously came to light in the eastern apse of an oriental-looking little church south of Lake Como.

Weitzmann's book was an answer to the first publication of the frescoes by G. P. Bognetti, the late A. de Capitani d'Arzago and G. Chierici, who concurred in explaining the unique character of its frescoes as a survival of a style close to the Hellenistic style of Alexandria, brought to Italy by an atelier of Syrian artists fleeing the persecutions of the Moslems in the 7th century. According to their thesis, the workshop was transferred to the north of Italy as an accompaniment to the papal policy of sending missions to the Lombard kingdom for the purpose of achieving the complete conversion of the Arians to Catholicism and ending definitely the Schism of Aquileia.

The most brilliant and constructive part of Weitzmann's monograph is the first two chapters: "Methodological Considerations" and "Style and Date." Against all the Italian publishers and most concentratedly against de Capitani, Weitzmann contends that there is no such thing as an unbroken Classical tradition from the 4th to the 7th century in early Christian art, but, on the contrary, that its development is marked by an increasing invasion of elements of "abstraction." Stylistically, the frescoes of Castelseprio continue the late Classical tradition of the Mediterranean more obviously than anything remaining of Early Christian painting in Italy, Palestine (including the early Islamic frescoes of Kuseir-Amra) or Syria (including the early Islamic frescoes of the mosque of Damascus), not to mention the ghosts of Alexandrian wall painting that today have faded into near nothingness in the catacombs of Karmoudz in Alexandria. Even the first frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum Romanum, done by Greek artists or by Greeks from the Near East at the peak of the orientalization of Rome through a succession of Popes foreign to Italy, do not exhibit the freedom, the grace, the command of spatial depth and atmospheric perspective, the subtlety in the handling of diagonal representation of scenes, or the mastery in design and foreshortening evidenced at Castelseprio. Yet, everything considered, Weitzmann ranges the frescoes of Castelseprio on the Medieval rather than on the Pompeian side. He is right in emphasizing that the volume of the human body is there more suffocated than suggested by the bundle of draperies in which it is dressed, and that the draperies themselves are "patternized" in angular, jutting folds with crisscross highlights. But what if the Castelseprio master had followed a stiffer and more linear model, a cycle of mosaics? It is no accident that at Castelseprio the dado painted under the lower tier of the scenes of the Nativity is composed of thrones supporting the vi-

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Gospels alternating with curtains hanging from a pergula as on the mosaics of the baptistery of the cathedral of Ravenna, and that the two flying angels holding a rod and a globe supporting the cross, to the left and right of the throne with the insignia Christi on the reverse of the arch above the entrance to the sanctuary, are very similar to those on the mosaic of the arch above the apse at S. Catherine, Mt. Sinai.

If the frescoes of Castelseprio appear to be a miraculous relic of the Mediterranean classical culture in the dark ages of Italy, and in a church the architecture of which is extremely decadent and poor, the miracle has to be accounted for, in the opinion of Weitzmann, as a phenomenon not of tradition and survival, but of renaissance or revival. It is clear from the first page that the pretext for writing the monograph was Weitzmann's agreement with de Capitani that the most suggestive stylistic comparisons with the cycle are afforded by the miniatures in the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale ms. gr. 139) and the Joshua Roll in the Vatican Library (Cod. pal. gr. 431), and his disagreement with de Capitani that the illustrations of those two manuscripts date in the 7th century. Weitzmann has constantly stated that they belong to, and are the major exponents of, the second-or Macedonian-Renaissance in Constantinople during the 10th century, a cultural and artistic movement which started in the reign of Basil I (867-886) a generation after the final defeat of iconoclasm, reached its acme in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (d. 959) and waned during the reign of Basil II (976-1025). His views on the art of the Byzantine Renaissance have been time and again reinforced, from the appearance of his article on the Paris Psalter in the Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft (1929) to their fully developed presentation in his monograph on the Joshua Roll in 1948. His work on Castelseprio follows the same line of reasoning and duplicates the methods of analytical and aesthetic comparisons tried before. Possibly too deep an entanglement in the controversy about the evaluation of the style of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll and their inferred chronological location has narrowed the span of the study of the frescoes of Castelseprio and borne in a rather negative way on the conclusions of the author.

At this point one finds it impossible to ignore the fact that Weitzmann's monograph had the beneficial effect of starting a reexamination of the main problems of iconography and style involved in the whole question of Early Christian painting. Today most Italian archaeologists still assign the paintings of Castelseprio to a date, in general, in the 7th century, as the late C. R. Morey did constantly. Weitzmann's thesis has been adopted with some qualifications by D. Talbot Rice. A. Grabar and M. Schapiro have taken a midway but provocative position. Castelseprio should be considered a cornerstone of and an immediate introduction to Carolingian art at large (Schapiro, ArtB 34 [June 1952] 147-63). For Grabar, Castelseprio transmitted northward the Greek elements for the Reich-

enau school in the early Ottonian period (Actes du IIIe Congrès international pour l'étude du haut moyen âge [Olten and Lausanne, 1954]).

This reviewer cannot help being impressed by the circumstance that the main themes of the Nativity cycle at Castelseprio were, according to literary evidence, also painted in the 9th century in the choir of Santa Maria, at Mittelzell on the Island of Reichenau. It may be added that there are also frescoes in a Swiss church, dated 780-790, the frescoes of St. John of Münster, which have never been studied as they should be in connection with Castelseprio. They have been known in part for almost half a century and their rediscovery following an over-all restoration had occurred just before Weitzmann wrote his monograph. The frescoes at Münster were executed, under the direction of a Greek master who probably came from Rome, in exactly the same technique as those of Castelseprio. They show a number of striking similarities to those of Castelseprio, such as the architectural settings of the scenes and the beribboned garlands issuing from flaring, trumpet-like squared corners. Also, a medallion of Christ at Castelseprio is comparable to the imagines clypeatae painted on the half-domes of the southern apse at Münster. The parallel, however, goes no further; the frescoes of Münster with their squat and swarthy figures follow the canon for the human figure usual in Carolingian art but the frescoes of Castelseprio do not.

Weitzmann's study makes only the slightest allowance for data deriving from history, archaeology, epigraphy and even iconography. Castelseprio's special position during the Lombard kingdom, as a military outpost and a xenodochium on the pilgrimage road from the Alps to Rome, was stressed by Bognetti. This background changes completely with the fall of the Lombard kingdom and any hypothesis invoking a later date for the frescoes is less cogent unless proved by new arguments based on new historical facts.

Very important, also, is the archaeological evidence that the church was built to be pari passu covered with intonaco and frescoes. The profiles of the apertures were intended to be finished in gesso and the same gesso, planned as the prime coating for the frescoes under the intonaco, oozed into the joints between the courses of ciottoli (pebble) during the construction. The frescoes, therefore, date with the church and it is highly improbable that a church presenting features like horseshoe-shaped and partly screened-off apses could have been erected as late as the 10th century in the west (except in Spain, where we would be confronted with a mozarabic church).

The inscriptions of Castelseprio prove that its painter was of Greek origin but naturalized in Italy and writing for Italians. The word EMEA above the figure of the midwife who, having doubted the virginal conception, had her hand desiccated, tends to establish not only that the literary source of the scene was the Greek version of the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, but also that the word EMEA transcribing the Greek

ή μαΐα was substituted for the name of a person (Mrs. Midwife, and not "the midwife") since ή μαΐα with the meaning of the Latin obstetrix would have made no sense for Italians. The painter was familiar enough with the Latin usage of transcribing η as E (the € of the inscription being not the Greek epsilon but the Latin uncial for E) to know that n had to be rendered graphically E and not phonetically I, exactly as the diphthong as in paia had to be rendered E. Similar remarks could be made concerning the writing of Ioseph (again E for η) and of ZVMEON for the name of the priest in the scene of the Presentation, in which Z + vowel, instead of S + vowel, corresponds to an adulterated Greek pronunciation as well as to current Italian speech. The inscriptions of Castelseprio, compromises between Greek and Latin intended for Italians, would be hard to explain if written by a Greek artist not conversant with Italian usage, imported, as Weitzmann supposes, during a short period of active exchange of missions between Hugo, King of Italy, and the court of Byzantium (935-942). The possibility that the frescoes of Castelseprio were executed then or immediately afterward—possibly accompanying the marriage in 944 of an illegitimate daughter of Hugo to Romanos, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus-is outlawed by the graffito under the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, which records the consecration of a priest during the episcopate of Tado who occupied the seat of Milan between 860 and 868. Of the name TADONIS every letter is clear except that there is now a blank for the first one, completely erased, and that of the following A only \ is preserved. Actuated by pangs of conscience, Bognetti admitted that the word has now faded away enough to be read "à la rigueur" LANDULPHI (there were two archbishops of Milan by this name; one died in 899, the other in 998). But de Capitani was perfectly right in assuming that the reading TADONIS was the correct one and consequently in fixing the recorded "terminus ante quem" in the span of years 860-868. Other graffiti scratched under the frescoes are scattered according to paleographic dating, from the 8th and 9th centuries to Romanesque times. The oldest were certainly inscribed at a time when the memory of the circumstances motivating the frescoes was lost, and when the clergy of Castelseprio saw no reason to pay them the same respect that they would have felt for a brand new monument.

The fifth chapter, "Meaning of the Program," is the least convincing of the monograph. The only manuscripts with subject matter more or less similar to the cycle of Castelseprio, and akin to it in the depiction of the scenes, are the Cod. gr. 1613 of the Vatican Library (Menologion of Basil II), which belongs to the end of the Macedonian Renaissance, and the Cod. gr. 1162, also in the Vatican, which is much later. If the caption Renaissance has to be written under the paintings of Castelseprio, they belong not to the orbit of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll but to the chronological and cultural vicinity of the mosaics of the vesti-

bule of Kahrieh-Djami (the church of Christ in the Fields) in Constantinople, which are, at the beginning of the 14th century, the most glorious work of art in Byzantium, realizing a synthesis of classical style, early Christian revival, and a naturalism able to convey the most subtle and stirring nuances of religious and psychological mood.

Weitzmann, however, has rightly reintroduced Constantinople, Greece and Asia Minor into the total picture of the sources from which the artist of Castelseprio drew. The only cycle of frescoes of the Nativity which compares with Castelseprio-also being made up of two superposed stories undivided by any framework, painted in light colors with an impressionistic lightness, with medallions studding the otherwise continuous "frescoed scroll"-is to be found in Eastern Thrace, in the Red Church of Perustica, which is preiconoclastic. The survival of the apocryphal themes of the Nativity and of the spirit of Castelseprio is met for the last time in the cave chapels of Cappadocia which are late, but which, everyone agrees, continue an unbroken tradition with no intervention whatsoever of a revivalist program. (The presence of a school of painting in Rome, on the other hand, in the last decades of the 7th century is proved not only by the frescoes of Santa Maria Antiqua but by a notice in the Gesta Abbatum Wiremutharium of Bede, according to which Abbot Benedict of Wearmouth brought back from a journey to Rome the models for the decoration of his abbey church. The program included, inter alia, a cycle of frescoes of the Nativity.)

The final assessment of the iconography of Castelseprio cannot be made because all the scenes of the lower stratum of frescoes on the left are destroyed. Weitzmann has accepted (in spite of some reservations expressed by de Capitani) the theory that the scene immediately to the left of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple was divided into two episodes: the Flight of Elizabeth, or the miracle of the mountain which split to rescue Elizabeth and the child St. John from the executioners of Herod, and the murder of Zacharias in the temple. Those two episodes are painted also in the Red Church of Perustica, together with the Annunciation to Zacharias. The Annunciation to Zacharias is also depicted in a room of the underground church of Deir Abu Hennis (Antinoe), which is pre-Islamic.

In Early Christian iconography the apocryphal cycle of the Nativity of Christ seems commonly to have been completed by an apocryphal cycle of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The two cycles are still threaded together in the tituli describing Carolingian and Ottonian wall paintings. Such a tradition builds a strong case for reconstituting all the stories missing at Castelseprio as illustrating the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and for supposing that the two medallions, placed symmetrically on both sides of that with the bust of Christ, were filled with the busts of St. John the Baptist on the left (i.e., on the right of Christ), and of the Virgin on the right. The inclusion of the busts

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of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John, constituting a Deisis, would not at all indicate a post-iconoclastic date for the frescoes, as Weitzmann believes. Even if the Deisis connected with imperial liturgy in Byzantium is subsequent to the Council of Constantinople (843), its first formulation was different. It associated with Christ Logos the Virgin Theotokos and St. John the Baptist as a special intercessor before Christ. In the Greek liturgy and in the Coptic liturgy, as early as the first part of the 5th century, the canticle of Simeon (Luke 2.29-32) was followed by a troparion which is the oriental version of the Ave Maria and by another which mentions the extraordinary graces attributed to St. John the Baptist: σοὶ γὰρ ἐδόθη χάρις πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

At Castelseprio the cycle of the Nativity of Christ ends with the pathetic figure of Simeon receiving the child Christ in his trembling hands. On the left, in the lower row, there must have been disposed the three or four scenes reserved for the Nativity of the Baptist and, above them, the bust of St. John. Now would a Deisis at Castelseprio point toward an Alexandrian origin of the program, or towards a near-Eastern source not far from Alexandria? There is a Deisis on the mosaic above the apse of St. Catherine of Mt. Sinai, another in Santa Maria Antiqua, which is usually labelled Alexandrian, and a third mentioned in a literary source: the vision of a painting in a dream related by the monk Sophronius of Damascus who lived in Egypt at the beginning of the 7th century. But the extraordinary status reserved for St. John the Baptist in the first centuries, far from being localized in Christian Egypt, had an oecumenical value. A plethora of early Christian works of art exalting St. John the Baptist exists, and for them an Alexandrian origin cannot be predicated. The most significant feature of the program at Castelseprio is that the Virgin Theotokos is glorified all around the apse, and that Christ symbolically triumphs with the throne supporting the insignia Christi on the triumphal arch screening off the apse. The association of the Kingship of Christ and of the theophanies which witnessed His divine nativity was sealed, immediately after the proclamation of Mary as Theotokos at the council of Ephesos (431), on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Anyhow, the liturgical conception of the Deisis was introduced early in northern Italy, since in 602 Agilulf dedicated the cathedral of Turin to Christ the Savior, Mary, and John the Baptist. The Cathedral of Turin, made up of three separate buildings, a martyrium of an essentially christological character, a basilica dedicated to the Virgin for the use of the congregation and the baptistery dedicated to St. John, was the equivalent of a Deisis in terms of architectural iconography.

PHILIPPE VERDIER

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini, by *Phyllis Pray Bober*. Studies of the Warburg

Institute, Vol. 21. Pp. xiv + 108, pls. 44. London, 1957. £3.3.0.

This book is the first fruit of a project jointly sponsored by the Warburg Institute of London and the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, the making of a Census of Antique Works of Art known to Renaissance Artists. Mrs. Bober, of the Institute of Fine Arts, was given charge of the work and went to London in 1947 to begin the undertaking. One has only to read a little in the book to know that she was a good choice. The book is a model of conscientious scholarship and painstaking research.

The text proper consists of a brief explanatory introduction and of two chapters. Chapter I describes the material under consideration, namely, three sketchbooks attributed to Aspertini. The first is the Wolfegg Codex in the Fürstliche Sammlung in Wolfegg, Germany; the second and third, London I and II, respectively, are both in the British Museum. Only the Wolfegg Codex has been previously published. Mrs. Bober discusses the attribution and dating problems clearly and briefly, basing her conclusions on stylistic,

internal, and documentary evidence.

Chapter II takes up Aspertini's relation to the antique, his individual reaction to the monuments he studied and their significance for him. The author makes a point of the quattrocento character of the Wolfegg Codex in contrast to the definitely later style of London I. Several pages are devoted to a general discussion of the different attitudes toward the antique in the Early Renaissance and the High Renaissance. The early period has more imitation or "direct quotations" from specific monuments; the latter combines elements from different monuments; Mannerism brings further complications. Mrs. Bober continues with an analysis of Aspertini's style in the Wolfegg Codex and London I, showing his development from a quattrocento into a cinquecento artist. She concludes with a discussion of his works in painting and sculpture in relation to the antique. She believes that his so-called Mannerism was really a development of his own capricious personality, influenced by the "expressionistic" Mannerism which began in the period of Marcus Aurelius. This seems reasonable. It is a problem, however, for specialists in Mannerism.

To sum up, I think she makes her point clear that, although he was actually a very "unclassical" artist, his work is full of motifs from antiquity, if not of the more generally familiar and idealized types.

The text is followed by Part II, a Description of London I with documentation, then an Appendix in the form of an Inventory of London II, not discussed in detail in the text. These two sections fulfill the book's initial purpose in making available to scholars information on specific ancient monuments known to 15th and 16th century artists.

An excellent feature of the book is four special indices. One feels, however, the lack of a general index. The format is attractive and dignified in a manner worthy of the institutions represented. The illustrations are carefully selected and well arranged and as numerous as one could expect. We look forward to more similar studies,

KATHARINE SHEPARD

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity: A Report on the Archeological Explorations at Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, by J. C. Harrington. Pp. xii + 139, figs. 36. The Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Richmond, 1957. \$2.00.

This well-documented report stands as a welcome example of the recent trend toward sound archaeological investigations as a necessary prerequisite to the serious reconstruction of historical sites. Harrington presents an extensive re-examination of an older archaeological examination of George Washington's Fort Necessity. The revised conclusions obtained as a result of further study require considerable criticism and correction of the earlier investigations, but this is done with a warm understanding of some of the pitfalls of archaeology rather than with condemnations.

The report is composed of three main sections: Part I includes the historical background that led to the construction of the fort and ultimately to the battle at Great Meadows, the naming of the fort, and a discussion of an early controversy as to the original form of the structure. Part II, the bulk of the report, deals technically with four different investigations from

1901 to 1953. The maps, drawings of detail, and especially the ground plans of excavations in relation to the architectural features, are excellent. Part III will be most valuable to those historians involved in problems of reconstruction since it discusses archaeology and reconstruction and some of the limiting factors.

Those people and organizations dedicated to the preservation and restoration of historical monuments and sites will appreciate Harrington's discussions of techniques and his demonstration of the value of sound archaeological research prior to any attempt at restoration. Too often premature rebuilding results in the actual destruction of irreplaceable data. In the introduction Harrington provides some constructive criticism on this latter point.

The story of Fort Necessity follows a pattern familiar to the historical archaeologist. Some historical incident creates a structure, time and folklore add their bit of confusion, and finally the excavator is called upon to place the surviving facts and materials in their proper perspective. Often, the results of subsurface archaeology will add more detail than was even contained in the accounts of the day.

This paper adds one more to the growing list of historical projects that point out the rich potential and reward that exist where historian and archaeologist work as a research team. Though the actual reproduction of this paper is careful, it is unfortunate that it could not have been printed in a more professional way. The mimeographing does not do justice to a fine piece of work by the author.

ADAN E. TREGANZA

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

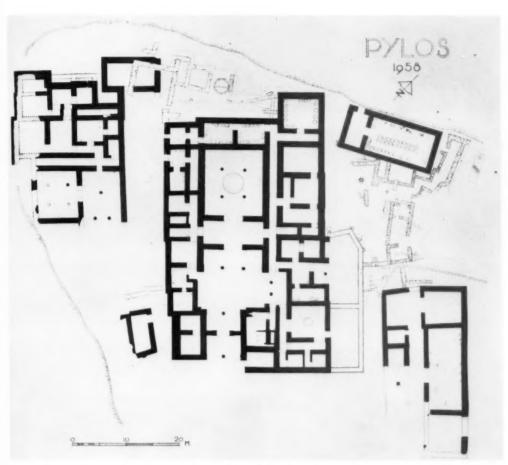


Fig. 1. Plan of Palace, 1958



Fig. 18. Fragments of Mycenaean krater decorated in pictorial style: left, dogs pursuing lion (?); right, stag with antlers (?)



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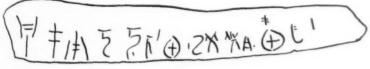
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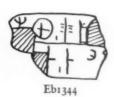


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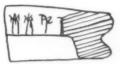
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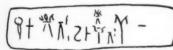
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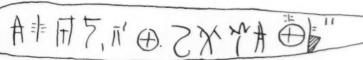
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Wr1360 rev.



Na1356



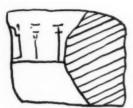
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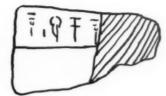
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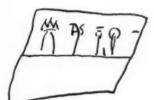
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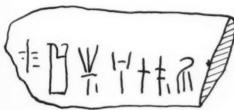
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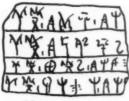




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Nn1357



Fig. 2. Wine Magazine, from west by south



Fig. 3. Wine Magazine, from northeast



Fig. 6. Dismantled walls and floors to southeast of Wine Magazine, from east-northeast



Fig. 4. Wine Magazine: pots, lid and pithoi; at right, stone support of lateral row. From west-southwest



Fig. 5. Maze of walls and paved floors to southeast of Wine Magazine, from southeast



Fig. 7. Terracotta water pipe that carried water through wall of king's private court



Fig. 8. Line of aqueduct with two larnax-tubs or settling basins, from southwest

ight,



Fig. 11. Larnax outside west corner of North Magazine, from southwest



Fig. 9. Roadway paved with cobblestones descending northeastern edge of site, from northeast



Fig. 12. Foundations of circular structure behind Megaron, from north



Fig. 10. Walls of last palace phase to northwest of Megaron, from southwest



Fig. 14. Northwest wall of older wing of palace and projecting tower, from north



Fig. 13. Double foundations forming northwest end of older wing, from northeast



Fig. 15. Southwestern exterior wall of older wing, from south



Fig. 16. Southwestern exterior wall of older wing, showing offsets, from west



Fig. 17. Remnant of small tholos of Protogeometric Period



Fig. 5. Formerly Cobham Hall: statue of an athlete, perhaps an apoxyomenos



Fig. 4. Maplewood (N.J.), Joseph V. Noble: statue of Poseidon (see Holkham Hall)



Fig. 8. Liverpool, City Museums: statue of a fountain nymph



Fig. 3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: terracotta relief



Fig. 6. Formerly Cobham Hall: statue of Asklepios, Pergamene type



Fig. 7. New York, Edward I. Cohen: Ganymede and the eagle, from Goodwood House



Fig. 12. Capesthorne Hall: Flavian lady, perhaps Domitia, wife of Domitian



Fig. 1. Lincoln, Usher Art Gallery: head of Aphrodite or Ariadne



Fig. 11. Capesthorne Hall: lady of late Flavian period



Fig. 13, Formerly Cobham Hall: head of man of late Flavian or Trajanic periods



Fig. 9. Canterbury, Royal Museum and Slater Art Gallery: bust of Ptolemy III, Euergetes





Fig. 15. Canterbury, Royal Museum



Fig. 14. Formerly Cobham Hall:



Fig. 17. Liverpool 56.19.19: Attic black-figured neck-amphora, reverse

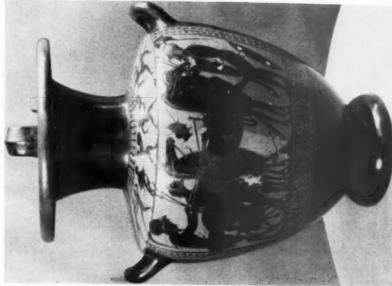


Fig. 18. Capesthorne Hall: Attic black-figured hydria



Fig. 16. Liverpool 56.19.19: Attic black-figured neck-amphora, obverse

PLATE 38 VERMEULE AND VON BOTHMER



Fig. 21. Exterior of fig. 19, reverse



Fig. 19. Lincoln: Attic red-figured cup, interior



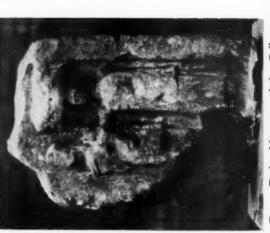


Fig. 2. Derby, Museum and Art Gallery: Greek relief fragment



Fig. 1. View of Hellenistic Agora from west

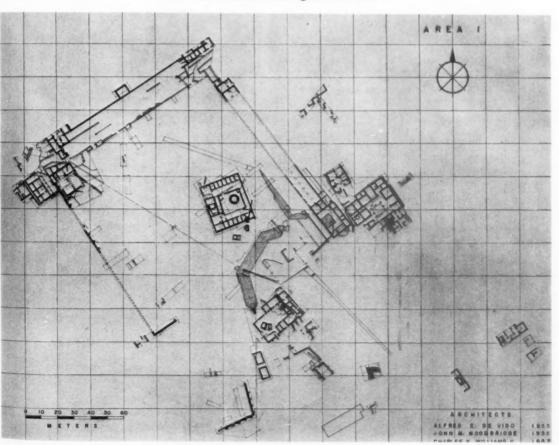


Fig. 2. Plan of Area I. The Hellenistic Agora



Fig. 3. South end of East Stoa



Fig. 4. Passage behind East Stoa showing retaining wall and drain



Fig. 5. Entrance to area of Lamp Factory



Fig. 6. Offertory box



Fig. 7. Angle of propylon leading to hill west of Agora



Pig. 8. Chambers flanking the entrance



Fig. 9. Puteal from western area of North Demeter Sanctuary



Fig. 10. Bust of Demeter from western part of Sanctuary



Fig. 11. Bust fallen at foot of bench in western part of Sanctuary

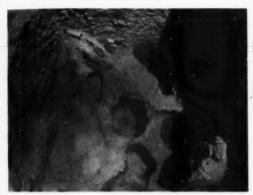


Fig. 12. Prehistoric tombs



Fig. 13. Detail of tomb



Fig. 14. Public building in Area II, remodelled later as residence



Fig. 15. South Demeter Sanctuary showing court, altar room and adyton



Fig. 16. Lustral area in adyton



Fig. 17. Lamp shelf just within door of adyton

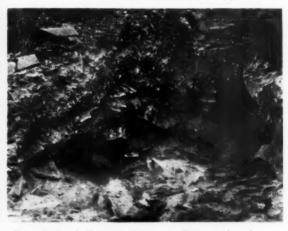
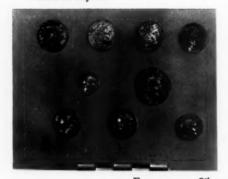


Fig. 18. South Demeter Sanctuary. Busts as found





Figs. 19, 20. Silver hoard from Sanctuary



Figs. 21, 22. Gorgon antefixes from Cittadella



Fig. 23. Maenad antefix



Fig. 24. Volute krater: Symposion

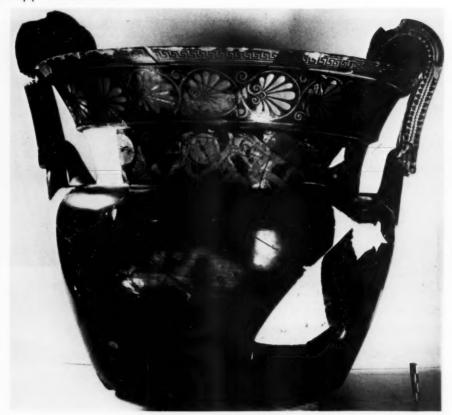


Fig. 25. Volute krater: Amazonomachy



Fig. 26. Detail of Symposion, before mending



Fig. 27. Detail of Amazonomachy, before mending





Scale a little less than 1:2





Fig. 1 Figs. 1-5. Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Fig. 2 Museum, Vienna



F1G. 4



Fig. 3



Fig. 5



Fig. 6. Courtesy Museum antiker Kleinkunst, Munich



Fig. 7. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum





Figs. 1 and 2. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery





Figs. 3 and 4. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery





Figs. 5 and 6. Panathenaic amphora. Walters Art Gallery

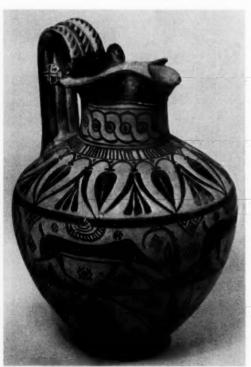


Fig. 7. Oinochoe. Camirus ware. Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 8. Oinochoe. Incised East Greek ware, Walters Art Gallery

The Serapeum of Ostia and the Brick-Stamps of 123 A.D.*

A New Landmark in the History of Roman Architecture

HERBERT BLOCH

PLATES 49-50

To C. H. B., in memoriam

When, over twenty years ago, I started my investigation of the Roman brick-stamps, it soon became clear to me that first of all a solid chronological basis for such a study had to be established by means of a thorough examination of the brick-stamps of buildings the dates of which were already known, such as the palace of Domitian on the Palatine or the baths of Trajan and Diocletian. Once a reasonable number of stamps for any of the periods represented by these monuments had been found, one could proceed, through the study of

A summary of an earlier version of this paper was read before the Third International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Rome on September 6, 1957, and an abstract of it has been published in Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia greca e latina (Roma 1959) 173-174. I am greatly obliged to Professor Attilio Degrassi, vice-president of the Comitato Organizzatore of the Congress, for allowing me to publish the article elsewhere and enabling me thereby to study more thoroughly the problems involved. I wish to express my gratitude to the Soprintendente of Ostia, Professor A. L. Pietrogrande, to the former Soprintendente Professor Pietro Romanelli, to Dott.ssa Maria Floriani Squarciapino and to Mrs. Raissa Calza for the valuable help extended to me in my investigation. Figs. 2 and 3 are photographs given me by the Soprintendenza, figs. 1 and 5 have been prepared on the basis of maps provided by the Soprintendenza. I am especially indebted to Dott.ssa Squarciapino who, besides communicating to me other information, made it possible for me to see and include in my study the stamps on bipedales which came to light in 1958 in the Terme della Trinacria during the course of important restorations carried out in this area (cf. infra). A list of the works most frequently referred to is given in n. 1.

¹ H. Bloch, "I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana," BullComm 64 (1936) 141-225; 65 (1937) 83-187; 66 (1938) 61-221 (= BL I-III). References to these studies are followed by those to the book edition which, augmented by indices, appeared under the title I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana ("Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano," 4, Comune di Roma 1947). The stamps published in CIL XV 1 are quoted by their numbers, those published by me ("The Roman Brick-Stamps not Published in CIL XV 1," HSCP 56/7 [1947] 1-128; cf. also my Supplement to Vol. XV 1 of the CIL. Including Complete Indices to the Roman Brick-Stamps [Cambridge, Mass. 1948]) are quoted by their numbers preceded by S. The indices were first published in HSCP 57/8 (1948) 1-104. All brick-stamps of Ostia found in situ or, according to

otherwise undated buildings, to further datings, not only of buildings, but also of hitherto insufficiently dated brick-stamps.¹ This method nearly always worked,² sometimes with unexpected results: as, for instance, when it turned out that a large portion of the surviving walls of the Atrium Vestae on the Forum Romanum must be attributed to Trajan, rather than to Hadrian and the Antonines as done before.³

But for a crucial period of Roman brick architecture there existed no buildings which could be

excavation reports, of any topographical relevance, have been listed by me under the title "I bolli laterizi nella storia edilizia di Ostia" in G. Calza, G. Becatti, I. Gismondi, G. De Angelis d'Ossat, H. Bloch, Scavi di Ostia I: Topografia Generale (Roma 1953) 215-27 (= Scavi di Ostia I).

² Some apparent difficulties have been eliminated by later discoveries, e.g., the alleged stamp of (Domitia) Lucilla of A.D. 135 (BL III 161 [165]) which seemed to upset the established chronology of the stamps of Lucilla, was shown to be a copy of 617 misread by Vaglieri: cf. my commentary to S. 278. For the stamps dated Propinguo et Ambibulo cos., hitherto (wrongly) assigned to the year A.D. 126 and the difficulties created by this dating, cf. my article "Sette Bassi Revisited," HSCP 63 (1958) 404-05. A third "crux" was recently pointed out to me by Dr. Marion E. Blake: the undated stamp 252 Ex pr(aedis) Claudi Maximi ab Isis was found by me in situ together with various stamps of 123 in the villa "Le Vignacce" (BL II 181-87 [185-191]), the examined portions of which seem to have been built about or soon after A.D. 125. Yet the same stamp occurs in great abundance in the Horrea of the mensores (Reg. I, Ins. XIX, nos. 3-4) and elsewhere in Ostia, accompanied by stamps unquestionably of the time of Trajan (cf. Scavi di Ostia I, 219; 223). It has turned up, too, in a wall of undisputed Trajanic date in the building under S. Prisca in Rome, as Dr. C. C. van Essen has demonstrated to me. The only reasonable explanation of this dilemma seems to be that Claudius Maximus made use of the text and form of stamp 252 for many years, by employing successively identical stamps. This practice was already observed by Dressel who in cases of this sort used to add to his description the words "hoc sigillum signaculis diversis impressum extat"; cf., e.g., 152 (A.D. 131), 18 (A.D. 110), 192 (A.D. 114), 242 (A.D. 116), 25c (A.D. 117), 29e, 70, 84, 97b, 279, 315, 344 (A.D. 121).

* BL I 207-25 (67-85); cf. G. Lugli, La tecnica edilizia ro-

⁸ BL I 207-25 (67-85); cf. G. Lugli, La tecnica edilizia romana (Roma 1957) 601-03. For the earlier view: E. B. Van Deman, The Atrium Vestae (Washington, D.C. 1909).

dated independently with real accuracy, namely the period of Hadrian and the Antonines. Here a judicious appraisal of brick-stamps had to be used without the support of precise data of different origin. By a freak of circumstances this was particularly true of Hadrian, under whom building activity in Rome and Ostia reached its peak. In this period for which we have an unusually large number of brick-stamps containing a consular date, the description "Hadrianic" seemed too general, and demanded a finer differentiation. It was possible almost to attain this objective with the help of the many brick-stamps observed, but still a test through a building which was independently dated remained most desirable.

From the beginning of the great excavations of Ostia in 1938 I hoped that perhaps the discovery of new fragments of the Fasti Ostienses would give us new dates for the time of Hadrian as they had done a few years earlier for Trajan. And then an amazing, unforeseen thing happened: almost simultaneously was discovered a fragment of the Fasti Ostienses telling us that on January 24, 127 a temple of Serapis was dedicated in Ostia by one Caltilius (VIIII K. Febr. templum Sarapi, quod [.] Caltilius P [? - - -]/ sua pecunia exstruxit, dedicatum [es]t)4, and the very Serapeum erected by Caltilius was found in the seventeenth insula of the third region (Ins. XVII no. 4; cf. fig. 1). Its identity was already established beyond any doubt when on July 2, 1953 the inscribed triangular marble plate was discovered which had formed the pediment of the temple. Broken in two, it served as pavement in the northern portico in front of the temple.5 It reads: IOVI SERAPI (pl. 50, fig. 4) and has a maximum height of 49 cm. The left fragment is 73 cm., the right fragment 125 cm. long. Its original length may be estimated at 220-240 cm. The height of the letters ranges from 14 to 161/2 cm.

The Serapeum itself proved to be part of a com-

⁴ A. Degrassi, *Inscript. Italiae* XIII 1 (Roma 1947) 205; 234.

⁵ The information given here about the discovery of the inscription is owed to the kindness of Dott.ssa M. Floriani Squarciapino. Cf. also her remarks in FA 8 (1953) 272 no. 3680. Most of the epigraphical evidence regarding the cult of Serapis previously discovered in the area of Ostia and Portus and published in IG XIV 914-921=CIL XIV 47 points to the existence of a stanctuary of Serapis in Portus. The expression νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτος Σαράπιδος (IG XIV 914) and the fact that IG XIV 916, 917, 919 were actually found in Portus afford incontrovertible proof of this assumption already stressed by Dessau (CIL XIV p. 5; ILS 4402) and, in another context, by myself (HThR 38 [1945] 243), and not invalidated by Degrassi (Inscript. Italiae XIII 1, 234). There is no reason why Serapis

plex of structures (Ins. XVII nos. 2-4) which, except for later alterations-such as the Mithraeum Plantae Pedis (Ins. XVII no. 2) recently so well described by Giovanni Becatti6 and the later modifications inserted in Ins. XVII no. 3-were all built at the same time.7 It seemed therefore a particularly important task to search the remaining walls of the area as painstakingly as possible for brickstamps. This was done without adequate plans at my disposal in 1950 and 1951, and again much more thoroughly in 1957. During this second investigation I have also controlled, as far as possible, my earlier findings which amounted to about one hundred stamps, observed partly in situ, partly in the rubble, and were summarily reported in my lists of brick-stamps found in Ostia.8 In this second attempt the search was expanded to include the Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna (Ins. XVII no. 5), the Terme della Trinacria, including the shops and portico facing the via della Foce (Ins. XVI nos. 7 and 6), and the buildings east and southeast of these baths (Ins. XVI nos. 4, 2, 1). The east wall of the still unexplored Horrea west of Ins. XVII has been reexamined. In recent excavations well preserved remains of earlier buildings were discovered under the present level of Ins. XVII. The difference of levels is so considerable that the change must be attributed to a deliberate act of city planning, which is probably connected with the proximity of the Tiber. These earlier buildings underneath the Hadrianic level have been excluded from the present study.

All stamps noticed by me in situ have been entered in the map, pl. 49, fig. 1, with their number in CIL XV 1 or in my Supplement (S.). Only the brick-stamps from the hypocausts of the Terme della Trinacria have been omitted from the map for clarity's sake.

While the building history of Ins. XVI and XVII can only be written by taking into full consideration

should not have been worshipped both in Ostia and Portus. For Serapis in Ostia cf. also Minucius Felix, Octavius 2.4.

⁶ Scavi di Ostia II: I Mitrei (Roma 1954) 77-85. I refer here in particular to Becatti's excellent treatment of the epigraphical evidence from the Mithraeum linked by him convincingly with the Serapeum. The cippus found in the Serapeum (cf. pl. 50, fig. 4) is connected with a most interesting basin discovered in the Mithraeum (cf. Becatti, op.cit. 83-84).

7 Scavi di Ostia I 225.

⁸ Cf. supra, n. 7. Already then I expressed the hope of discussing in another place the importance of the independent date for the history of Roman architecture.

⁹ They are included in the list of the post-Trajanic stamps below.

the earlier structures buried and partly uncovered underneath, a glance at the plan (fig. 1) shows that Ins. XVII and XVI no. 7 were inserted in a wedge-shaped area which was limited toward the west by the Unexplored Horrea and toward the east by the preexisting buildings Ins. XVI nos. 1, 2, 4. The brick-stamps fully confirm this impression. The list of those found in these buildings follows here in the order of the CIL and of S., with indications of the number of copies discovered and of the place where they were found:

The Horrea at the southern end of Ins. XVII (Ins. XVII no. 1) have not yielded a single brick-stamp, although a great number of bricks are exposed. They are evidently later than the Unexplored Horrea and earlier than the complex around the Serapeum, as Ins. XVII no. 2 leans against their north wall. These Horrea form the building which reveals most strikingly the odd shape of the area which was left after the Unexplored Horrea on the west and the structures Ins. XVI nos. 4, 2, 1 on the east had been erected. Also these structures,

- 18 Brut(iana) M. R(utili) Lupi. A.D. 110
- 19a Similar text. A.D. 114
- 29b Brutiana Lupi
- 29g Br. Lupi
- 86 T. R(ausi) P(amphili), ex fig(linis) Caepionianis A(rriae) F(adillae)
- S. 28 Ex fig(linis) Arriae Fadillae Caepion(ianis), T. R(ausi) P(amphili)
- 1314 L. N. C.
- S. 341 L. N. C.
- S. 359b C. Ponti Fel(icis)
- S. 427 Fort(is)

The Unexplored Horrea have already been discussed in Scavi di Ostia I,10 especially with regard to later restorations to which they were subjected. Here we are concerned only with the huge east wall where new findings have improved our understanding of the date of the building. Among the stamps 18 dominates and also gives us the terminus post quem, A.D. 110. Like 29g, it comes from the figl. Brutianae of M. Rutilius Lupus. The stamps of the unknown L. N. C. (1314 and S. 341), and above all the early stamp of Arria Fadilla (86), are interesting because they all (including stamp 18 of A.D. 110) occur also in the house north of the Baths of Buticosus, Reg. I, Ins. XIV no. 7.11 In the same house appeared, moreover, the stamp 32 which was found in the Bibliotheca Ulpia, dedicated in A.D. 113. This is a stamp of M. Rutilius Lupus which in its original form, S. 9, was discovered in the Mercati di Traiano.12 It is clear, therefore, that the Unexplored Horrea are contemporary with the house Reg. I, Ins. XIV no. 7 and belong in the years ca. A.D. 112-117.18

10 Scavi di Ostia I 225.

- 5 Unexplored Horrea
- 5 Ins. XVI no. 4
- I Ins. XVII no. 5
- 2 Unexplored Horrea
- 2 | ibid.
- I Ins. XVI no. 4
- 2 Unexplored Horrea
- I ibid.
- 2 Ins. XVI no. 1
- 2 ibid.

while somewhat later than the Unexplored Horrea, definitely precede the buildings in Ins. XVII. Of crucial importance is Ins. XVI no. 4, in the walls of which numerous copies of 19 have been found, giving us the year 114 as terminus post quem. The accompanying stamp S. 28 of Arria Fadilla through the officinator T. Rausius Pamphilus is closely related to, but undoubtedly later than 86 which, as we have seen, occurs in the Unexplored Horrea. According to analogies elsewhere in Ostia, 14 the Insula must be assigned to the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

As for Ins. XVI no. 1, it can be asserted with confidence that the stamp of C. Pontius Felix (S. 359b) belongs approximately to the same period. The building can hardly be much later than Trajan as it antedates the Horrea, Ins. XVII no. 1.

For the tabernae flanking the Via della Foce (Ins. XVI nos. 5-6 and XVII no. 5) as well as for the House of Bacchus and Ariadne (Ins. XVII no. 5) a thorough search of the original walls had very meager results. The occurrence of only one copy

¹¹ ibid. 218; Becatti, ibid. 126. About the building north of the Baths of Buticosus (Reg. I, Ins. XIV no. 7) see infra, n. 61. 12 BL I 196-99 (56-59). Cf. S. 9.

¹⁸ Cf. Scavi di Ostia I, fig. 31 (following p. 122).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Reg. I, Ins. IX no. 2 (Scavi di Ostia I 217) and infra, n. 62.

of 29b, if it is 29b, is not sufficient to assign these buildings to the last years of Trajan. They may well have been erected in the first years of Hadrian. The presence in a pavement of stamp 1103a of Cn. Domitius Diomedes would favor such a date, contemporary in other words with the Horrea, Ins. XVII no. 1, and earlier in any case than the adjoining Serapeum.

The new investigation of the Serapeum and the contiguous buildings, without counting the bipedales found in the Terme della Trinacria, has more than tripled the number of stamps observed in situ previously. As for the stamps not found in situ, the list published in 1952¹⁸ is still valid, except that among the stamps of Ins. XVII no. 2 and 3 there should be added three copies of 90a a. 123, and among those of the Serapeum itself, two copies of

799 A.D. 123; stamp 83a should be omitted from the list.

There follows a catalogue of all stamps found in the Hadrianic and post-Hadrianic parts of Ins. XVII nos. 2-5 and XVI nos. 6-7. The text of the significant stamps is transcribed, except for the dates which are given in the form A.D. In the case of the bipedales discovered in the suspensurae of the rooms a-c of the Terme della Trinacria (Ins. XVI no. 7), the number of copies has been indicated in italics, the stamps of bipedales manufactured at the end of the second century are moreover marked by indentation.¹⁶

15 Scavi di Ostia I 225. Cf. supra, n. 8.

16 For a discussion of this restoration see Excursus I at the end of this article. The few stamps not found in situ in the Terme della Trinacria have been included in the list without special indication.

TEXT OF THE STAMP	NUMBER OF STAMPS INS. XVII					FOUND IN INS. XVI
	in situ				not in situ	6-7
	2	3	4	5	2-5	
Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae	-	-	-	-	-	I
Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 12317	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ex fund(o) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili)	6	-	1	2	-	10
M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126						
Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128	-	-	-	-	-	818
Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123	-	-	2	-	-	-
Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124	_	_	-	- 1	1	-
Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pi-	4	-	8	-	-	_
	-	-	-	-	7	_
	i –	-	_	- 1	2	_
Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi	-	-	I	-	-	-
Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Mar- cius Lucifer	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123	3	9	2	-	-	1
Ex pr(aedis) Ar(riae) Fa(dillae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et	-	-	-	-	5	2
Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), Pet(ti)	1	4	2	-	9	-
	Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 123 ¹⁷ Ex fund(0) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili) M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126 Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128 Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123 Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124 Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pionianis), Iul(i) Lupionis. A.D. 123 Stati Marci Bassi, Caepionana. A.D. 123 Similar stamp. A.D. 123 Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Marcius Lucifer Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123 Ex pr(aedis) Ar(riae) Fa(dillae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et Fel(icis). A.D. 123 (cf. S. 29 infra)	Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 123 ¹⁷ Ex fund(o) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili) M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126 Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128 Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123 Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124 Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pionianis), Iul(i) Lupionis. A.D. 123 Stati Marci Bassi, Caepionana. A.D. 123 Similar stamp. A.D. 123 Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Marcius Lucifer Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. Am. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123 Ex pr(aedis) Arriaes Fadillae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et Fel(icis). A.D. 123 (cf. S. 29 infra) Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), Pet(ti)	Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 123 ¹⁷ Ex fund(o) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili) M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126 Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128 Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123 Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124 Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pionianis), Iul(i) Lupionis. A.D. 123 Stati Marci Bassi, Caepionana. A.D. 123 Similar stamp. A.D. 123 Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Marcius Lucifer Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123 Ex pr(aedis) Arriae) Fad(illae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et Fel(icis). A.D. 123 (cf. S. 29 infra) Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), Pet(ti)	Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 123 ¹⁷ Ex fund(o) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili) M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126 Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128 Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123 Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124 Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pionianis), Iul(i) Lupionis. A.D. 123 Stati Marci Bassi, Caepionana. A.D. 123 Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Marcius Lucifer Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123 Ex pr(aedis) Arriaes Fadillae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et Fel(icis). A.D. 123 (cf. S. 29 infra) Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), Pet(ti) I 4 2	Ex figlinis Aristianis Seiae Isauricae Brut(iana) T. D. P. A.D. 123 ¹⁷ Ex fund(o) Bru(tino) T. S(tatili) M(aximi) S(everi) Hadr(iani). A.D. 126 Depr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cepio- (nianis). A.D. 128 Er pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fadil(lae) Cep. A.D. 123 Similar stamp, marked D. A.D. 124 Ex pr(aedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Cae(pi- onianis), Iul(i) Lupionis. A.D. 123 Stati Marci Bassi, Caepionana. A.D. 123 Similar stamp. A.D. 123 Ex praed(is) Arriaes Fadillae, M(arci) Bassi Stamp of Arria Fadilla, by Statius Marcius Lucifer Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), T. A(m.) C(ip.), Rufel(li) Pil. A.D. 123 Ex pr(aedis) Ar(riae) Fad(illae), T. Am. Cip., d(oliare) R(ufelliorum) P(il.) et Fel(icis). A.D. 123 (cf. S. 29 infra) Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae), Pet(ti) I 4 2 -	Situ

CIL XV 1	TEXT OF THE STAMP		NUMBER OF INS. XV in situ				FOUND IN INS. XVI 6-7
			-		-	situ	
-6	S	2	3	4	5	2-5	
96	Stamp of C. Curiatius Cosanus. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	1	-
98	Stamp of the same by the officinator Sex. Alfus Amandus. A.D. 123	-	4	2	-	1	_
105a	Ti. Tutini S(enti) S(atrini), Caepion(i)- an(a). A.D. 126	1	-	2	-	6	-
106p	Stamp of Curiatius Cosanus, ab Euripo. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	I	-
109 (cf. S. 39)	Similar to 105a. A.D. 126 ¹⁹	-	-	-	-	1	-
123	O(pus) d(oliare) d(e) f(iglinis) D(omi- tiae) L(ucillae), f(ecit) August(alis?) L. Munati Crescentis	-	-	-	-	-	4
187	Ex figl(inis) Domit(ianis) Veteri- (bus), opus dol. Auxim(i)	-	-	-	-	-	I
22 1a	Ex pre(dis) Fav(orianis), opus doli- are a Calpetan(o) Verna	-	-	-	-	-	I
227	Ex f(iglinis) Fur(ianis) Q. Abu(rni) Cae(diciani). A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	1	-
228	Similar stamp, but dated A.D. 125	14	_	I	-	1	-
265	Stamp of Anicetus, officinator of Domitia	-	-	_	-	_	7
,	Lucilla, A.D. 123						1
266a	Stamp of Anicetus, officinator of Domitia Lucilla. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	5
270a	Stamp of Myrtilus, officinator of Domitia Lucilla. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	2
319	C. Calpetani Hermet(is), d(oliare) ex fig(linis) Cae(saris) n(ostri). A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	43
325	Opus dol(iare) ex praed(is) Aug(us- torum) n(ostrorum), figl(inis) Mar- cian(is), figl(inum) a Cal(ventia) Max(i)m(a?)	-	-	-	-	-	3
336	M. Luri Valentis. A.D. 123	-	-	-	1-1	2	-
344	Naev(iana) Lupi. A.D. 121	-	-	-	1-1	-	1
380	Ex pr(aedis) L. Aur(eli) Comm(odi) Aug., ex fig(linis) Oc(eanis) Mi- n(oribus) a Tontio Barbaro op(us) dol(iare)	_	_	-	-	-	1
392	Ex f(iglinis) Platania(nis) Ti. Cl(audi) Celsi. A.D. 124	-	-	-	-	5	1
395	Ex fig(linis) Cl(audi) Celsi. A.D. 124 (cf. S. 98 infra)	-	1	I	-	-	-
407	Vim(ati) Crescentis ex figl(inis) Pon- ticlan(is) opus doliar(e)	-	-	-	-	-	3
454C	Stamp of Annius Verus. A.D. 123		-	-		1	

CIL XV 1	TEXT OF THE STAMP			INS	OF . XV		FOUND IN INS. XVI 6-7
İ		2	3	4	5	2-5	1
541b	Opus dol. ex pred(is) Staton(iensi- bus) [[Comm.]] Aug(usti) domin(i) n(ostri) ex fig. Ma. disp(ensatoris?)	-	-	-	-	-	3
5 5 3	Stamp of Domitia, widow of Domitian. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	1	_
607	Ex f(iglinis) Temp(esinis) Q. Ab(urni) Caed(iciani), Vis(mati) For(tunati). A.D.	-	-	1	-	2	-
685	Opus doliar. ex praed(is) Augusti n(ostri), ex fig(linis) Voc(onianis) Munati Anice. /////	-	_	-	-	-	II
704a	Ex p(raedis) C(aesaris) n(ostri) Ti. Claudi Irenaei. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	2
799	Stamp of Annius Verus. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	2	-
934	Ex pr(aedis) Cl(audiae) Marc(ellinae). A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	2	-
958a	Ex pr(aedis) Cusini Messalin(i)	-	-	I	- 1	_	2
958b	44 44 44	-	-	-	- 1	-	5
1017	Tertius Dom(itiae) Luc(illae)	-	-	-	-	-	8
10 2 9a	Stamp of Dionysius, officinator of Domitia Lucilla. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	1
1033	Stamp of Doryphorus, officinator of Domitia Lucilla. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	I
1116a	Abascant(i) Cn. Domit(i) Troph(imi).	-	-	-	-	-	14
1116c	Similar stamp. A.D. 123	-	-	-	1-1	-	5
1214	Stamp of Iulia Albana. A.D. 123	-	-	-	1-1	1	_
1419	Doliare L. Rusti Lygdami. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	I
1452	Ex pr(aedis) T. Stat(ili) Max(imi) Seve- ri Hadr(iani). A.D. 125	-	-	4	-	-	-
1478	Stamp of Titia Quartilla. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	1	-
1529b	Vinici Hercul(ani). A.D. 123	-	1	-	-	-	-
Suppl.							1
S. 15	Cf. 39 supra.						
S. 16	Similar stamp, but dated A.D. 127	-	-	-	-	-	1
S. 29	Ex p(raedis) Arr(iae) Fad(illae) Caep- (ionianis), Ruf(elli) Fel(icis). A.D. 123	-	9	-	2	_	1
S. 30	Cf. 90a supra.						
S. 39	Cf. 109 supra.						
S. 87	Idibus Mart(iis), ex figl(inis) Myrinianis A.D. 123 ²⁰	-	-	-	2	-	-
S. 88	Similar stamp. A.D. 123 ²⁰	-	-	-	2	-	-
S. 98	Variant of 395 supra. A.D. 124	1 -	9	2	-	7	2
S. 99	De ficlin(is) Platanianis T. S(tatili) M(ax-	-	I	-	-	_	1

CIL XV 1	TEXT OF THE STAMP				. XV		FOUND IN INS. XVI 6-7	
		2	2 3 4 5 2-5					
cf.396)	imi) S(everi) H(adriani). A.D. 125							
S. 139	C. P. G. T. T. A.D. 123	-	-	-	-	-	T.	
S. 180	Ex f(iglinis) Ab(urni) C(aediciani), Vis- mat(i) Fortu(nati). A.D. 125	-	-	-	-	I	-	
S. 326	Stamp of Iunius Sulpicianus (?). A.D. 123	-	I	-	-	-	-	
S. 375	Stamp of Seia Isaurica. A.D. 125	-	-	-	-	-	2	

There is a high degree of correlation between the stamps found in situ and those which have come to light in the rubble, and the latter largely serve to corroborate (e.g., 90a, 105a, 228, S. 98), or to supplement (e.g., 89, 109, 392) the evidence of the former. Striking, in Ins. XVII, is the almost total absence of undated stamps in both types of material. The stamps 81 and 83a of Arria Fadilla noticed in the wall of the precinct of the temple are isolated remnants of stock, and the stamp 958a of Cusinius Messalinus (which occurs again in the suspensurae of the Terme della Trinacria) is posterior to A.D. 124.²¹

The table below will indicate the chronological distribution of the stamps 1) in Ins. XVII nos. 2-5, and 2) in the Terme della Trinacria (Ins. XVI no.

	INS.	XVII	INS.	XVI	
nos. 2-5		no. 7			
A.D. 121:	_		$_{\rm I} =$	0.8%	
123:	98 =	58.3%	88 =	71.5%	
124:	26 =	15.5%	3 =	2.45%	
125:	22 =	13.1%	3 =	2.45%	
126:	19 =	11.3%	8 =	6.5%	
Undated:	$_3 =$	1.8%	20 =	16.3%	

Total: 168 = 100% 123 = 100%

¹⁷ The same stamp of T. D. P. has been found also in the brick-pillars in the southeast corner of the area here considered (see pl. 49, fig. 1).

18 It will be demonstrated below that the structure in which all copies of this stamp have been found, the cistern fig. 1, d, is a later addition to the original baths. Cf. infra n. 29.

¹⁹ The text of this stamp as given S. 39, on the basis of a copy published by Vaglieri and not seen by me, must be corrected with the help of three other copies, which have become known to me since, to read: Ex pr(aedis) Ti. Tutini Sent(i) Satrini Caep(ionianis). | Annio Ver(o) III et Egg(io) Ambib(ulo) | cos.

²⁰ One copy of S. 88 was found together with two copies of S. 87 on the bipedales covering the hypocaust installed in

7) without the cistern (pl. 49, fig. 1, d) which was added later.²²

To understand this table, it must be pointed out that owners and operators of brickyards varied widely in the application of brick-stamps. It cannot be by accident that the relative frequency of stamps like 39, 88, 228, or S. 98 is so much higher than that of others. It must mean that some officinatores provided a much larger number of tiles with stamps than others. Rufellius Pil., e.g. (88), seems to have taken a true delight in using a stamp and may well have applied it on nearly every tile he made. One should not forget that he, like so many of his colleagues, had never used a stamp at all before the year 123. The experience was new, and the temptation to "autograph" each or many of one's products as they were lying to dry must have been great. Other officinatores who worked in the same figlinae Caepionianae of Arria Fadilla in 123, such as Iulius Lupio (76) or Pettius Proculus (90a), also used their stamps often, but demonstrably much less so than Rufellius Pil. That Ti. Claudius Celsus, owner of the figlinae Platanianae in 123 and 124 (here represented by 392, 395, and above all by S. 98), had his tiles stamped at an unusually frequent rate we knew already from the Villa Adriana, where the walls of the NW building of the Little Palace and

the rear of the portico; the other copy of S. 88 is attached to the wall. For a knowledge of the first three stamps I am again indebted to Dott.ssa Squarciapino. The reading of lines 2-3 of S. 88 must be slightly changed:

PÆTINO ET APRONIANO

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²¹ The two stamps 957 and S. 260 of (L.) Cusinius Messalinus (cf. on him PIR II³ 395 no. 1627) are dated A.D. 123 and 124, respectively. 958a is one of the characteristic stamps of the "Quartiere dei Vigili," which is some years later than the Serapeum. See infra, Excursus II.

22 See supra, n. 18; infra, n. 29.

those of the Pretorio team with stamps of his dated A.D. 123 (394) and 124 (the same which occur in Ostia) respectively.²⁸

We have no evidence to support a belief in any sort of standardization in the application of brickstamps, e.g. stamping each hundredth brick. Individuals may have developed standard practices for themselves, like stamping the first or the first and the last brick in a row, but the size of the rows of bricks obviously would depend on the space available in each brickyard. Only in the case of bipedales it can be said that during the second century the majority of producers seem to have tended to mark with stamps from half to all bricks manufactured. But bipedales were objects of some value, and at least in suspensurae were often re-used even in extensive repair jobs, as the case of the Terme della Trinacria demonstrates. If partly collapsed hypocausts are cleaned out, the number of brick-stamps to be observed is naturally great and often vastly superior to the stamps still visible in the walls; for instance in the Terme della Trinacria the relation is 102:33. The origin of the bipedales frequently differs from that of the bricks used in the walls, which again is the situation in the Terme della Trinacria. as we shall see. All these facts must be kept in mind in properly evaluating the statistical evidence.

The distribution of stamps in the area here studied is characterized by a remarkable uniformity of material used within definite units such as walls, groups of walls, or even entire buildings. A glance at pl. 49, fig. 1 will bear this out. The walls of the temple seem to be faced almost entirely with bricks of Iulius Lupio made in 123 (76); the bricks of the southern wall of the precinct may all come from the brickyard of Curiatius Cosanus (98), as do those in the pillars opposite in Ins. XVII no. 3. The northern part of the wall of this building which faces the street is built with material furnished by Pettius Proculus (90a), in the southern portion the stamp S. 98 of Claudius Celsus dated in A.D. 124 prevails; the southern wall of Ins. XVII no. 3 and the continuation of the street front toward south are dominated by the bricks of Rufellius Pil. (88) and his brother (?) Rufellius Felix (88, S. 29), both of A.D. 123. But in between occurs one example of the stamp S. 99 of S. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus dated in A.D. 125. The stamps peculiar to Ins.

XVII no. 2 are 228 of Q. Aburnius Caedicianus dated in A.D. 125 and 39 of T. Statilius Maximus dated in the following year.

This "limited" homogeneity of material seems to indicate that the individual bricklayers or groups of bricklayers employed in this job took their bricks from different piles which, though in themselves homogeneous, were of diverse provenience. On the other hand, quite a number of stamps turn up outside the "zone" of which they are characteristic and thus serve to stress the essential unity of the whole complex of Ins. XVII nos. 2-4. Thus 76 (of the walls of the Serapeum) appears again in sections of the wall facing the street opposite the later Mithraeum; S. 98 is found also in the interior of the temple and the variant 395, both of A.D. 124, near the entry to the precinct; in the entry wall itself occurs significantly 228 of A.D. 125. As for the problem of dating, no less telling is the association of the stamp 1452 of 125 with 88 (of 123) in the immediate neighborhood of the temple, and of the stamps 105a and 30, both of 126, in the structure erected in the back of the cella of the temple (cf. pl. 50, figs. 2-3);24 these same two stamps reappear almost together in the northeast corner of Ins. XVII no. 2. The stamp 39 of T. Statilius Maximus plays in general a very important part in the whole area. It occurs in the walls of Ins. XVII no. 2, as we have seen, in the pillars of via del Serapide which presumably supported arches, marking the approach to the quarter of Serapis, and in the Terme della Trinacria in the walls of which the stamp is widely diffused.

At this point it may be opportune to insert a few remarks about these baths. That the brick-stamps coming from the walls largely agree with those found across the street is evident from the list given above. The stamps 88, 89 and S. 29, all of the Rufellii, agents of Arria Fadilla, and dated A.D. 123, and 392 and S. 98 of Claudius Celsus (A.D. 124) are noteworthy examples, in addition to stamp 39 already discussed.

Roughly one hundred Hadrianic stamps appeared on the bipedales covering the *suspensurae* of the two rooms (pl. 49, fig. 1, b and c) situated between the frigidarium and the caldarium with three basins (fig. 1, a).²⁶ It is probable that many or even most of them come from the smaller room b, where I ob-

²⁸ BL II 136-37 (140-41).

²⁴ Cf. infra, n. 31.

²⁵ The stamp 344 of M. Rutilius Lupus, dated A.D. 121, has been included in the list of stamps and in the statistical table

above because it was in the heap of bipedales, whole and fragmentary, coming from the two hypocausts. However so small a piece of the stamp is preserved that not even the type of the brick of which it originally formed a part could be de-

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served still in situ one copy each of 1017, 1116a, and (on a tile) 33. The mosaic of the other room (c) is contemporary with a complete restoration of the suspensurae underneath where I noticed, also in situ, two copies of the stamp 407, indubitably belonging to this restoration.26 The group of Hadrianic stamps, while homogeneous as such, differs from the other stamps in the zone mainly in their origin. Over forty percent come from the imperial brickyard operated by C. Calpetanus Hermes (319), and about the same number from the various brickvards of Domitia Lucilla (and her dependent Cn. Domitius Trophimus). The remainder was produced by Cusinius Messalinus (958a and b) and Seia Isaurica (11, S. 375). Of all these stamps only one, 958a (of Messalinus), occurs outside the baths in the area,27 where Domitia Lucilla is strikingly absent.

Most of the bipedales are dated: 80 of them, representing 10 types, A.D. 123; 2 (one type) A.D. 125; 20, representing 5 types, are undated. The undated stamps may be slightly earlier (11 and 123?) or later (958) than A.D. 123.28 There can be no doubt that the average date of the bipedales is somewhat earlier than that of the bricks used for the walls.

There remains one chronological problem of real importance. The portico with shops on via della Foce which apparently existed before the erection of the baths (Ins. XVI no. 6) was partly transformed afterwards, and certainly not at one time, by walls to create new rooms, thus destroying the original function of the portico. As can be seen from pl. 49, fig. 1, one of these walls contains two copies of the stamp 39 of A.D. 126 so frequently found in the bath; in another one, however, occurs S. 16 of the same T. Statilius Maximus dated in A.D. 127. It goes without saying that neither wall need be connected with the baths at all, nor must they necessarily be contemporary with each other.

They may very well have been put up after the baths had been built and had by their very existence increased the business opportunities in the immediate neighborhood. While these stamps have been included in the list above, they cannot and should not be considered in a discussion of the date of the baths themselves.

More interesting and also more conclusive is the case of the cistern, fig. 1, d, at the south of the baths of which it forms an integral part, in spite of its isolation. The bricks of this building bear only one stamp: 69 of Arria Fadilla, dated A.D. 128.29 This date is inconsistent with the chronology of the other bricks of the baths. The discrepancy is all the more impressive, as in the SW corner of the passageway, fig. 1, e, in immediate proximity to the cistern, the stamp 89 of A.D. 123, characteristic of the whole area, has come to light. The discovery of this stamp alone would be sufficient to suggest the solution which is ascertained by an entirely different approach.

The Terme della Trinacria are remarkable for an intricate system of "built-in" cisterns, some of which have been indicated in fig. 1 with the letters f, g, h, i. Especially important is the second floor cistern f, close not only to cistern d, but also to another cistern situated above the present corridor e. Originally, there existed a further cistern on the groundlevel south of cistern f. Of this cistern extensive remains are visible on the north wall of corridor e. They consist of very heavy coating of waterproof mortar, reinforced by a tightly fitted layer of bipedales underneath. It is clear that this cistern must have proved inadequate for the needs of the baths and was therefore demolished to give way to a larger one which, however, was separated from the main building by the newly created passageway e, rendering possible access to the praefurnium from the via del Serapide. Actually, the passageway is in part a remnant of that earlier cistern. Obviously, so

termined. I remember having found this stamp previously only in walls, and then in large quantities, namely in the Little Baths of the Villa Adriana (BL II 127-28 [131-32]) and in the Terme del Mitra in Ostia (Reg. I, Ins. XVII no. 2; cf. Scavi di Ostia I 219). Under these circumstances, the documentary value of the one copy of 344 for the Terme della Trinacria can be discarded.

²⁶ The brick-stamps connected with the restoration are treated in Excursus I at the end of this article.

in Excursus I at the end of this article.

27 In the structure in the back of the cella of the Serapeum (cf. supra, n. 24; infra, n. 31). On Messalinus see supra, n. 21.

28 For xx cf. RI. II voc. (200) (Panthoon), for year RI. III.

²⁸ For 11 cf. BL II 105 (109) (Pantheon); for 123 BL II 118; 155 (122; 159); III 191 (323) (Ospitali in the Villa Adriana). As for the date of 1017, no such evidence exists. The other stamps of Tertius, a slave of Domitia Lucilla, are dated

A.D. 123 (1041), A.D. 127 (129), A.D. 133 (1042), and A.D. 134 (1043). The undated stamp 1044 presumably is later than A.D. 134 because of 1044b, where the name of Tertius has been erased. While 1017, if only for its form, belongs to the beginning of this series, it cannot be said at present whether it is a little earlier or a little later than A.D. 123. For 958 cf. notes 21 and 27.

²⁰ The date of the stamp given here is fixed by the discovery of the consuls in a fragment of the Fasti Ostienses; cf. Degrassi, Inscript. Italiae XIII 1, 234. The stamp 69 is abundant in the walls of the Caserma dei Vigili (BL III 102 [234]) and frequent in the whole quarter (infra, Excursus II). It also occurs in the late Hadrianic portico added to the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine (BL III 82 [214]).

drastic a change was carried out only after experience had shown that the original arrangement did not work satisfactorily. Thus instead of confusing the evidence of the brick-stamps of the Terme della Trinacria in their original form, the brick-stamps of the cistern d entirely confirm a later development, albeit only a few years later, which can be inferred from the inspection of the ruins, and which is determined precisely by the brick-stamps.

In returning to the Serapeum and its immediate surroundings, we are now in a position to draw some conclusions about the relation between the date of the buildings and that of the bricks used in it. As the Serapeum was dedicated in the first month of A.D. 127, it is evident that the bare walls in which the stamped bricks were found cannot have been built after the fall of 126 at the latest. Within the Serapeum and its precinct, to be sure, brick-stamps of 123 are in the overwhelming majority, but a stamp of 124 (S. 98) appears in the cella wall in a place which cannot possibly be a later addition. No one will seriously maintain that the entrance from the street, where a stamp of 125 (228) occurs, did not exist when the temple was dedicated. The same is true of the pillars at the south of the temple which also contain stamps of 125 (1452). They are built in opus vittatum, two rows of bricks alternating with a row of tufa blocks. 30 The brick structure in the rear of the cella, accessible by steps and unquestionably an addition to the somewhat higher structure behind it (cf. pl. 50, figs. 2-3), has produced two different stamps dated A.D. 126: 39 and 105a (2 copies). While there can be no doubt that this podium-like structure³¹ was added because the one now behind it (which, significantly, has in common with the cella wall stamp S. 98 of 124) was regarded as unsatisfactory, it is not unlikely that the change was made during the period of construction, that is before the dedication of the temple. It follows that by the end of A.D. 126 bricks

produced in 125 and possibly in the very year 126 were employed in the facing of walls.

This inference would also apply to Ins. XVII no. 2 if it were certain that this structure was already standing in January 127. However likely such an assumption may be, in view of the structural closeness of Ins. XVII nos. 2 and 3 and because of the re-occurrence of brick-stamps such as 76 and 228 found elsewhere in the block,82 a decision of this question must be left in abeyance. There is a tendency in the complex Ins. XVII nos. 2-5 for brickstamps to become more recent, as one proceeds from the main building, the Serapeum, toward the south. The construction of the Terme della Trinacria may well have been started at about the time when the Serapeum was built, but given the technical intricacies of the type of building involved, probably was finished only after the dedication of the temple.

87% of the stamped material found in the area of the Serapeum (Ins. XVII nos. 2-5) is dated in the years 123, 124, and 125. This means that in A.D. 126 three-fourths of the material used was two to three years old, if we assume that the preserved walls were actually built in 126 rather than in 125. It seems most remarkable that in 125, and assuredly in 126, the supply of bricks manufactured before 123 to be used in the walls was virtually exhausted.88 So this is a period in which the brick production could hardly keep pace with the intense building activity of both the government and the private public. This realization may lead us to a new approach to the still much debated problem of the enormous number of brick-stamps of 123, a problem which I had treated in detail twenty years ago. 34

Why were bricks dated? Axel Boëthius in a kind and generous review of my original work on Roman brick-stamps and at the same time in an article in *Eranos* suggested that the dates were used to assure the buyer that the bricks had seasoned

⁸⁰ On opus vittatum cf. Lugli, op.cit. (supra, n. 3) I 643-55, who refers to Gismondi, Scavi di Ostia I 203-04, for the statement that this mode of construction appears in Ostia first between A.D. 145 and 150. The Serapeum allows us now to move up this terminus post quem by ca. twenty years.

³¹ See supra, n. 24. The temple of Isis in Pompeii has a comparable structure in the rear of its cella.

³² A further important argument in favor of regarding Ins. XVII no. 2 as an integral part of the Serapeum complex from the beginning is its intimate connection with the Serapeum half a century later when the Mithraeum was established, according to Becatti's convincing demonstration, op.cil. (supra,

³⁸ It seems that the supply of bipedales was not equally depleted at that time, an inference which apparently the bipedales from the Terme della Trinacria also allow us to draw (cf. supra, n. 28). In any case, production of large bricks must have been prodigious in 123. They were still widely used during the second half of Hadrian's reign, e.g., in the Quarter of the Vigiles where we find together the following stamps of bipedales on which walls and pillars stand (cf. BL III 91-101 [223-33]):

A.D. 123: 6 copies (stamps 319, 1029a, 1033, 1116d)

^{126: 6} copies (stamp 277)

^{127: 5} copies (stamp 129).

⁸⁴ BL III 188-95 (320-27).

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long enough. 35 This hypothesis was inspired by Vitruvius' recommendation for testing baked bricks by using them for some time as roof tiles and thus exposing them to the weather.36 While Boëthius of course admits that this method was much too cumbersome to be adopted in a period of large scale utilization of bricks (which Vitruvius' time was not), he thinks that the recommendation as such warrants the assumption of a simpler method which would be the dating of the bricks. Boëthius also calls attention to modern testing regulations, especially in Sweden, and to Vitruvius' remarks about the seasoning of sun-dried bricks in Utica, and of other building materials in Rome.87 But if the dating of brick-stamps really had to be interpreted as a device of this sort, either imposed by the government on the manufacturers of bricks, or even voluntarily adopted by them, should one then not expect a more or less uniform spread of this practice during the period in which this rule was allegedly in force? This, however, is not at all the case.

To facilitate the discussion, there follows here a list of the number of dated brick-stamps compiled from my *Indices to the Roman Brick-Stamps*. The initials M.R.L. have been added to those years for which only dated stamps of M. Rutilius Lupus are known.

A.D.	. 110: 1	(M.R.L.)	116: 2	(M.R.L.)
	111: -		117: 1	(M.R.L.)
	112: -		118: -	
	113: 1		119: -	
	114: 1	(M.R.L.)	120: -	
	115: 3	(M.R.L.)	121: 1	(M.R.L.)

³⁵ CP 37 (1942) 333-34; "La datazione dei mattoni," Eranos 39 (1941) 152-56. Cf. also Degrassi, Doxa 2 (1949) 130; P. Mingazzini, Atti e Memorie della Società 'Magna Grecia' (1954) 27 n. 1.

36 Vitr. De arch. 2.8.19: De ipsa autem testa, si sit optima seu vitiosa ad structuram, statim nemo potest iudicare, quod in tempestatibus et aestate in tecto cum est conlocata, tunc si est firma probatur. namque quae non fuerit ex creta bona aut parum erit cocta, ibi se ostendet esse vitiosam gelicidiis et prunia tacta. Ergo quae non in tectis poterit pati laborem, ea non potest in structura oneri ferendo esse firma. Quare maxime ex veteribus tegulis tecta † structi parietes firmitatem poterunt habere. Cf. M. E. Blake, Ancient Roman Construction in Italy (Washington, D. C. 1947) 302. I still agree with Boëthius' earlier skeptical evaluation of Vitruvius' statement in his important article "Vitruvius and the Roman Architecture of his Age," ΔΡΑΓΜΑ Martino P. Nilsson . . . dedicatum (Lund and Leipzig 1939) 142-43, and regard this method which seems to Boëthius rightly "impossible for extensive use" as evidence of a contribution which Boëthius termed "even then" (i.e. around 25 B.C.) "mostly that of a conservative critic of the

A.D.	122:	2 (M.R	.L.) 145: 1		
		240 ca.	146: 1		
	124:	17	147: 1		
	125:	16	148: 2		
	126:	13	149: -		
	127:	II	150: 4		
	128:	6	151: 2		
	129:	3	152: 1		
	130:	3	153: 2		
	131:	4	154: 5		
	132:	3	155: 1		
	133:	5	156: 1		
	134:	40	157: 1		
	135:	10	158: 1		
	136:	2	159: 1		
	137:	4	160: -		
	138:	7	161: 2		
	139:	5	162: 1		
	140:	4	163: -		
	141:	3	164: 1		
	142:	2	Severo et Arriano cos.		2
	143:	-	Propinquo et Ambibulo cos.	0	2384
	144:	I	Iuliano et Casto cos.	0	1

For the first thirteen years of this period, with the exception of a single stamp, only one man made use of dated stamps: M. Rutilius Lupus, a high ranking official under Trajan who administered the praefectura annonae (sometime between the years 103 and 111, up to 112) before he became praefectus Aegypti. Dated documents attest his presence in Egypt from (at least) January 113 to (at least) January 117.30 He must be credited with having introduced this device in the brick industry of the capital.40 His bricks were widely used, also in

new generation."

87 Boëthius, Eranos 39 (1941) 154. Vitr. 2.3.2. Cf. also Blake, op.cit. (supra, n. 36) 281; Mingazzini, op.cit. (supra, n. 35) 26. 88 HSCP 58/9 (1948) 82-87.

38a Cf. supra, n. 2.

89 On M. Rutilius Lupus see BL III 184-88 (316-20); A. Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit (Bern 1950) 55-58; H. Bloch, NSc (1953) 248 no. 14. The identity of the high official and the brickyard owner has now been generally accepted.

40 On Greek and especially Hellenistic brick-stamps, in particular dated brick-stamps, see the valuable study by Paolino Mingazzini, "Velia—Scavi 1927; fornace di mattoni ed antichità varie. Elenco dei bolli laterizi statali," Assi e Memorie della Società 'Magna Grecia' (1954) 46 pp., esp. pp. 28-31; 41-43. Dated brick-stamps were used sporadically in Italy outside of Rome before the time of Trajan. Famous are the brick-stamps of Parma, Piacenza, and Velleia, CIL I 2, 18, 952-968 manufactured by C. Mu(natius?) in the years 76, 75, and 74 B.C. (952-54), C. Venelius in 69, 66, 65, and 64 B.C. (955, 959, 961-62), L. Naevius in 68-65, 56, 50, 49, 44, and 37 B.C.

large imperial projects in Rome as well as in Ostia and Portus and in the villas of the Roman Campagna. A list of the buildings in which his bricks have been discovered is imposing and includes:41 the Baths of Trajan, the Mercati di Trajano, the Bibliotheca Ulpia, the Atrium Vestae, the Pantheon. the palace of the Horti Sallustiani, the Villa Adriana, the villa "Le Vignacce," and in Ostia: the Horrea and Aula of the Mensores (Reg. I, Ins. XIX nos. 3-4), the Baths of Buticosus and the house north of it (ib., Ins. XIV, nos. 7-8), the building near Tor Boacciana, the Unexplored Horrea west of the Serapeum,42 the Casa de' Triclini, the Capitolium and the adjoining quarter, including the Piccolo Mercato (ib., Ins. V-VIII), the Insula of the Caseggiato del Larario (ib., Ins. IX), the Terme del Mitra (ib., Ins. XVII no. 2).

His prominence in Ostia must be connected with the intimate relations which obviously existed between the man in charge of the food supply of Rome and the local government of Ostia, the port of Rome. Particularly interesting is the appearance of his bricks in the great storehouses built in the last years of Trajan and the first years of Hadrian such as the Horrea of the Mensores, the Unexplored Horrea, and the Piccolo Mercato.

Also the chronological distribution of his stamps needs comment. The experiment of A.D. 110 was not immediately repeated; there is a gap of three years in which Rutilius Lupus did not date his bricks. He started again in 114 and continued the practice until 117, whereupon he stopped once more the use of dated bricks for three years. I had pointed out that the period of dated bricks, 114-117, coin-

cides with Rutilius Lupus' stay in Egypt and that he had the bricks produced in these years stored, suspending their sale during his absence.43 To a man who for years had been playing an eminent part in Rome's building industry, it must have been obvious that the war and the absence of the emperor would result in a slackening of the building activity in Rome. Furthermore his own absence would prevent him from using his personal influence and contacts and render impossible a supervision of the brick production in his figlinae. All these difficulties would be largely eliminated once the emperor and he himself should return to Rome. Large scale public building would be resumed again, bricks would be in greater demand and therefore fetch higher prices, and he, Lupus himself, could make use of his connections to secure advantageous contracts for the sale of bricks. This explanation would account for the storage of bricks during the time of his absence, but not for the dating of the stamps used from 114 to 117. In this instance Boëthius' proposal seems to me acceptable: Lupus may well have ordered dating his bricks which he was storing anyway, in order to increase their value because seasoned bricks were preferred to fresh ones. He started dating again in 121, 122, and 123, and it deserves to be stressed particularly that the two men who took over his brick-yards after his death or retirement, T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus, consul suffectus in 115, and O. Servilius Pudens, the friend of the Younger Pliny,44 continued this tradition more consistently than anyone else.

So far we have been dealing with the private

took over the figlinae Brutianae A.D. 124, after having acquired the figlinae Macedonianae probably during the year 123 or shortly before. He added to his holdings the figlinae Platanianae of Ti. Claudius Celsus in 125. Q. Servilius Pudens succeeded M. Rutilius Lupus in the figlinae Naevianae in 123, in the figlinae Narnienses in 124. The chronological distribution of the stamps is as follows:

T. S. M. S. H.	Q. S. P.
.D. 123: 286 (cf. S. 69). 1451	S. 90 (cf. 346)
124: 38. S. 14 (cf. 287)	349
125: 1452. S. 99 (cf. 396)-101	350
126: 39 (cf. S. 15)	-
127: 40. S. 16	1430-1432
128: -	1433-1434
129: -	1435
130: S. 17	1436
131: -	1437
132: -	
133: -	1438
134: 289. 1453-1455. S. 18	
139: -	1440. S. 379
Jnknown date: -	S. 380-381
Judated: 41. 288-300. 1457-1459. S. 19-20	1439

Undated: 41. 288-300. 1457-1459. S. 19-20 1439
For T. Statilius Maximus the ratio between dated and undated

^{(956-58, 960, 964-68;} CIL XI 2, 6673, 18), L. Naevius L. f. in 36 B.C. (CIL XI 2, 6673, 19, 20?), L. Naevius Felix in 14 and 13 B.C. (ibid. 21-22), Maelia P. f. Ter. in 11 B.C. (ibid. 23). In Città di Castello (Tifernum Tiberinu...) bricks of M. Granius Marcellus, proconsul of Bithynia under Augustus (A. Stein, PIR IV 1⁸ [1952] 40 no. 211), were found dated in A.D. 7 (CIL XI 2, 8107; 6689, 118) and 15 (ibid. 6689, 119); in Capo di Colle (Forum Livii) a stamp of T. Papirius T. l. Synhistor dated in A.D. 12 (ibid. 178), and in Tuder a stamp of an Ampl(iatus) of A.D. 93 (ibid. 20).

⁴¹ This list supplements the list given BL III 184 (316).

⁴² Cf. supra, n. 10.

⁴⁸ BL III 186-87 (318-19). Degrassi, Doxa 2 (1949) 130, denies that Lupus suspended the sale of his bricks during his absence. My suggestion was based on the observation that his stamps of A.D. 114, 115, 116, and 117 are found mixed together in the quarter of the Capitolium of Ostia (cf. BL II 84-88 [88-92], and especially 90 [94]). My interpretation that he must have disposed of considerable reserves from all four years upon his return from Egypt still stands and has not been upset by later archaeological discoveries.

⁴⁴ This important fact was already briefly stressed by me BL III 188 (320). It may be opportune to assemble here the rather impressive evidence. T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus

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initiative of one man. All the more startling is the phenomenon of 123 when without previous warning the whole Roman brick industry seems to employ dated stamps. An overwhelming mass of evidence leads us to believe that this was actually the case.45 About 240 stamps, representing numerous landowners, managers, and hosts of workers, are known to bear the names of the consuls of 123. But the phenomenon remains isolated and without a proper sequel. The list above shows dramatically how right after 123 the number of dated bricks shrinks to a small fraction of the total of 123: ca. 7% in 124 and 125, ca. 5% in 126 and 127, 21/2% in 128, and from 1 to 2% in the years from 129 to 133. No one will seriously maintain that only three people produced bricks in 129 and 130, only two in 131 and 132, but more than 130 in 123 (not counting 40 to 50 slaves who used individual stamps in the brickyards of M. Annius Verus and A. Gabinius Successus); that Domitia Lucilla had bricks manufactured on her estates in 127 but not in 128, in 129 but not in 130, 131, and 132. We must rather conclude that for 123 manufacturers were induced to mark their bricks with dated stamps and that whatever motive had caused them to adopt this practice so unanimously in 123, ceased to be valid in the following year and years. For after 123 only a few manufacturers, almost exclusively large producers, kept on using dated stamps, though rarely with consistency, for some years,46 because they counted both on the continuation of the building boom and on their ability to produce and store more bricks than were immediately needed. They may well have

hoped to achieve higher prices for the older bricks; but this explanation does not account for the enormous number of brick-stamps of 123 which cannot possibly be the result of spontaneous decisions by so many producers.

The only way out remains the assumption of an intervention by the government, Hadrian had, as is well known, a strong personal interest in architecture.47 But very little attention has been paid to the notice of the Epitome de Caesaribus 14.4-5, according to which he organized the labor force engaged in the building trade in a semi-military fashion,48 in an effort, we can be sure, to raise the efficiency of the industry. One can only speculate on the intervention of 123: perhaps the emperor granted to producers of bricks in the year 123 fiscal privileges or other financial advantages with the stipulation that they use dated stamps for the purpose of control. The unknown measure not only compelled existing producers to mark their bricks with dated stamps; it must also have induced some of them to expand their existing facilities and enticed others to manufacture bricks who had not previously been in the business.49

After 123 the use of dated stamps was left to the initiative of individual brick-yard owners, most of whom abandoned the practice altogether. It is perhaps significant that of the ten persons who used dated stamps in 125, five who had made use of stamps in 123, did not do so in 124. Did they perhaps continue using in 124 the stamps of 123? This is a possibility not to be lightly discarded. That some people who had never used a stamp—any

stamps is 17, or if we consider S. 99-101 as varieties of one stamp, 15:19. The case of Q. Servilius Pudens is particularly interesting because among his numerous stamps, representing at least eleven years, there occurs only one which is not dated. ⁴⁵ Cf. BL III 189 (321). The vast number of bricks observed in situ since has only strengthened the conclusion reached

twenty years ago.

46 The cases of T. Statilius Maximus and Q. Servilius Pudens have already been discussed (supra, n. 44); they were unquestionably under the influence of M. Rutilius Lupus. The most outstanding other example is that of Domitia Lucilla (or, in the beginning, of the two Domitiae Lucillae, mother and daughter; cf. my Indices [supra, n. 1 and 38] 29) whose dated stamps cover the following fifteen years: 123 (17 stamps), 126 (1 stamp), 127 (3), 129 (1), 133 (1), 134 (3), 135 (3), 136 (2), 137 (2), 138 (1), 140 (1), 142 (1), 145 (1), 154 (2), 155 (1). All other producers have much shorter series of dated stamps, e.g., Q. Aburnius Caedicianus: A.D. 123, 125, 127, 140; Seia Isaurica: 123, 124, 125, 134, 141; Arria Fadilla: 123, 124, 127, 128; M. Ulpius Ulpianus: 123, 125, 126, 129, 133, 133.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Oxford 1934) xxIII; G. Becatti, *Arte e gusto negli scrittori latini* (Florence 1951) 39.

⁴⁸ Epit. 14.4-5: Immensi laboris, quippe qui provincias omnes passibus circumierit agmen comitantium praevertens, cum oppida universa restitueret, augeret ordinibus. Namque ad specimen legionum militarium fabros, perpendiculatores, architectos genusque cunctum extruendorum moenium seu decoratorum in cohortes centuriaverat. Cf. Bernard d'Orgeval, L'empereur Hadrien (Paris 1950) 270. Even if J.-P. Waltzing, Étude historique sur les corporations chez les Romains II (Louvain 1896) 121, is correct in his narrow interpretation of this passage as referring only to "des artisans que cet empereur bâtisseur et voyageur menait à sa suite dans ses courses à travers le monde pour relever les villes détruites," it cannot be disputed that the emperor did organize at least a considerable number of those active in the building trade with the obvious purpose of improving their output.

⁴⁰ A good example for large scale expansion in 123 is given by M. Annius Verus (cf. the detailed demonstration in BL III 72-78 [204-10]). It is obvious also for Arria Fadilla (ibid. 192 [324]), for Q. Aburnius Caedicianus (cf. S. 169-87, pp. 43-48), and for Domitia, widow of Domitian (548-558). The most conspicuous case of a big producer who started out in 123 is T. Statilius Maximus; cf. supra, n. 44. But there are numerous others.

stamp—before 123 might have kept on using it for a year, is entirely credible, but so far no proof for such an assumption, which could be valid in only a limited number of cases, has come to light.

The Serapeum of Ostia has given us definitive proof that in 126 even the previous year's bricks were used in facing the walls, while bricks produced before 123 were then hardly available any more for this purpose,50 We shall therefore be allowed in the future to be more confident in assigning buildings in which great masses of brick-stamps of 123, 124, and 125 occur to the period immediately following these years, that is to the years from 126 to 128.51 This applies of course to the actual process of building and not to the "official" completion and dedication of a monument which may be delayed, e.g. for financial reasons, for years, decades and even centuries, as the examples of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus in Athens, the Duomo in Florence and the Cathedral of Cologne clearly demonstrate. The Baths of Neptune (formerly called "Terme sul Decumano") in Ostia (Reg. II, Ins. IV no. 2) may be such a case, where the bare walls were finished some years before the building was completed and dedicated in A.D. 139 if, as I still believe, the inscription CIL XIV 98 = ILS 334 refers to it. The wording of this inscription makes it most likely that the city fathers had to wait years before the money promised them by Hadrian was finally paid by his successor Antoninus Pius. Among the work still to be done after Hadrian's death the marble decoration is expressly mentioned.52 The only surviving Hadrianic hypocaust is some years later than the walls (one of its stamps is dated in 134).58 It seems therefore more than likely that at least some of the heating plant and possibly also the famous mosaics belong to this last phase of the construction of these baths.

For those who seventy years ago and later were puzzled by the great number of stamps of 123 which came to light in the excavations of Rome and Ostia, Ostia has provided a plain solution. Nearly

half of the large area of the city hitherto uncovered was built under Hadrian.54 In Rome, also, Hadrian's building activity was considerable. It is strange that scholars in the last third of the nineteenth century found it so difficult to grasp urbanistic projects on a grand scale when at the same time they could watch day by day the vast transformation which the capital of the new Kingdom of Italy was then undergoing: the laying out of via Nazionale and via Cayour, the creation of entire quarters such as Ludovisi (on the site of the Horti Sallustiani), Prati, Testaccio. The spectacular growth of the city in almost every direction during the last ten years is, mutatis mutandis, an even more telling analogy to the program carried out under Hadrian in Ostia.

Hadrian's lively interest in Ostia had long been known from the inscriptions; one of them was set to him in 133 by a grateful colonia Ostia conservata et aucta omni indulgentia. If one remembers the public buildings alone which were erected by Hadrian in Ostia, we must admit that the sentiments of Ostia's citizens were amply justified. Recently we learned from the Fasti Ostienses that Hadrian went so far as to have himself elected duo vir of Ostia in 126.56 Not by accident the Serapeum was dedicated on the emperor's birthday in the following year, 77 and so is symbolically linked with Hadrian.

Because of the insight it offers us into the meaning of Roman brick-stamps, the Serapeum of Ostia will always remain a landmark in the history of the unprecedented development of Roman architecture in those decades of the second century.

Excursus I: The Date of the Restorations in the Terme della Trinacria (cf. supra, n. 16, 26)

The large room (fig. 1, c) south of the frigidarium, and possibly also room b, were at one point completely remade, as proved by the brick-stamps included in the list given on pp. 229-30: 187, 221a, 380, 407 (3 copies), 685 (11 copies). The stamp 380

⁵⁰ Cf. supra, n. 33.

⁵¹ Numerous buildings in the Villa Adriana belong precisely in these years; in Ostia, e.g., the House of Serapis (Reg. III, Ins. X no. 3; cf. Scavi di Ostia I, 223-24) and the whole complex of the Case Giardino (Reg. III, Ins. IX nos. 1-24); cf. infra, n. 63.

⁵² Thermas, in quarum exstructionem divos pater suus HS XX (=2,000.000) polli[citus erat], / adiecta pecunia, quanta amplius desiderabatur, item marmoribus ad omnem o[rnatum perfecir]. Cf. BL III 113, 118 (245, 250); 144-47 (276-79).

83 BL III 92-93 (224-25) no. 21 (674); cf. also nos. 12-20;

⁵⁴ See the plan of Hadrianic constructions in Ostia in Scavi di Ostia I, fig. 32, following p. 128; cf. infra n. 61.

⁵⁵ CIL XIV 95. Cf. BL III 114, 116 (246, 248); Becatti, Scavi di Ostia I 133.

di Ostia I 133.

66 Degrassi, Inscript. Italiae XIII 1, 203; 233, who refers to SHA. Hadr. 10.1: Per Lating oppida dictator et gedilis et du-

SHA, Hadr. 19.1: Per Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit (scil. Hadrianus).

87 On Hadrian's Dies Natalis cf. W. F. Snyder, "Public Anni-

on Fladrian's Diet Natatis et. W. F. Snyder, "Public Anniversaries in the Roman Empire," Yale Classical Studies 7 (1940) 242.

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perhaps belongs to the years 177-180, although according to its form one would prefer to assign it to the last years of Commodus' reign (191-192) when he adopted the name L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus.58 I should be inclined to date the other stamps, including 221a, under Commodus also. 50 It seems therefore that the hypocaust in c (and possibly in b) was renewed sometime before A.D. 200. The mosaic in c is then presumably contemporary.

In the southern basin of the caldarium a the following two stamps were noticed in situ: 325 (3 copies) and 541b (3 copies). In the latter stamp the name of Commodus (Comm.) is erased, providing us thus with a terminus post quem: January 193. Both stamps were also found together in the hypocausts with the stamps of Plautianus in the Terme dei Sette Sapienti (Reg. III, Ins. X no. 2).60 Also this room was probably remade about A.D. 200.

Excursus II: The Brick-Stamps of the Quartiere dei Vigili

The plan fig. 32 in Scavi di Ostia I prepared by Italo Gismondi shows the extent of Hadrianic construction in the excavated portion of Ostia. Even if the plan is subject to modifications on the basis of new discoveries, most of the attributions are absolutely certain. This is particularly true of buildings in which brick-stamps have been found. Such buildings have not been marked specifically in the plan.61

Among the groups of structures belonging to this category stand out the quarter of the Capitolium, comprising, besides the Capitolium, the Ins. V-IX of the Reg. I;62 the quarter of the Caserma dei Vigili; the zone of the Case Giardino (Reg. III, Ins. IX nos. 1-24);68 and the area of the Sera-

A word may be said here on the quarter of the Vigiles to supplement my earlier treatments of this brilliant example of urban planning.64 In 1938 the area east of the via dei Vigili which runs along the east side of the Terme di Nettuno and the Caserma dei Vigili had hardly been excavated. After the War it was sufficiently explored to render possible a study of the brick-stamps in its ruins. The results were published in my lists of brick-stamps of Ostia.65 But at the time of the first proof not all Insulae had been assigned their number and the present Ins. XII had not yet been separated from Ins. III. As a consequence of the change some confusion ensued66 which I wish to correct now, by presenting below, in addition to a plan of the quarter of the Vigiles (pl. 50, fig. 5), a table of the characteristic stamps found in the area, but limited to those stamps which have been discovered so far in Ins. III and XII. As both buildings have been excavated only in part, it would be misleading to give the numbers of individual stamps observed in them: their presence is therefore indicated by an asterisk.

CIL XV 1	Ins. III	Ins. IV	Ins. V	Ins. VI	Ins. XII
40 A.D. 127	*	I	2	12	-
69 A.D. 128		3	39	8	-
71 A.D. 123		11	1	13	-
958a		10	3	34	*
1435 A.D. 129		64	9	107	

58 I assigned the stamp 380 to A.D. 177-180 on account of the form of the name L. Aur. Comm. Aug. in BL III 160, 166-67 (292, 298-99), but to A.D. 191/2 in my Indices (supra, n. 1) 79. As 380 is the only stamp of Commodus which shows the Severan form of the small "orbiculus," the earlier date is difficult to justify, more difficult in any case than to assume that the maker of the stamp omitted the name "Aelius." The later date would be more in accordance also with the chronology of the stamps associated here with 380.

⁵⁹ BL III 166, 203 (298, 335), where I connected the stamp 221 with 220 (dated presumably A.D. 198-211) which it precedes. According to its form, 2212 would best be assigned to the period of Commodus; but the first years of Septimius Severus would be possible, too.

60 BL III 163 (295).

⁶¹ Cf. supra, n. 54. The building north of the Baths of Buticosus (Reg. I, Ins. XIV no. 7) is Trajanic (cf. supra, n. 11) and

ought therefore to be transferred from fig. 32 to fig. 31. There is no doubt that further investigation will bring to light brickstamps in buildings which have not yielded them hitherto. Cf. also infra n. 63.

62 BL II 83-92 (87-96), 215 (347). Scavi di Ostia I 216-17: Becatti, ibid. 130-31.

63 The whole area of the Case Giardino, Ins. IX nos. 1-24, is the result of one highly original urbanistic project (cf. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia I 136-37) which was carried out at one time (cf. supra, n. 51). What was suggested as probable, Scavi di Ostia I 223, after I had been able to examine only a limited number of buildings in this complex, can now be asserted with certainty. The brick-stamps of the whole area are homogeneous.

64 BL III 112-18 (244-50); cf. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia I 133.

65 Scavi di Ostia I 219-22.

66 Ins. XII had been in my ms. part of Ins. III; hence its date was given in the form: "come l'edificio precedente," meanbuilt with the same material, is demonstrated by noticed by me.

That at least the tabernae north of Ins. XII are the occurrence in their walls of stamp 71 recently

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

ing, of course, the present Ins. III; but as matters stand now, Ins. XII (p. 222) is preceded by Ins. IX no. 7, the "Grandi Horrea" dated under Nero (p. 221) with the result that the reader must believe that I consider Ins. XII a building of the

time of Nero! Moreover, Ins. XII does not figure in the heading on p. 219, col. II, and in the table on p. 220. All this has been corrected here as briefly as possible.

Calenian Pottery and Classical Greek Metalware

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

PLATES 51-60

In a recent article in this Journal I tried to show how widespread was the custom in Roman times of taking impressions from reliefs on Greek metalware for reproduction in various branches of art. The little plaster casts found in Afghanistan, Egypt, and elsewhere have shown this beyond doubt. The fact is in itself interesting, for it throws light on the methods employed by the artists of the Roman age; but even more important are the plasters themselves since they enrich our scanty knowledge of Greek metalware. Though the plaster reliefs are in a friable material, worn by age and use, they have the inestimable advantage of having been taken direct from the originals and hence often are faithful reproductions of masterpieces. The majority are Hellenistic, but a number go back to earlier periods.

In this article I propose to treat of another source that can be used for our visualization of Greek metalware—the Calenian and other South Italian pottery of Hellenistic times. The Roman artists, in fact, were not the first to adopt the facile method of mechanically reproducing the reliefs on Greek metal originals. They were preceded not only by the fifth and fourth century B.C. makers of the blackglazed askoi, found chiefly in continental and East

Greece,2 but especially by Hellenistic potters. The black-glazed amphorae, hydriai, kraters, and skyphoi with applied reliefs (fourth to third century B.C.) that have been found principally in Egypt, Crete, and continental Greece, are such examples.8 The practice became widespread among South Italian potters, in particular with the makers of the Calenian black-glazed ware. Pagenstecher in his great book Calenische Reliefkeramik (1909)4 has given us a rich assortment of the decorations preserved on this class of pottery, with lists of replicas. These Calenian reliefs, found chiefly, but not exclusively,5 in Southern Italy, have mostly been thought to be Hellenistic creations, contemporary with the ware on which they appear. Only a few examples have so far been recognized as being earlier; for instance, the heads of Arethusa on blackglazed kylikes, molded from late fifth century Syracusan decadrachms, and the friezes on the phialai mesomphaloi representing the apotheosis of Herakles.7

In this article I want to add other such classical reliefs which I found in a recent examination of the Calenian pottery in the Museums of Paestum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British

1 AJA 62 (1958) 369ff.

² Courby, Les vases grees à reliefs (1922) 220ff (henceforth cited as Courby); Züchner, Jdl 65-66 (1950-51) 178ff; Talcott, Hesperia Supplement IX (1956) 68. I retain here the distinction between the Greek askos (with arched handle) and the Calene guttus (with lateral annular handle) now generally used.

³ Courby 201ff; Züchner, op.cit. 183ff. For a recently found skyphos in this technique cf. Vanderpool, A]A 58 (1954) 232, pl. 45, 4 and a forthcoming article by Caskey. It is interesting to note that similar reliefs occasionally appear on this ware and the Calenian; cf. Courby 207, fig. 33, no. 6, and Pagenstecher, Calenische Reliefkeramik pl. 22, no. 213 a, both evidently derived from the same original. The two wares indeed are closely related by their use of ridged bodies and appliqué reliefs. Courby's suggestion that the reliefs on the hydriai etc. were not molded directly from metal originals, but from plaster casts like those from Memphis published by Rubensohn, has now been shown to be impossible since the plasters are later than the black-glazed ware; cf. Richter, A]A 62 (1958) 369ff.

⁴ Henceforth cited as Pagenstecher; see also his articles in

AM 33 (1908) 113 and Jdl 27 (1912) 146ff.

⁵ On Calenian ware found in the East cf. Courby 260f.

⁶ Cf. Evans, NC 11 (1891) 317ff. Pagenstecher, 16ff, puts these kylikes among his "Vorstufen" of Calene ware; but there

is no reason to think that the two are not contemporary. Kylikes of this type have been found in third century B.C. tombs (cf. Pagenstecher, 18), many in Capua; and they sometimes have medallions similar to those that occur on Calenian gutti and bowls (Pagenstecher, nos. 25, 39). Though the head of Arethusa by Euainetos was evidently popular as a decoration on these kylikes, it was by no means the only coin reproduced on the ware. I came across a number of others in the Louvre, and Mr. Devambez informed me that they are shortly to be published. Several small heads impressed in the centers of Calenian bowls evidently reproduce Italic coins. One in the British Museum (on the bowl no. 1768), for instance, is comparable to coins of Phisteleia (cf. Head, Historia Numorum 2nd ed. [1911] 41 [henceforth cited as HN3]; Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, The Lloyd Collection, no. 89). Another has a relief of Herakles (G 123), comparable to but not identical with coins of Lucanian Herakleia (Pagenstecher, 16; Ryberg, Archaeological Record of Rome 123, pl. 29, fig. 136 a-d). In the Fitzwilliam Museum is a bowl (GR 11-52) impressed with palmettes and dolphins, the latter comparable but not identical with dolphins that appear on the coins of Tarentum and elsewhere (if actually impressed from a coin, the edge must have been trimmed).

7 Richter, AJA 45 (1941) 363ff; 54 (1950) 357ff.

Museum and the Ashmolean Museum. Though the black glaze with which this ware is regularly covered often sadly obscures details, nevertheless enough remains to show that we are dealing with superb fifth and fourth century creations.

I shall begin with a little, round terracotta mold in the Museum of Paestum8 (pl. 51, fig. 1) which started me on my investigation. It was unearthed in 1952, in one of the pits (loculus IV) containing discarded votive offerings of the Hellenistic age, situated near the temple formerly thought to be of Poseidon, now identified as a Heraion. The sunken relief on the mold represents an Amazon spearing a Greek (pl. 51, figs. 1, 2). Though the details are no longer sharp, the mold evidently having been used many times and the surface being weathered, nevertheless the action can be clearly made out. The Amazon wears a short chiton, a chlamys, a Phrygian cap, and apparently shoes; with her left hand she holds the reins of her rearing horse, in her raised right the spear with which she is about to transfix her opponent. The latter has collapsed beneath the horse and is in a half-kneeling position, but still grasps a short sword in his right hand. His left arm is hidden by the horse's body and forelegs; he is entirely nude, without chiton or chlamys, but either wears a petasos or has an ample shock of hair. The stony ground is indicated by globules. The two figures are skilfully composed within the round field which is bounded by two sets of circles.

The mold was evidently used to produce the relief on a Calenian guttus (and is rightly so described on the label). Several gutti with such a relief actually exist. Plate 51, figs. 3, 4 show examples

in the Louvre¹⁰ and Munich.¹¹ Others, listed by Pagenstecher (with varying provenances) are in Bari, Naples, Tarentum, Brussels, Göttingen, Hamburg and Berlin; and still others doubtless exist in other collections. In this mass production quality of course varies. Sometimes a tired mold was used; at other times the relief was carelessly impressed, resulting in one case in the horse's head coming out double,¹² and in another in parts of the heads being chopped off (in one in Munich). But always the singular charm of the design is apparent.

In style this little amazonomachy immediately recalls the famous stele of Dexileos, dated by its inscription to 394 B.C. (pl. 52, fig. 5), and the three reliefs on the base of a stele found in 1931 near the Academy in Athens¹⁸ (cf. pl. 52, figs. 6, 7). It shows the same harmony of composition, the same advanced, yet restrained modelling in the body of the fallen Greek, and similar, looped, schematized folds in the flying chlamys of the Amazon. One might also compare, as Mr. Stanley Robinson has pointed out to me, the rider on Tarentine coins of c. 420-380 B.C. (pl. 51, fig. 8); and, by way of contrast, the similarly composed group on a glass ringstone of Hellenistic date (pl. 51, fig. 9),14 where the former compactness and force have given way to a somewhat theatrical quality. So the date of our amazonomachy can hardly be later than the first third of the fourth century B.C., that is, it must be earlier than the production of Calenian ware; for the floruit of the latter can be assigned on outside evidence to the third and second centuries B.C.,15 though the production evidently started in the later fourth century.16 The Paestum mold, therefore,

⁸ No. 3087. Diam. 5.3 cm. Cf. P. C. Sestieri, *Il Nuovo Museo di Paestum* (1954) 11f. Made of pinkish, well levigated clay. I owe permission to publish it to the kindness of Mrs. Sestieri, who in 1958 was in charge of the Soprintendenza of Salerno while her husband was in Ceylon. I am also much beholden to Mrs. Zancari Montuoro and Miss Piec Stoop for their kind and efficient help.

⁹ Pagenstecher 101f, no. 210. a-l. One example in Munich (6827) is illustrated on his pl. 22,1.

¹⁰ No. 2704. There are two other gutti with this relief in the Louvre, nos. 5-1714B, 5, ED; 308 (252). The diameters of the reliefs range from 4-2-4-7 cm., but all must be from the same mold or at least original.

²¹ Inv. no. 6178. Two other gutti with this relief are in Munich, no. 6827 (=Pagenstecher pl. 22, no. 210 g), and one without inv. no. The diameters of the reliefs are respectively 4-5, 4-5, and 4 cm., as told me by Mr. Diepolder.

¹² Pagenstecher 102, no. 210, 1.

¹⁸ ILN (27 June 1931) 1098; Karo, AA (1931) cols. 218ff, figs. 1-3.

¹⁴ Head, HN^a 59, fig. 27 (Tarentine coin); Furtwängler, A.G. pl. xxv, 53, "hellenistisch-frührömisch" (gem).

¹⁵ Pagenstecher 165f; Courby 256ff.

¹⁶ On the following evidence, as Mr. P. Corbett of the British Museum pointed out to me: The immediate precursors of the South Italian gutti evidently were the Greek askoi, with handle arching over the top instead of with annular handle at the side (cf. Pagenstecher 11,140; Courby 222ff). A Greek askos was found at Olynthos (D. M. Robinson, Olynthus 13, p. 263, no. 476, pl. 175) and therefore datable before 348 B.C., the time of the destruction of that city; and a similar askos was found in Rhodes with mid-fourth-century Attic vases (Jacopi, Clara Rhodos 3[1929] 159, figs. 152, 153). Several such Greek askoi have been found in Italy (cf. e.g. those listed by Pagenstecher 11, note 3, and Walters, Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum IV, G 44, 48), and were presumably imported there from Greece (cf. Pagenstecher loc.cit.). They are succeeded by the Calenian gutti, a specifically South Italian ware rarely found in Greece (cf. Pagenstecher 11), though the form, as Miss Talcott informs me, actually occurs there as early as the late fifth century (cf. Agora P 5734, P 10017). Consequently the time between the cessation of Greek askoi in Italy and the beginning of the Calenian gutti was probably of short duration, and instead of the ware beginning in the third century, as has been

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must be a mechanical reproduction from a Greek original that had survived from earlier times, presumably the central medallion (emblema) of a silver bowl or the cover of a pyxis.¹⁷

In addition to the amazonomachy I can present a number of other Calenian gutti on which the reliefs seem to me to be stylistically assignable to the classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Most of them have never been published or at least illustrated before. I owe the permission to do so to the generosity of my colleagues in Paris, London, Oxford, and Amsterdam. The reliefs consist of heads, in profile and three-quarter views, animals, and groups. I shall begin with the heads and the animals, for they in particular have close parallels in coin-types.¹⁸

A guttus in the Louvre¹⁹ (pl. 52, fig. 10) is decorated with a relief of a female head in three-quarter view to the left which recalls similar representations on Syracusan coins. The silver tetradrachm with the head of Arethusa signed by Kimon of c.412-399 B.c.20 (pl. 52, fig. 11) seems comparable. Both have the same style of coiffure with hair ascending in wavy locks from the forehead, the same strongly marked lids, full lips, and vigorous nose. In the Calene medallion there is no fillet in the hair and the direction of the head and neck are different, but otherwise the resemblance is marked. Clearly the Calenian potter molded his relief from a late fifth century original, not a coin, for his relief is too large, but again presumably from the emblema of a metal bowl or the cover of a pyxis.

A head in profile to the left on a guttus in the

Ashmolean Museum²¹ (pl. 52, fig. 12) also has close relatives on Sicilian coins. The rendering of the hair in simple waves closely adhering to the skull and rolled up at the back of the neck occurs again, for instance, in the Apollo on a tetradrachm of Katane²³ (fig. 13), dated 430-420 B.C., and on a tetradrachm of Leontinoi²³ of about the same period. Especially close is also, as Mr. Kenneth Jenkins has pointed out to me, the head by Eumenes on a Syracusan tetradrachm of c.425-420 B.C.²⁴ (pl. 53, fig. 14). Indicative of a date in the fifth century are moreover the somewhat severe profile and serene expression.

Two gutti in the British Museum have reliefs showing the head of Herakles in three-quarter view wearing a lion skin²⁸ (cf. pl. 53, fig. 15), in fifth-century style, comparable to the head of Arethusa by Kimon mentioned above, of Apollo on coins of Amphipolis²⁸ (early fourth century), and of the river god by Euainetos on coins of Kamarina of the late fifth century⁸⁷ (pl. 53, fig. 16).

The same comparisons may be made for the three-quarter head of what would appear to be an Amazon rather than an Athena on another guttus in the British Museum²⁸ (pl. 53, fig. 17). It is well preserved, so its fine distinction is unimpaired. A comparison with the head of Athena by Eukleidas on the tetradrachm of Syracuse of c.413-400 B.C. (pl. 53, fig. 18) suggests a date of perhaps a decade or two later for the relief on the guttus; near, in fact, to the early fourth century Athena on a coin of Herakleia, Lucania²⁹ (pl. 53, fig. 19).

Among the animals the most striking is that on a guttus in the Louvre⁸⁰ (pl. 54, fig. 20). It rep-

thought, it probably started in the late fourth century B.C. The signatures show that several generations of Calenian potters were involved (Pagenstecher 147ff), so that the ware must have been in vogue for a considerable time.

17 Such as Wuilleumer, Tarente, pl. xxi (bowl), xx (pyxis); Hackin, Nouvelles recherches archéologiques de Begram no.

213, fig. 289 (bowl).

¹⁸ I want in particular to thank Mr. Kenneth Jenkins of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for his help in selecting parallels on coins for my Calene reliefs, for dating the coins, and for supplying me with plaster casts.

the coins, and for supplying me with plaster casts.

19 No. 2160; diam. 5.6 cm. Another example, from the same mold, but in less good preservation, is on the guttus no. 2172.

20 HN² 177, fig. 100; Hill, Select Greek Coins pl. XXVII, 1;

Guide to the Principal Coins, British Museum (henceforth quoted as Guide) pl. 17, no. 68; Rizzo, Monete greche della Sicilia pl. LI, 2. Comparable also are some of the heads on late fifth century mirrors (cf. Richter, Cat. of Bronzes, Metr. Mus. no. 759).

²¹ P. Gardner, Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum no. 358; diam. of relief c. 4 cm., of guttus, 9 cm.; said to be from Catania. P. Gardner recognized the fifth-century style and commented: "The head is of the latter part of the fifth century and might seem to come from a coin; it is like the head on

Segestan and other Sicilian coins, but seems too large to be moulded from any of them." Evans, NC (1891) 317, n. 74, calls it "late transitional style."

²² Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* pl. xxv, 542; Hill, *op.cit.* pl. 1, 4; Rizzo, *op.cit.* pl. xIII, 3. From the Woodward collection.

28 Regling, op.cit. pl. xxvII, 566; HN⁸ 165; Hill, op.cit.

²⁴ Guide pl. xv1, 60.
²⁵ G 73, G 74; diam. of relief 4 cm. In Berlin and Naples are similar heads, but turned to the right instead of to the left; cf. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung no. 4213; Rocco, CVA Naples, Museo Nazionale, fasc. 2, pl. 23, no. 10, and, enlarged, pl. 30, no. 1.

28 Guide pl. 21, no. 10.

27 Guide pl. 14, no. 29; Rizzo, op.cit. pl. viii, 5.

²⁸ 1949.2.15.1; diam. of relief 4.8 cm. Acquired at the Sotheby sale of Dec. 1948, lot 196, from Rossie Priory. The type does not appear in Pagenstecher's lists. Called an Amazon by my British Museum colleagues.

²⁹ Hill, op.cit. pl. xxv, 2 (Herakleidas); Sylloge Num. Graec., Lloyd, no. 70 (Lucania).

80 No. 2209, ED818; diam. of relief 4.5 cm.

resents a charging bull, with right forepaw lifted, head lowered and turned forward in three-quarter view, tail forming a spiral, with end descending on hindquarter. It is obviously related to the bull on the coins of Thourioi of the end of the fifth century B.C.³¹ (pl. 54, fig. 21). The animal on the guttus is considerably larger than that on the coin, and the glaze that covers it was put on pretty thick, so details are obscured. The original from which it was molded must again have been the emblema of a bowl or the cover of a pyxis.

Another interesting parallel is presented by the running hare on a guttus in Berlin³² (pl. 54, fig. 22) and the hare on the late fifth century coins of Messana³³ (pl. 54, fig. 23). There can be no doubt of the intimate relationship between the two; but again the relief on the coin is considerably larger than the coin-type, and must have been molded from a metal vase.

A panther amid scrolls on a guttus in the Louvre³⁴ (pl. 54, fig. 24), perhaps an excerpt from a larger composition, also has an early look. One might compare the panther on the guttus in the Bibliothèque Nationale (pl. 55, fig. 39) and, for general style, certain animals on fifth-century gems, ³⁵ especially the dog on an obol of Eryx in the British Museum³⁶ (pl. 54, fig. 25).

To pass to the groups, a guttus in the Louvre^{a7} has as its medallion a nereid on a sea horse, riding to the left (pl. 54, fig. 26). Her transparent drapery, the impassive profile of the face, the hair done up in a tuft at the top of the head again suggest the late fifth or early fourth century as the probable date of the original from which the relief was molded. For instance, one may cite for comparison the nymph on the staters of Terina, of c.425-400 B.C.³⁸ (pl. 55, fig. 27), which shows a similar rendering of drapery in converging folds clinging to the legs.

Another beautiful, but somewhat damaged nereid

In the British Museum is a particularly interesting piece—a medallion with Hermes carrying the child Dionysos, escorted by a Maenad⁴⁴ (pl. 57, fig. 35)—a theme popular in Attic red-figured vase-painting. The black-glazed relief had once been inserted in the centre of the black-figured kylix with the birth of Athena by the Phrynos Painter,⁴⁵ but was removed in 1947. While it was privileged to form part of an important Attic cup, it was often referred to,⁴⁶

³¹ Hill pl. Lv, 1; Guide pl. 13, no. 13.

³² Pagenstecher no. 229, pl. 23 (another example is listed as being in Leningrad); Furtwängler, op.cit. no. 3780; diam. of relief 4.1 cm. It was not possible to obtain a photograph from the original.

⁸⁸ Guide, pl. 15, no. 46.

⁸⁴ No. 265; diam. of relief 4.5 cm.

³⁵ Furtwängler, A.G. pl. 1x, 60-62.

⁸⁶ Dimensions 1.1 cm. Cf. also Regling, Die Münze als Kunstwerk pl. xxv, no. 537, and Rizzo, op.cit. pl. xxv, 18.

⁸⁷ No. 302; diam. of relief 4.2 cm.

³⁸ Guide pl. 14, no. 23.

⁸⁹ G 45; diam. of relief c. 5 cm.

⁴⁰ Guide pl. 19, no. 48.

riding a hippocamp appears on a guttus in the British Museum³⁹ (pl. 55, fig. 28). Here the transparency of the chiton is even greater and recalls the renderings on some of the figures from Epidauros of the first quarter of the fourth century, as well as the Aphrodite on the stater of Aphrodisias, dated c.379-374⁴⁰ (pl. 55, fig. 30). A close parallel is furthermore provided by the nereid engraved on the bezel of a gold ring of late fifth to early fourth century type⁴¹ (pl. 55, fig. 29).

A guttus in the Bibliothèque Nationale42 (pl. 56, fig. 31) has a remarkable relief of Herakles, with club and billowing lion skin, standing in a chariot driven by Nike. It is obviously closely related to the chariots on late fifth century Syracusan coins, and especially to the groups on silver phialai (and their Calene derivatives) representing the apotheosis of Herakles (cf. pl. 56, figs. 32-34 and supra), and must have been molded from such a metal original. But since the design had been composed as part of a continuous frieze, a single group naturally did not fit the circular space on the guttus. So what did the Calene potter do? After molding a whole group from the metal phiale, he cut it into parts, placed the horses in the middle, the occupants of the chariot above instead of behind, and then added another strip of hoofs at the bottom to complete the tondo! One could not have a better example of how little these potters cared for the meaning of their reliefs, and how intent they were to use the work of others on their own pots48 (cf. supra).

⁴¹ I do not know the present location of the ring; the photograph, taken from a plaster impression of the engraving, was kindly given me by Mr. Sangiorgi.

⁴² De Ridder, Catalogue des vases dans la Bibliothèque Nationale no. 1209 (not illustrated); diam. of relief c.5.3 cm.

⁴⁸ For such adjustments of reliefs on askoi cf. Züchner, op.cit. 79ff.

⁴⁴ No. 87.5.8.362 (a); diam. of relief c.6.7 cm. Walters, Catalogue of Vases, British Museum B 424.

⁴⁵ Beazley, ABV 168, and references there cited.

⁴⁶ Another instance of such a modern insertion is that of an Attic gorgoneion in the centre of a Calene bowl (Louvre no. 1307 [164]) which, as Mr. Charbonneaux pointed out to me, must be a pasticcio by Campana.

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and it was included on its own merits by Pagenstecher in his book47 and by Heydemann in his Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit,48 but to my knowledge it has not before been illustrated. The style is surely fifth century, or at the latest early fourth. The Hermes is comparable to the Hermes on a relief in Athens of c. 400 B.C.40 (pl. 57, fig. 37), both in its still frontal pose and in the patterned modelling of the body; and the drapery of the maenad recalls that of Basile on the same relief (pl. 57, fig. 38) and of the Iris in the East pediment of the Parthenon. The somewhat inept rendering of the frontal face of the child also prevents one from descending far into the fourth century. The Hermes carrying the child Arkas on coins of Pheneus of c. 370-360 B.c. 50 (pl. 57, fig. 36) seems more advanced in modelling (contrast the three-quarter view of the Hermes with the frontal one of the medallion). Whether the terracotta relief belonged to a Calenian guttus or to a Greek askos (cf. supra) there is no telling. In either case it must have been derived from an emblema of a metal bowl or from a pyxis.

A splendid composition appears on a guttus in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁵¹ (pl. 55, fig. 39). The subject must be Pentheus, being attacked by Dionysos' panther and threatened by a maenad with her thyrsos. Pentheus has fallen on one knee on the pebbly ground, but still grasps his shield and lifts his sword in a vain attempt at defense. The quasifrontal poses of the figures, the modelling of Pentheus' nude body, the schematic rendering of the flying drapery of the maenad with folds recalling those of the Kallimachean maenads, and above all a certain grandeur in the composition suggest a date in, or not far removed from, the fifth century. The vivacity of the design recalls some of the groups in the gigantomachy by the Suessula Painter in the Louvre, of c. 400 B.C. 52 (pl. 55, fig. 41), and the halfkneeling stance of Pentheus recurs twice in the gigantomachy by Aristophanes in Berlin, of c.

405 B.C.⁵³ (pl. 55, fig. 40). And this is also the time when Euripides' *Bacchae* were performed in Athens (after the poet's death in 406 B.C.), and when representations of Pentheus' death appear on a number of Attic and South Italian vases.⁵⁴

A relief on a fragmentary guttus from the Scheurleer Collection, now in Amsterdam58 (pl. 58, fig. 43), supplies important information. The subjectan Amazon trying to lift her fallen companion-is familiar. It occurs, with constant variations in style and composition, from the fifth and fourth centuries to Hellenistic and Roman times. In comparing the many examples listed by Bielefeld in his Amazonomachia, 67ff, we shall find two (and I think only two) that are absolutely identical, namely the Scheurleer relief and one of the five groups on the plaster tondo in the Vatican⁵⁶ (pl. 58, fig. 42). In my recent article "Ancient Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware," AJA 62 (1958) 374f, I suggested that the Vatican tondo was not, as had been generally assumed hitherto, a Roman pasticcio, with groups derived from various sources, but directly molded from a fifth-century metal original. This theory is, I think, now substantiated by the Scheurleer guttus, which of course must antedate the Roman period. Not only is the relief line for line identical with the corresponding group on the Vatican relief, but it reproduces part of the horse that belongs to the adjoining group on the left and the sword held in the right hand of the Greek who belongs to the group on the right. To make the composition fit into the circular space of the guttus, the rest of the horse was simply cut off in the manner that we have observed in other Calene reproductions (cf. supra). That the terracotta relief is somewhat smaller than the plaster one (c. 5 cm. as against c. 6 cm.) is of course explained by the fact that the terracotta has shrunk in two successive firings and that plaster does not shrink as much as does clay.

It is instructive to compare the Scheurleer-Vati-

Bassae frieze, e.g. Kenner, Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia pls.2.10.

⁵⁴ Cf. Jahn, Pentheus und die Mainaden (1841); Rapp, loc.-cit.

55 Allard Pierson Stichting inv. 2761; CVA Pays Bas, fasc. 2, Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 7; Pagenstecher, Jdl 28 (1912) 161, no. 2152. Found in Rome. From the Arndt collection.

⁸⁶ Bielefeld, Amazonomachia 36, 68, 82, 84, pl. 1; Scheuenburg, Helior 23f; D. von Bothmer, Amazons in Greek Art 215; Richter, AlA 62 (1958) 374f. My pl. 58, fig. 42, is reproduced from a new photograph taken by Mr. Felbermeyer, with the kind permission of the Vatican Library and the help of Dr. H. Speier.

⁴⁷ P. 34, no. 20.

^{48 10.} Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm (1885) 21f.

⁴⁹ Lullies and Hirmer, Griechische Plastik no. 186.

⁸⁰ Guide pl. 24, no. 49.

⁵¹ Dilthey, AZ 31 (1874) 7894,pl.7,3; Rapp, in Roscher's Lexikon, s.v. Pentheus, cols. 1938f; De Ridder, op.cit. no. 1208; Pagenstecher, no. 192 c; Körte, GGA 274. Diam. of relief 5.4 cm. Replicas in Göttingen and Heidelberg. For the convincing interpretation of Pentheus rather than of Dionysos and a giant, see Rapp, op.cit.

⁵² Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung fig. 584; Beazley, ARV

⁵⁵ Furtwängler u. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl.127; Beazley, ARV 841,no.1. Cf. also some comparable groups on the

can group with later adaptations, such as the Campana relief in the Louvre^{b7} (pl. 58, fig. 44). The action so directly, so simply and movingly represented in the Scheurleer and Vatican group has in the later version become mannered, artificial.

Not only the medallions on gutti but also the friezes on Calenian black-glazed phialai mesomphaloi⁵⁸ bring before us creations of classical Greek times. Those with the apotheosis of Herakles, repeated on many extant examples, were evidently reproduced from late fifth century silver bowls similar to those now in London and New York 50 (cf. pl. 56, fig. 34). The Calenian phiale with a banquet scene, in Leningrad,60 is closely related to the smaller frieze on the New York silver phiale. To these examples others can be added. A particularly remarkable one is the Calenian phiale in the British Museum⁶¹ (pl. 59, fig. 45) with a lotus and palmette design in two registers, for which a silver counterpart is extant in the silver bowl found in Ithaka in 1812 and now in the British Museum⁶² (pl. 59, fig. 46) on loan from the Society of Antiquaries. The terracotta and silver bowls, though not identical, are sufficiently alike to indicate beyond doubt that the Calene example reproduces a metal original of the same type as the Ithaka phiale. The latter was found during a hasty digging of tombs which yielded objects of various periods from archaic down.68 As no exact records were kept, the date can be computed only by the style of the decoration.

⁸⁷ Cf. Rohden and Winnefeld, *Die architektonischen Tonreliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit*, pl. 134, no. 2, and text 123f, figs. 233-36; Bielefeld, *op.cit*. 67, no. 3. This and other derivates were presumably copied (freehand) from just such a plaster cast as is the Vatican tondo, to judge from what is indicated by the Begram and Memphis reliefs, cf. Richter, *AJA* 62 (1958) 369ff. For another instance of an identical relief appearing in a plaster cast and on a third century black-glazed pot cf. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät* pl. 1v, no. 34, and p. 48, fig. 4.

58 That some of these bowls were produced by Calene potters is shown by several preserved signatures, cf. Pagenstecher 75ff. The inscriptions are, as elsewhere, all in Latin; but on some examples the Greek letters ἐποει remain, evidently molded from the metal original.

⁵⁹ Walters, Catalogue of Silver Plate no. 9 (on pl. π it is by mistake numbered 8); Richter, AJA 45 (1941) 363ff.

60 Pagenstecher no. 119, pl. 13; Richter, op.cit. 386, fig. 28.

61 39.11.937 a; diam. of bowl 19.2 cm., of design c. 16 cm. 62 1920.5.29.2; diam. of bowl 23 cm., of design 20.7 cm. Broken in many pieces with missing parts restored. Cf. Lee, Archaeologia 33 (1849) 45, no. 1, pl. 111 5,6; Stackelberg, Gräber der Hellenen pl. 54; Luschey, Die Phiale 95f, no. 9, and references there cited. My pl. 59, fig. 46, shows the phiale for the first time reproduced from a photograph instead of from a drawing.

68 In the British Museum register, under nos. 1920-3.29-2

For comparison there come to mind both Eastern and Western parallels. For the former one can cite the gold phiale from Koul Oba and the fragmentary silver dish from the Seven-Brothers group of tombs,64 two silver phialai from Asia Minor in Berlin,65 the silver bowl from Jalysos, Rhodes,66 and the decorations on the capitals from Kabala,67 all datable in the second quarter and around the middle of the fifth century. They show similar elongated buds alternating with two- or three-leaved palmettes of simple, rather heavy design. In South Italy the same design occurs, for instance, on the backs of bronze mirrors from Medma and in Oxford,68 and on an aryballos from Leontinoi;69 and phialai mesomphaloi with such designs are frequently seen on Locrian pinakes⁷⁰ (cf. pl. 59, fig. 47),71 either hung up on the wall, or held in the hand by a seated figure. Here too the period indicated is the second quarter and the middle of the fifth century.72

The Ithaka bowl should be somewhat later than these examples, since the decoration surrounding the central boss is relatively free. But one can hardly descend further than the late fifth century B.C., which would be a considerable time before the manufacture of the Calene bowl. So here too is a graphic example of a Hellenistic potter of South Italy directly copying the design on a surviving Greek original.

I can here also illustrate—for the first time from a photograph instead of from a somewhat free

and 1950-2-20.1-5, are included, for instance, fragments of terracotta statuettes from the sixth to the fifth century B.C.
64 Minns, Scythians and Greeks p. 204, fig. 99, p. 213, fig.

114; Reinach, Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien pl. xxv.

65 Neugebauer, RM 38/39 (1923/24) 363; Luschey, Die

Phiale 95, no. 2, fig. 31.

66 Jacopi, Clara Rhodos 3 (1929) 109, fig. 103.

67 Bakalakis, ArchEph (1936) p. 8, fig. 10, p. 18, fig. 27, pp. 19ff. For a predecessor cf. the gold medallion from Delphi, Amandry, BCH 63 (1939) pl. xxx1, 36.

68 Orsi, BdA 13 (1919) 97f, fig. 2; Tod, JHS 50 (1930)

32ff, pl. п.

69 Winnefeld, "Altgriechisches Bronzebecken aus Leontini," 59. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm 30f.

70 Quagliati, Ausonia 3 (1908) p. 176, fig. 30, p. 197, fig. 47, p. 204, fig. 53, p. 199, fig. 48; Orsi, op.cit. 413, fig. 6. Cf. also the terracotta statuette from Medma, Orsi, NSc Suppl. (1913) 93, fig. 104 bis.

⁷¹ Allard Pierson Stichting, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1917; ht. as preserved 15.2 cm.; Bull. van de Vereeninging tot Bevordering der Kennis de antieke Beschaving 3, no. ii (1923) 13, fig. 10; Algemeine Gids (1937) pl. xcviii, 2077, p. 221.

⁷² The comparable design on the metal bowl from Pompeii, Pernice, Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii pl. 1v, is of course a Roman copy or adaptation from a similar Greek design.

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drawing—the black-glazed phiale mesomphalos in the Louvre⁷³ with a design of elongated buds, in two sizes, both incised with a fern pattern (pl. 60, fig. 48). Pagenstecher⁷⁴ listed a large number of similar examples (to which may be added one in the Ashmolean Museum).⁷⁵ Here again the style points to an original earlier than the date of Calene. The design is basically similar to that of the Ithaka bowl and to that of the silver dish from the Seven-Brothers tomb, except that in the clay example the elongated buds are decorated with a fern pattern; the loop pattern at the base is also present. As Pagenstecher pointed out, a near parallel in metal is the phiale in Florence figured by Inghirami.⁷⁶

In addition, several fragmentary molds with this design exist. I illustrate one in the British Museum⁷⁷ (pl. 60, fig. 49). It is of special interest in this connection, for it shows the procedure of molding such clay phialai from metal ones. A mold was first made of the design on a metal phiale, omitting the central boss; the mold was then fired, and fitted on a revolving wheel (a so-called jigger); clay was pressed into the mold, reproducing the decoration (the finger marks show on the bottom side, cf. pl. 60, fig. 50); rim and central boss were added on the wheel and refined when leather hard with turning tools (of which the marks remain); and finally the surface was covered with black glaze and the bowl fired. The two firings and consequent shrinkages of course account for the smaller dimensions of these terracotta bowls compared with those of the metal originals.

The British Museum mold with a fern pattern is inscribed on the outer side in Latin, "I am from the workshop of Canoleius"; and it is noteworthy that this signature was added *after* molding.

Two phialai mesomphaloi from Paestum⁷⁸ (pl. 60, fig. 51), found in the same pit as the mold with the amazonomachy (pl. 51, fig. 1), may be mentioned as further examples of copies from surviving metalware, though not black-glazed. Each is dec-

orated with a similar, but not identical, design consisting of palmettes, lotus flowers, and acorn-like buds. On the better preserved bowl are two suspension holes, which probably were present also on the missing part of the other bowl. The phialai presumably served as offerings in the Heraion, and since they were found with Hellenistic objects (mostly terracotta statuettes), they should date from that period. Here again, however, the style of the ornamentation is much earlier. It may be assigned to the late fifth century B.C. from the form of the palmettes, with the lateral petals curving outward. A somewhat comparable metal parallel is the silver bowl from Eze in the British Museum, " which should also date from the fifth century B.C. The precision of the design in the hammered metal bowl contrasts with the lack of definition in the Paestum terracotta reproductions; the latter were evidently molded from metal bowls, somewhat carelessly, in coarse clay, but were good enough to serve as offerings. And one may recall here also the terracotta mold from Tarentum in Berlin, 90 decorated with a design of lotus and palmettes in fifth century style.

The clay of the Paestan molds is coarser than that of the Calenian ware, and the white engobe, of which traces remain, points to one of the numerous South Italian wares current in the third century B.C. Comparable, for instance, are the fluted phialai with relief decoration, once covered with white engobe and painted, ⁸¹ which were also presumably molded from metal originals. ⁸²

To sum up our findings: the Hellenistic Calene ware of South Italy may be used as an important source for our knowledge of Greek metalware, not only of the Hellenistic but of the classical period. Even the relatively few examples examined in this article show the wealth of material that can here be gleaned; and a thorough search in the local Museums of South Italy and elsewhere would doubtless bring to light many more. They supplement in

⁷⁸ No. 3369; diam. of bowl 19.5 cm., of design c. 16 cm. A similar design appears on a slightly larger bowl, no. 3364, diam. 19.8 cm.

^{74 84}ff, no. 133, a-z.

⁷⁸ No. 369 in P. Gardner's Catalogue (not illustrated); diam. of bowl 18 cm.

⁷⁶ Monumenti etruschi VI, pl. B. For a late derivative of the pattern cf. the central disk in the silver dish from Norfolk, Walters, Catalogue of Silver Plate, British Museum pl. xiv, 87.

⁷⁷ WT 441; diam. 20 cm. From Capua. Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, British Museum E 76; Pagenstecher 86,r. For other fragments of such molds in the British Museum, cf.nos.E

^{75, 77, 78;} Pagenstecher no. 133.

⁷⁸ Nos. 2882, 2884; diameters 19.7 to 20 cm. and 18.5 to c.9 cm. Mentioned by P. C. Sestieri, Il Museo Nuovo di Paestum (1954) 13: "sono evidentemente copie da originali in bronzo del V secolo a.c."

⁷⁰ Walters, Catalogue of Silver Plate no. 10.

⁸⁰ Furtwängler, *Jdl* 2 (1887) 201 (ill.). From the Hoffmann collection, Paris.

⁸¹ British Museum 43, 4-8.3; WT 553 (from Ruvo); WT 557 (from Torre Annunziata); WT 358 (from Ruvo).

⁸² Cf. Wuilleumier, Tarente pl. xxiv 1.

a welcome way our relatively scanty knowledge of an important branch of Greek art which was once practised by Pheidias and Polykleitos. To the bronze mirror covers, decorated attachments on vases, and sundry other survivors, one can add some classical reliefs on Calene pottery, many evidently taken from the emblemata on the interior of metal bowls that were so much sought after by Roman collectors. Though details are obsured by the molding process and by the application of the black glaze, the beauty of the all-over composition remains.

There is a noteworthy distinction between the Calenian reliefs and the Roman plaster casts found at Begram, Egypt, and elsewhere (cf. supra). Whereas the Roman copyists had at their disposal the Greek metalware that had survived in all parts of the Roman empire, the Hellenistic potters of Cales presumably had at hand only the metalware of South Italy. Hence the similarity of the friezes representing the apotheosis of Herakles with the chariots on Syracusan coins, hence the various South Italian and Sicilian parallels that it was possible to cite for our Calenian reliefs. Furthermore, many of the classical reliefs on Calenian ware go back to the late fifth and the early fourth century B.c.-the very time when South Italy and Sicily produced their greatest designers of coin types. It is, therefore, natural to think that such men as Kimon and Euainetos did not restrict their activities to the making of coins, but produced also reliefs on metalware. In other words, the suggestion previously made83 that the two crafts were sometimes practised by the same artists has found further confirmation.

From these considerations it might be deduced that the reliefs on Calene pots throw light specifically on South Italian metalware. And this doubtless is the case in a general way. Nevertheless, it is important to remember how closely the amazonomachy on the Calenian gutti resembles the reliefs on the Athenian Dexileos stele and Academy base, and that a prototype for a Calenian phiale mesomphalos was found in the island of Ithaka, for which Eastern as well as Western parallels could be cited (cf. supra). Is this not again indicative of the near kinship between the Greek artists of East and West?

From our study the important fact has furthermore emerged that the dates of individual Calene

pots cannot be computed from the style of their reliefs. The latter vary according to the prototypes from which they were molded and do not affect the chronology of the ware. The lack of this realization has sometimes given rise to confusing theories. It is useful, therefore, to have this point made clear.

And this opens the way, I think, to a better understanding of Calenian ware as a whole. Ever since Pagenstecher's detailed examination it has become customary to call all Italian black-glazed bowls, phialai, kylikes, and gutti decorated with reliefs Calene; for Pagenstecher seemed to have made out a good case for this name, on the evidence of provenances, signatures, and molds. In reviewing this evidence, however, in the light of our findings, these conclusions seem less compelling. Pagenstecher's list of provenances (187f) shows on how many sites this ware has been found. Not only Cales, Capua, and the rest of Campania, but Apulia, Etruria, and Latium, as well as other places in South Italy, have yielded hosts of examples. To explain this wide distribution by export from Cales is only possible if other evidence points that way. But this is hardly the case. The inscriptions collected by Pagenstecher (152) show how relatively few pieces are signed. He cites 14 or 15 different names, out of which 4 or 5 are definitely Calenian, a few others presumably so. A number of signatures give no place of origin and the vast majority of pots are unsignedsuggesting that the addition of a maker's name was a restricted local or individual custom. At all events, the stylistic criterion—the assigning of pots to Calenians because the reliefs resemble those on signed specimens-is no longer valid once it is realized that all these reliefs, classical and Hellenistic, were mechanically molded from metalware and are not original creations, or even adaptations.

The same applies to the evidence of the molds (p. 136). Though some have been found at Cales (Pagenstecher, nos. 5, 16 c, 133 h, 138), several have come from other sites or have no known provenance. It was obviously possible to take several molds from the same original and use impressions from each in widely separated localities.

It would, therefore, follow that Calenian potters, though they played their part in the production of black-glazed relief ware, had by no means a monopoly.⁸⁴ Though we shall probably retain the con-

⁸³ Richter, AJA 43 (1941) 375; Vermeule JHS 75 (1955)

⁸⁴ I see that Körte in his review of Pagenstecher's book, GGA

^{175 (1913) 255}ff, also brought out this point; cf. also Lamboglia, "Per una classificatione della ceramica campana," Atti del 1. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri (1950) 139ff, 163.

venient term of Calenian for this ware, it is important to have a clear picture of the widespread activity of South Italian potters, and of the production over a large area of black-glazed ware; and to realize, moreover, that this black ware forms a unity. It was produced all over the Mediterranean, both east and west; the majority of examples were plain, but many were embellished with decorations, the latter varying according to the preference of

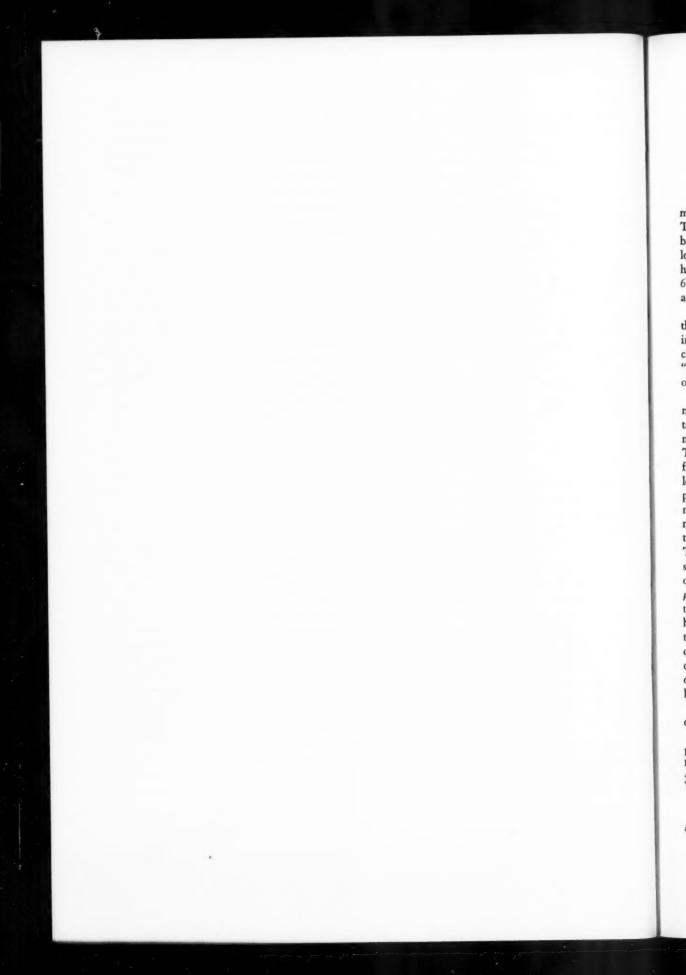
as In looking over the rich collections of black-glazed wares in the Louvre, the British Museum, and the National Museum of Naples, one realizes how many of these pots have either no decoration or only a few palmettes or other little designs stamped upon them. That is why they are rarely displayed in exhibition galleries. They constitute, in fact, the common household ware of Hellenistic times, used not only in Italy, but in Greece. For studies of this ware in Greece cf. H. A. Thompson, Hesperia 3 (1934) 427ff; Talcott, Hesperia 4 (1935) 481ff; S. S. Weinberg, Hesperia 18 (1949) 149; P. E. Corbett, Hesperia 24 (1955) 172ff; F. F. Jones in H. Goldman, Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus I (1950) 152ff. For those in Italy cf. Kirsopp, Boll. dell' Assoc. Inter. di Studi Mediterranei 5 (1934) 97f; Felletti-Maj, StEtr 14 (1940) 66f; Lamboglia, op. cit. 139ff; D. M. Taylor, MAAR 25 (1957); Mingazzini, ArchCl 10 (1958) 218ff. But much remains to be done before the

producers and clients; that is, they are either stamped, or in relief, or painted (the last especially in the so-called West Slope, and in the "Gnathian" and "Teano" wares). The close connection between these three methods of decoration is indicated by the fact that they are occasionally found side by side on the same pot.⁸⁵

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various wares can be properly classified and the relationship between East and West clearly traced.

Sources of photographs: M. Chuzeville, Paris: figs. 3, 10, 20, 24, 26, 44, 48; J. Felbermeyer: figs. 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 33, 36 (enlargements from casts sent by the British Museum); 2, 42; Paestum Museum: figs. 1, 51; Munich, Antikensammlungen: fig. 4; National Museum, Athens: figs. 5, 6, 7; British Museum: figs. 15, 17, 28, 35, 45, 46, 49, 50; Ashmolean Museum: fig. 12; Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 32, 34; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Stichting: fig. 47; private collection: fig. 29; Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen: fig. 9; Pagenstecher, Calenische Reließkeramik: fig. 22; Furtwängler and Reichold, Griechische Vasenmalerei: figs. 40, 41. CVA Pays Bas, fasc. 2, Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 2, pl. 94, no. 7: fig. 43.



Toward a Restudy of the Battle of Salamis

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

PLATES 61-62

Of all ancient Greek battles, Salamis has been the most studied, at least in its topographical aspects. This is due partly to the intrinsic importance of the battle, partly to the accessibility of the site to travellers and the picturesqueness of the setting. The high-altitude aerial photograph reproduced in pl. 61, fig. 1 shows the straits of Salamis and the general area.1

Virtually all studies of the battle are based on the ancient topographical data. One recent study,2 in reviving in essence the position of Beloch, has claimed that the ancient descriptions yield positive "footholds to the topographer." These footholds rest on statements in Pausanias and Strabo.

The first foothold is given as Mt. Aigaleos, the modern as well as the ancient name for the mountain which rises above the bend in the Salamis channel. The second foothold is the town of Salamis. The writer states: "The ancient town of Salamis faces on to the Salamis Channel opposite Mt. Aegaleos, and its remains have been uncovered on the peninsula known today as Kamatero. . . . There is no doubt that Kamatero is the site of classical Salamis Town."3 Hammond's map, on which Kamatero is marked at the northwestern part of his Cape Tropaea, is reproduced in pl. 62, fig. 2. Since Pausanias stated that the island Psyttaleia was in front of Salamis (νήσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμίνος ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια) Hammond posits that we have in the modern island of Agios Georgios a third foothold: "As Pausanias' point of reference was the town of Salamis, Psyttalia was the island in front of Kamatero called today Ayios Yeoryios; for no other island is in front of Kamatero." The location of the third foothold, then, depends on the correct location of Salamis town.

Richard Chandler was to my knowledge the first of the travellers to mention the remains of Salamis

town. In 1776, he wrote: "The city was within Cynosoura or the Dog's Tail, on the opposite side of the bay." After describing remains on Kynosoura, he continues: "The walls may still be traced, and, it has been conjectured, were about four miles in circumference."4 On Chandler's chart, facing p. 204, the words "Vestiges of Salamis" are placed not at modern Kamatero but just west of the Bay of Ambelaki, E. Dodwell, who visited Salamis September 27, 1805, quoting Chandler as seeing the remains of Salamis town at Kynosoura, reported, "According to Strabo . . . Salamis was a city, built on a peninsula, which stretches out toward Attica. The geographer alludes to the peninsula of Cynosoura, on the eastern side of the island, where part of the ancient walls of the city, of a regular construction, are still remaining."5 When W. M. Leake visited the island, he wrote as follows about the remains of Salamis town: "The walls of the city of Salamis may still be traced on a part of Cape Tropaea,6 and in several parts of the plain which borders the bay of Ambelakia" (italics mine). The pertinent section of Leake's accompanying map clearly indicates the traces of this wall along Cape Varvara and the remains of the ancient town are located just east of Ambelaki. This map is reproduced in pl. 62, fig. 3. Later, when Frazer visited the island, he wrote as follows: "Strabo describes the city of Salamis as situated beside a bay, on a peninsula which jutted out towards Attica. The bay to which he refers is the bay of Ambelaki on the eastern coast of the island, facing towards Piraeus. It is bounded on the north and south by two peninsulas, of which the southern one is much the longer. At the head of the bay, a little way from the shore, is the modern village of Ambelaki. In the water of the bay may be seen numerous remains of the ancient harbour."8 These remains in the bay of Ambelaki are still to

1 This aerial photograph was kindly supplied to me by the

Honorable G. V. Melas, Ambassador of Greece, Washington, D.C. A portion of this paper was read at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 28, 1957, in Washington.

2 N. G. L. Hammond, JHS 76 (1956) 32-54.

8 op.cit. 33-34.

4 Travels in Greece (Oxford 1776) 201f. This book was not available to me, but the passage was kindly copied by Professor Oscar Broneer.

⁸ Tour Through Greece I (London 1819) 577.

6 According to Leake, Tropaea was the same as Cape Varvara which is frequently identified with Kynosoura. See the insert map at the rear of his book.

7 Demi of Attica9 (London 1841) 171. Leake's second edition of the Demi of Attics was published as the second volume of The Topography of Athens.

B Pausanias II (London 1913) 478.

be seen. Inland toward the village of Ambelaki one may today pick up ancient sherds. Similarly, Bürchner wrote: "Von der jüngeren Stadt, die dicht an dem jetzigen Albanerdorf 'Αμπελάκι (von seinen Weinfeldern so genannt) lag, sind noch ziemlich viele Reste vorhanden."9 About the wall on Cape Varvara, Frazer testified as follows: "From the southern side of the hill of Magoula a wall ascends the back of the promontory, then turns westward and runs along the ridge to near the village of Ambelaki. The purpose of this wall, as Prof. Milchhöfer conjectures, was probably to protect the town and harbour of Salamis on the south."10 From a position near the peak of the northern peninsula, Lolling wrote: "Etwa 15 Meter südlicher in der Richtung nach Ambelaki läuft eine Mauer den Felsgrat hinunter, doch lässt sie sich jetzt nicht mehr weit verfolgen, sie diente hier offenbar als Grenzmauer."11 Later, in another article, the same writer stated in greater detail: "Darauf deutet die lange, schon auf der englischen Seekarte verzeichnete Mauer, die von der Magula aus den südlich ansteigenden Hügelrand emporläuft und dann westwärts dem Grate des Hügelzugs folgend, sich bis in die Nähe von Ambelaki hinzieht. Diese . . . Mauer sicherte das Weichbild der alten Stadt gegen jeden von Süden, . . . die natürliche Begrenzung der Stadt."12 Milchhöfer, relying in part on drawings and a map made by Ross' architect Schaubert in the eighteen thirties, concluded as follows concerning the location of the ancient agora: "Pausanias erwähnt zuerst die Baureste des Marktes, der sicherlich, wie die folgende Beschreibung erkennen lässt und wie schon Schaubert annahm, in der Niederung nahe dem Westende des Hafens lag."18 The picture which emerges from Milchhöfer's description in the Karten von Attika is that the acropolis was on the northern peninsula, the agora in the low part to the southwest, near the modern village of Ambelaki, and the harbor in the bay of Ambelaki itself, and this picture is in accord with the firsthand descriptions of Chandler, Dodwell, Leake, Lolling, and Frazer.

Admittedly, one could take a position on the acropolis and speak of Agios Georgios as the island in front of the town. But one might equally well sail from the Attic coast into the ancient Salamis harbor, or take a position in the agora, and describe

Lipsokoutali as the island in front of the town. To claim that the words of Pausanias are conclusive for the identification of Agios Georgios with Psyttaleia is incorrect. Moreover, since Pausanias started his description of Salamis with the agora and the harbor (1.35.3), one might well prefer the second alternative; and indeed a large number of scholars, familiar with the terrain and with the passage in Pausanias, have called Lipsokoutali the ancient Psyttaleia.

Before Hammond, Beloch had earlier (Klio 8 [1908] 477-86) sought to identify Agios Georgios with Psyttaleia. This theory immediately drew a spate of articles in opposition, including those of Rediades in ArchEph (1909) 45-56 and AM 38 (1913) 31-36; Judeich in Klio 12 (1912) 129-38; Kallenberg in PhW 29 (1909) 60-63 and RhM 67 (1912) 192-94; and Guratzsch in Klio 19 (1923) 128-39. The Wochenschrift article of Kallenberg is of particular interest in presenting the views of a man who claimed to have travelled for more than 14 years between the Peiraeus and Salamis. Caspari (JHS 31 [1911] 107) said of this article: it "may fairly claim to have knocked the bottom out of Beloch's case."

To this writer, it seems very difficult to associate the descriptive phrases of Aeschylus (Pers. 447-49) with Agios Georgios. The words δύσορμος ναυσίν and ποντία ἀκτή hardly fit the low-lying island situated in calm inland waters. Photographs of Agios Georgios and Lipsokoutali are reproduced in pl. 62, figs. 4 and 5 respectively; so the reader can compare the nature of the terrain of the two candidates for Psyttaleia. Lipsokoutali was a much greater distance from the camera lens and is therefore somewhat flattened out. Wilamowitz (Griechisches Lesebuch 1:2 [Berlin 1902] 36) has commented on the Aeschylean passage as follows: "Psyttaleia liegt, wo die Meerenge zwischen Salamis und dem Festlande sich nach der See öffnet. Sie ist ganz und gar felsig: da tanzt nur der Huf des Pan." Several scholars (see above) have testified to the rocky nature of Lipsokoutali; for Hammond (op.cit. 52), on the other hand, Agios Georgios is covered with "plenty of scrub to provide concealment for the Persians." The Aeschylean phrases of lines 447-49 of the Persae are clearly applied to the island; I do not, therefore, understand Hammond's comment (37 n. 20):

⁹ RE s.v. Salamis 1832.

¹⁰ op.cit. V 533.

¹¹ AM I (1876) 136.

¹² Lolling in Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius . . . gewidmet (Berlin 1884) 9-10.

¹⁸ Karten von Attika, Text, 7-8 (Berlin 1895) 27.

"This phrase (δύσορμος ναυσίν) is a periphrasis for 'Salamis.'" We should remember, moreover, that Herodotus (8.76) described Psyttaleia as νησίδα ... μεταξύ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου. The preposition μεταξύ seems much more appropriate for Lipsokoutali than for an island within the Bay of Paloukia.

Strabo described the coast between the Thriasian Plain and the open waters of the Peiraeus as follows (9.1.13-14): . . . είτα τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον καὶ όμώνυμος αίγιαλὸς καὶ δήμος είθ' ή ἄκρα ή 'Αμφιάλη καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον λατόμιον, καὶ ὁ εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμός όσον διστάδιος, ον διαχούν έπειρατο Ξέρξης, έφθη δὲ ή ναυμαχία γενομένη καὶ φυγή τῶν Περσῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ αἱ Φαρμακοῦσσαι, δύο νησία, ὧν ἐν τῷ μείζονι Κίρκης τάφος δείκνυται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης ὅρος ἐστίν, ο καλείται Κορυδαλλός, καὶ δήμος οἱ Κορυδαλλείς. είθ' ὁ Φώρων λιμήν καὶ ἡ Ψυττάλεια, νησίον έρημον πετρώδες ὅ τινες εἶπον λήμην τοῦ Πειραιώς. πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἡ ᾿Αταλάντη ὁμώνυμος τῆ περὶ Εύβοιαν καὶ Λοκρούς, καὶ ἄλλο νησίον ὅμοιον τῆ Ψυτταλεία καὶ τοῦτο · είθ' ὁ Πειραιεύς. . . .

Before discussing the topographical sites, we must ask the question as to what is the value of this particular passage. A priori, a passage which contains a reference to a stone quarry suggests personal investigation, and Paul Meyer in his "Straboniana" has collected the remarks of Strabo which attest to his interest in the stones used in buildings and in quarries. Accordingly, A. Wilhelm would admit Strabo's personal knowledge. "Ist es glaublich, dass ein hochgebildeter, weit- und vielgereister Mann wie Strabon bei seiner Reise oder seinen Reisen von Kleinasien nach Italien und umgekehrt auf den Besuch Athens verzichtet und sich mit dem Besuche von Korinth, den er durch seine Bemerkungen VIII 6, 19 and 21 ausdrücklich bezeugt, begnügt habe?" 15

But there is a wide range of authorities who would deny that Strabo visited Athens. Frazer remarked: "In fact it is generally recognized that Strabo visited very few parts of Greece, perhaps none but Corinth."16 Tozer says: "I must plainly say that, with the exception of Corinth, about which he has written with a fulness that contrasts strongly with his treatment of the other cities, I hardly think he visited any place in that country."17 G. C. Richards writes: "Of Greece proper he apparently knew very little from autopsy."18 In the words of J. G. C. Anderson, Strabo was a man "who had travelled comparatively little . . . and depended on written and oral sources for the bulk of his information (2.4.11, p. 117)."19 H. L. Jones states: "It cannot be maintained with positiveness that in Greece he saw any place other than Corinth-not even Athens, strange as this may seem."20 C. H. Weller in his article "The Extent of Strabo's Travel in Greece" concludes: "Quite as important as the quotations and errors that have been discussed is the fact that Strabo's entire description of Greece lacks the touch of the firsthand observer."21 For other scholars who do not believe that Strabo visited Athens, see e.g. Niese, RhM 32 (1877) 281, and Hermes 13 (1878) 43; Vogel, Philologus 41 (1882) 516. For Athens he seems to have borrowed from Hegesias and Polemo and Apollodoros;22 for the description of Salamis at least in part from Artemidoros of Ephesos and Apollodoros.28

But there remains another difficulty with our use of the Strabo passage—the possibility of textual corruption, particularly in the peculiar clause καὶ ἄλλο νησίον ὅμοιον τἢ Ψυτταλείᾳ καὶ τοῦτο.²⁴ W. Leaf has warned on the basis of the work of T. W. Allen:²⁵ "There is no sort of textual corruption which cannot be abundantly illustrated from the MSS. of Strabo; but they stand alone in one characteristic

¹⁴ Jahresbericht der Fürsten- und Landesschule zu Grimma (1890) 8.

¹⁵ SBWien 211 (1929) 14.

¹⁶ Pausanias 1.91.

¹⁷ Selections from Strabo (Oxford 1893) 18. Elsewhere (225) Tozer wrote: "His description of the city and of objects in its neighborhood does not read like that of an eye-witness, and the flourish of rhetoric with which he deprecates the necessity of giving a detailed account of it points in the same direction. . . . It is noticeable, too, that in dealing with one debated point, which, if he had been on the spot, we might expect him to have investigated for himself—the quality of the water of the Eridanus, which rose close to Athens—he quotes the testimony of others."

¹⁸ GaR 10 (1941) 84.

¹⁹ Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay (Man-

chester 1923) 2.

²⁰ The Geography of Strabo I (Loeb Classical Library: London 1917) xxii.

²¹ CP 1 (1906) 355. Weller claims "upwards of thirty cases of avowed or manifest borrowing, or of misstatement in matters in which personal observation would be expected": A]A 10 (1906) 84.

²² See Weller op.cit. 356. For the Athenian section, which was borrowed from Apollodoros, see, for example, Jacoby (following Schwartz), FGrH 244 Kommentar p. 776; and Atenstädt, Philologus 95 (1942) 61.

²⁸ See Atenstädt op.cit. 60-61. Cf. Honigmann, RE s.v. Stra-

²⁴ A. Wilhelm stated (op.cit. 17): "Καὶ τοῦτο zeigt unter allen Umständen einen Verlust an."

²⁵ CQ 9 (1915) 88-96.

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—the multitude of lacunae.... The peculiar lacunae of Strabo are due to a conscientious scribe, somewhere in the genealogy of the MSS., who had before him a copy in which from time to time he came across words or letters which for some reason he was unable to decipher...."²⁶

To return to Strabo's account of the sites in the Straits of Salamis. As quoted above, he mentions them in the following order: (1) Thriasian Plain (2) Deme of Thria (3) Promontory of Amphiale with (4) a Quarry above (5) Porthmos to Salamis with the causeway of Xerxes (6) Pharmakoussai Islands (7) Deme Korydallos (8) Harbor of Smugglers (9) Psyttaleia Island (10) Atalante Island (11) Another small island (here there may be lacunae in the text).

Of the sites from 3 to 10, the one which is most likely to afford us a secure foothold is, I believe, the quarry for which at least two eminent travellers, Leake and Lolling, have reported their searches. First, however, Hammond has told us that there are three possible sites. He has written: "Leake, Die Demen von Attika 159, mentions two possible sites for the quarry, one on the peninsula of Skaramanga, where there is an artificial mound of excavated soil, and the other on the coast east of the reef of Arpedhoni, where he speaks of a 'small ancient quarry.' Leake evidently preferred the former site for Strabo's quarry. Lolling, p. 6, mentions a quarry near Perama and places it on the hill just north-west of Perama on his map; Lolling claims it is the only quarry between Perama and Skaramanga; and denies Leake's two sites without justification . . . the precise dating of a quarry is too difficult to permit one to say that one and not another of the three sites was quarried in Strabo's day."27

The English scholar has referred to the German translation of Leake's *Demi of Attica*, a translation made by A. Westermann in 1840. In the first English edition, published in 1829, Leake wrote, "I could find no quarry, however, above Skarmanga, such as Strabo describes above Amphiale....²⁸ Opposite to Arpathoni on the Attic shore, there is a small quarry, which to judge from its relative situa-

tion and small extent, can hardly be that which is mentioned by Strabo."²⁰ Leake continues in a new paragraph, "Among the pine-trees which cover the peninsula of Skarmanga there is a large artificial tumulus."

In the second, 1841, English edition, which presents a greatly altered text, ⁸⁰ Leake stated simply (165): "It is to be observed, however, that the only quarry on this coast is not near Skarmanga, but nearly opposite to the bay of Salamis." The other sentences were omitted as far as the new paragraph, including the statement that the quarry was small, which as we shall see below was probably not the case in comparison with other Attic quarries.

Leake's reference to a "large artificial tumulus" is clearly no evidence for an ancient stone quarry. Furthermore, we can speak of the peninsula of Skaramanga as a "possible site" for Leake only in the sense that Leake explored it expecting to find a quarry there (because he identified the nearby Kyrades Islands with Strabo's Pharmakoussai Islands and he realized that Pharmakoussai and the quarry are connected in Strabo) but found none. Moreover, it is quite misleading for Hammond to speak of Leake's "other (site) on the coast east of the reef of Arpedhoni." For Hammond, Arpedhoni is the name of the small reef in the southern entrance to the Bay of Eleusis and immediately south of the Kyrades Islands. For Leake, Arpathoni was the name of Agios Georgios. This appears clearly in the first edition (p. 227) where he speaks of the island as being "in the bay of Ambelakia (Salamis)"31 and in the second edition where he so designates it on the map reproduced here as pl. 62, fig. 3. The site of Leake's quarry, then, was at the southwestern tip of Mt. Aigaleos and northwest of modern Perama.

The only other exploration for this quarry known to me is that of Lolling, as reported in 1884. Lolling was a scholar of whom J. G. Frazer said that "he probably knew Greece better than any man of our generation" and he referred to him as "eminently trustworthy."⁸² Now, Lolling described his search for Strabo's quarry in these words: "Ich habe diese Küstenstrecke genau und oft genug untersucht

²⁶ JHS 37 (1917) 19.

 ²⁷ op.cit. 34 n. 6.
 28 For Leake, Skarmanga was the short peninsula on the mainland opposite to the Kyrades Islands.

²⁹ Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature I (1829)

³⁰ In the 1844 German translation of the second edition of

volume I, the translators wrote in the foreword: "Denn sie enthält nicht nur einzelne Zusätze und Berichtigungen, sondern ist eine völlig neue Bearbeitung, die in vielen Theilen ganz neue Ergebnisse bietet."

⁸¹ Similarly in the German translation, p. 159.

⁸² CR 12 (1898) 207.

...," and he affirmed with certitude that there was only one ancient quarry between Keratsini and Skaramanga.³³ This he found above Perama and on his map he located it just to the northwest of the village. He wrote as follows: "... dieser Steinbruch ist noch jetzt vorhanden und zwar gibt es an der Küste von Keratzini bis Skarmanga nur einem Steinbruch, nämlich den hart über dem Fährhaus, von dem man jetzt nach Salamis übersetzt." This area is today restricted.

But we cannot leave the subject of Strabo's quarry without examining Hammond's use of Lolling's testimony. Hammond states (34, n. 6), "Lolling . . . denies Leake's two sites without justification." Not only did Lolling not deny Leake's only site, but he concluded, as we too have, that Leake's quarry was the same as his own. Lolling wrote: "Doch muss er (Leake) den über dem Fährhaus liegenden Steinbruch im Sinne gehabt haben, der indessen grösser ist, als die meisten Brüche des Hymettos."

We have evidence, therefore, not for three quarries, but for one, and that just above Perama. As A. Wilhelm said, "Hinsichtlich der Lage des λατόμιον kann kein Zweifel sein." 85

Strabo associates the quarry with the causeway of Xerxes, and then mentions the Pharmakoussai Islands, using the locative adjective ἐνταῦθα. If one wishes to posit that Strabo is describing landmarks in their order, then the only candidate for the Pharmakoussai Islands is Agios Georgios and the reef near Perama. Some scholars, contending that Strabo is not giving a firsthand account, may not wish to concede that the order was rigid. However, Hammond and Beloch are the two scholars who have based their reconstructions of the battle on the Strabo passage—and they in turn are the two who have identified Psyttaleia with Agios Georgios. ⁸⁶

We must here say a word about Hammond's use of the Strabo passage. He calls Strabo's account "consecutive." He criticizes "most scholars" whose topographical identifications "mean that Strabo described the Channel in a most illogical order." He announces his own attitude in these words: "Strabo's viewpoint is that of a man sailing through the Bay of Eleusis, the Channel of Salamis, and the open waters of the Peiraeus." As we have indicated above, the opinion of those authorities who

have studied the sources of Strabo is that he was here using written accounts without personal examination of the land. But let us waive this point, conceding that Strabo may well have used his sources correctly, and ask rather, how does Hammond himself handle the passage, all-important as it is for his viewpoint?

On page 34 he gives the Greek from Strabo as far as the word $\Pi \epsilon \rho \sigma \hat{\omega} \nu$. The various topographical points are then given locations between Eleusis and Perama. They are placed, to use Hammond's phrase, in "consecutive" order. On a subsequent page, however, the citation from Strabo's Greek is resumed, starting with the words ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ αἱ Φαρμακοῦσσαι and continuing to the end of the passage. Hammond introduces the Greek with the following comment: "Strabo continues his account rather vaguely as follows." The second half of the passage is no more vague than what has gone before. With no warning to the reader, Hammond takes Strabo several kilometers back from Perama and Xerxes' causeway into the Bay of Eleusis to islands opposite the peninsula of Skaramanga. If we maintain that Strabo's account is "consecutive" and "logical" then we must read the passage without break and acknowledge in clear print that Strabo's viewpoint (or rather that of his source, if extracted correctly) is that of a man who has arrived at Perama and then mentions the Pharmakoussai.

Since the Pharmakoussai islands were named immediately after the quarry and Xerxes' causeway, being connected with them by the adverb evravba, they cannot, on the assumption of consecutive order in Strabo, refer to islands in the bay of Eleusis. The only other candidate is Agios Georgios and the reef near Perama.

We are now, however, confronted with a problem which may not have been solved completely scientifically, but which could be resolved by competent geologists: namely, the problem of the sealevel at Salamis in 479 B.C. Considerable evidence demonstrating that the sea-level has risen throughout all of Greece since antiquity has been collected and studied in the work of Ph. Negris, first in his article "Vestiges antiques submergés" in AM 29 (1904) 340-63, then in his important but little-known book Roches Cristallophylliennes et Tectoniques de

³⁸ Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius . . .

⁸⁴ The word "einem" was double-spaced in the German text to give emphasis.

⁸⁵ SBWien 211 (1931) 12.

³⁶ To my knowledge Beloch was followed by one scholar—Delbrück's pupil Zinn (*Die Schlacht bei Salamis* [Berlin 1914]).

³⁷ op.cit. 34.

³⁸ op.cit. 38.

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la Grèce (Athens 1915 and 1919), esp. 103-11 and 280-90. Negris gathers evidence from the Peiraeus (several places), Aigina, Kenchreai, Port of Epidauros, Gytheion, Leukas, Kalydon, and Itea. The objection of Cayeux that the sea-level at Delos has remained constant was refuted by Negris (op.cit. 103-04). To these sites may now be added the excavations of the British on Chios and, more importantly for us, of G. Mylonas at Agios Kosmas on Cape Kolias on the western Attic coast. There may well be many others. Only Negris' conclusions can be stated here. He believes that the sea-level has risen ca. 3 1/2 meters. Concerning Athens, he states: "Retenons avant de quitter les port d'Athènes, que les carrières ont montré une submersion d'au moins 3 m depuis la construction des longs murs, c. à d. depuis l'époque de Thémistocle."39

I am in no position to question the authority of Negris, accepted as it has been by such scholars as Bürchner, Kirsten, Wilhelm, and others. In answer to my inquiries, however, members of the Department of Geology of the University of California have informed me that there are two possibilities to be considered regarding the relative movements during geologically recent times: 1) a general largescale rise (or lowering) of sea-level affecting a large area such as the whole of Greece or the entire shore line of the Mediterranean Sea; 2) localized movements, that is the sudden emergence or submersion of land due to vertical movements of not more than a few tens of feet along individual geological faults.40 Movement of this latter sort might be restricted to stretches of coast-line of perhaps 20-25 miles in length, and are, I am informed, very likely to have occurred in Greece, a seismically active area, since the period with which we are concerned. In this respect Greece is similar to Japan, California and New Zealand, where parts of the coast-line are known to have emerged or to have been submerged within the past few centuries. For example, at the

time of the 1931 earthquake the inner harbor of Napier, N.Z., emerged above sea-level and today is farming land. The area of the battle of Salamis should be carefully surveyed by a geologist who is a specialist in Pleistocene geology and shoreline phenomena. In the meantime, we feel it only reasonable to accept the figure of 3 m. for the entire area of the Peiraeus including the straits of Salamis, since we have in addition to the three pieces of evidence given by Negris for Peiraeus Milchhöfer's observation that the Salamis walls near Magoula on Cape Varvara were beneath the sea-level.⁴¹

Assuming, then, this change of ca. 3 m. in the water-level, two important conclusions follow.⁴² One or both have been made by Bürchner,⁴³ Wilhelm⁴⁴ and Kirsten.⁴⁵ I refer to these three scholars in particular, since they have concerned themselves with the topography of the area, not primarily with the battle itself, and cannot be charged with having any preconceptions therefrom.

1. Nera (or Leros) was not an island in antiquity. It cannot, therefore, have been one of the Pharmakoussai.

2. The reef in the waters between Agios Georgios and Perama was an island.⁴⁶

With the reef an island, there presumably (see below) existed in the Straits of Salamis two islands which together could have been called the Pharmakoussai. This was an attribution first made by Lolling. In 1951 Kirsten added to Philippson's text ("Diese Insel Georgios und die Klippen, die ihr gegenüber vor dem Festland auf seichtem Grunde liegen, hält Lolling für die Pharmakussai d. A.") the following: "Die Verteilung der Namen kann jetzt als gesichert gelten."⁴⁷

One objection to this attribution has been raised. Beloch stated: "Doch ist diese Klippe so klein, dass niemand sie für eine Insel ausgeben wird." But the difference in size between the reef and, for example, Talantonisi is not a substantial one. And

^{1,} Teil 3 (Frankfurt 1952) 868 and 869.

⁴⁶ We should note that both on Leake's 1841 map, which is reproduced in pl. 62, fig. 3, and on Lolling's 1884 sketch, the reef is shown as being in part above water. Both scholars state that their maps were based on the 1838 nautical survey (non vidi) of Captain Graves of the Royal Navy. I would infer from Lolling's text that he viewed the reef, today often described as a shoal, as then above water (op.cit. 7): "... Klippe, die noch bei Strabons Zeiten weiter aus dem Meere hervorgeragt haben wird und noch jetzt, wie die englische Seekarte lehrt, nach allen Seiten von einem sehr seichten Wassergürtel umschlossen wird...."

⁴⁷ op.cit. 869.

⁴⁸ Griechische Geschichte 2.2 (Strassburg 1916) 111.

⁸⁹ AM 29 (1904) 352.

⁴⁰ There is also the possibility that the sea-bottom in the straits of Salamis has been built up by deposition of sediment or deepened by the scouring action of currents. According to my geological friends there is nothing in the configuration of the shoreline nor in the local pattern of stream drainage to suggest that either factor has been effective in the Straits.

⁴¹ Karten von Attika 7 29.

⁴² In addition to these two conclusions, we must make the query as to whether the Kyrades were one in antiquity. I am informed from Athens that no soundings are indicated for the narrow space between these islands on the Admiralty Chart.

⁴³ RE s.v. Salamis 1827. 44 op.cit. 12, 21, and map.
45 In the notes to Philippson, Die Griechischen Landschaften

Beloch has no hesitation in attributing an ancient name to the latter. The reef is clearly larger than the small island lying off the east coast of Salamis and west of Talantonisi, to which some scholars have not hesitated to give the name of Keos.

3. This is not a conclusion, but a query. Bürchner's map in RE s.v. Salamis 1829-1830 is based on that in Rediades, 'Η έν Σαλαμίνι Ναυμαχία" (Athens 1911). It is purportedly drawn to indicate the ancient shoreline according to the theory of Negris. Here Agios Georgios is represented not as an island but as a peninsula of Salamis. I have been informed from Athens, however, that on the British Admiralty chart no. 847 (non vidi), the shallowest sounding between the island of Salamis and the island of Agios Georgios is two fathoms (twelve feet). I make the assumption, therefore, that the modern Agios Georgios was an island in antiquity, but with the caveat that this assumption should be carefully checked, as suggested above. If an island, it was presumably within wading distance of Salamis.

The story of the Persian Wars, including the Battle of Salamis, needs rewriting from generation to generation; it is one of the glorious episodes in human history, a story of the victory of freedom over despotism and oppression. Of one thing, I think, we can be sure-that none of the modern accounts published up to the present time which make Agios Georgios the ancient Psyttaleia have been convincing. Beloch in his basic paper in Klio 8 (1908) 478-86 asserted the view that the battle was fought in the Bay, without any reference to Goodwin's important geological arguments in the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Hammond's study, which now seeks to revive the position of Beloch, is based, as we have seen, on insecure topographical data. May we proceed, nonetheless, to examine briefly some of the difficulties in the way he fights the battle?

First, the Greek anchorage is placed not in the harbor of ancient Salamis town 60 but in the Bay of Paloukia, in a semicircle around Agios Georgios. This low-lying island, however, is not used for anchorage, although boats today tie up with no difficulty. See the piers which can be seen in pl. 62, fig. 4. Next, we are to imagine that Xerxes was able to land his detachment of many men unobserved and that they remained concealed.50 Keil earlier wrote concerning the possibility of landing this detachment on Agios Georgios: "Auch ist die Besetzung von Hagios Georgios, das unmittelbar vor den griechischen Ankerplätzen liegt, militärisch höchst unwahrscheinlich."51 Similarly, Veith: "Die Besetzung der Insel Georgios, die ganz im unmittelbaren Sichtbereich der salamischen Küste liegt, durch die Perser war nur bei weitgehender Passivität der Griechen denkbar; bei Lipsokutali war dies weit leichter, da diese Insel von den nächsten möglichen Lagerplätzen der Griechen viel weiter entfernt war als von denen der Perser."52

Is it reasonable to assume that the Greeks did not command the waters directly in front of their anchorage? Anyone standing on Salamis today clearly sees men moving about behind the island barricades only 300 m. distant. Moreover, would the Greeks have left these 400 men on the island, when they put to sea on the morning of the battle?

Secondly, as How-Wells correctly state the case: "All authorities (Aesch. Pers. 441-64; Hdt. ch. 76 n., 95; Plut. Arist. 9) agree that Xerxes landed troops on Psyttaleia because he thought it likely to be a central point in the coming sea-fight." We must assume that the Persians planned to bring their fleet right into the mouth of the Bay of Paloukia, apparently in the belief that the Greeks would offer no resistance to this encirclement. Xerxes chose a battlefield in the worst possible position for himself, 154 in the Strait between Aigaleos and Salamis, 158 which is but 1,500 yards wide. The Persian leader lacked the wisdom of Themistokles,

⁴⁹ Philippson-Kirsten (869) reported concerning this harbor in the Bay of Ampelaki: "Diese Bucht ist auch heute noch ein belebter Hafen; 1928 zählte man auf den in ihm liegenden Schiffen 142 Seeleute."

50 Herodotus says that the force was "large" (πολλούς τῶν Περσέων: 8.76). Pausanias (1.36.2) gives the number as 400.
 51 Kromayer-Veith, Antike Schlachtfelder 4 (Berlin 1924) 88.

82 ibid. n. 4.

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53 Commentary on Herodotus II 382.

54 Herodotus expressly describes the measures taken with regard to Psyttaleia as being synchronous with those for blocking the straits (8.76). Xerxes evidently expected that Psyttaleia

would be an important place to hold during the battle. It seems probable, therefore, as both Goodwin and Grundy have argued, that it must have been near the center of the Persian line of battle as first arranged.

55 Hammond makes a great deal of his argument that the Greek battle position was in the narrows between Perama and Agios Georgios. In using "narrows," Hammond (42 and 49) is translating the Greek word πόροτ. The best documentation of the meaning of this word is in the Thesaurus Graecae Linguae. In Thuc. 7.78.3 it is equated with διάβασις. Indeed, Suidas defined the word as διάβασις. Hesychius, too, glosses the word as τρίβοτ, ol δὲ τὴν διάβασις αὐτοῦ. I would prefer to

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who in the words of Herodotus (8.60) said: "it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room." We must be mindful, too, that "the occupation of Psyttaleia... is not to be reckoned among the results of (the) message (from Themistocles). It belongs rather to the original Persian plan of operations."

Loeschke (lahrb. d. Phil. [1877] 27-30) first pointed out, in the light of Aeschylus Pers. 398 (θοώς δὲ πάντες ήσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν) that the Greeks were out of sight of the Persians when they were heard to raise the paean. This point was made the very basis of Goodwin's two studies of Salamis. He wrote: "It is here a most important point, that our eye-witness, Aeschylus, distinctly implies that it was only after the Greeks had rowed forward some distance from their first position that they were seen by the Persians."58 Hammond takes the Aeschylus passage into account and he rightly (46 n. 50) criticizes reconstructions of the battle which fail to do so.59 But what is his own explanation? The physical obstacle which is to cloak the Greek fleet becomes for him Mt. Aigaleos. According to his reconstruction, the Greeks put to sea at dawn from the Bay of Paloukia. They head northwards toward Eleusis feigning flight. "Hidden behind the mass of Mt. Aegaleos, they began to form their order of battle."60 With the Persian fleet somewhere near the tip of Cape Varvara and with Persians occupying Agios Georgios, I presume this formation took place in the Bay of Eleusis; but this is only a presumption. In any case, the Greek fleet does an about-face and is allowed to form quietly in line of battle. It now heads southwards with battleline in the form of a crescent. "The Persian fleet advanced in full daylight, no Greek ships were to be seen." Their "objective" now becomes (48) "the narrow waters on both sides of the island" Agios

Georgios. They are surprised, and the engagement itself takes place in the narrows.

I pass over considerations of naval strategy, the omission of the Persians on Agios Georgios and of Xerxes at Perama to signal a warning, the failure of the main Persian fleet to pursue the fleeing Greeks and to bring aid to their squadron at the western end of Salamis island which presumably would have to be attacked before the Greeks could complete their escape. "As they (the Greek fleet) headed northwards . . ." they "were no doubt visible to the Persian fleet," (45) yet the Persian command failed to keep them under surveillance. At dawn, as at midnight, the Persians are shown (32, map 1) holding a line from Perama past the tip of Cape Varvara to Lipsokoutali, yet two hours later we are to believe that they have advanced less than three kilometers to a position where they would have had the entire bay in view. Moreover, they were moving toward the very position which Xerxes had chosen in advance for the battle. The matter, however, is simpler than this. There is actually no ancient evidence for this feigned retreat, disappearance, and complete reversal of direction on the part of the Greek fleet. If this had been the stratagem to which Themistokles owed his success, would there not be some clue?

But Hammond believes that there is evidence, at least for the disappearance of the Greek fleet; for he says (46): "Aeschylus mentions the disappearance and the reappearance of the Greek fleet from the Persian point of view."

After giving an account of the message sent by Themistokles to Xerxes, the poet states that the Greeks made no attempt to sail out at night. He continues (*Persae* 386-99): "When, however, radiant Day with her white coursers shone over all the land, first of all from the Hellenes rang out loud

Wheeler in TAPA 33 (1902) 127-38, who has taken this passage into account, and at the same time attributed to Aeschylus a cross-channel battle. Wheeler believes the Greeks were hidden in "the grey of twilight." This idea involves the problem of the phase of the moon on the night preceding the battle, about which a great deal has been written, including something recently by Hammond (43 n. 41). I have, however, elsewhere protested (CP 42 [1947] 234-43, and Calendars of Athens 106-07) that we know very little about the Athenian festival calendar in this early period, and what little we do know is disturbing. We have no reason to feel sure that dates in terms of the festival calendar represent true lunar dates. The only possible scientific approach which I see to the problem of the date of the battle will have to be based on the work of Labarbe in BCH 78 (1954) 1-21. 80 op.cit. 46.

follow Powell (Lexicon to Herodotus [Cambridge 1938] s.v.) in defining πόρος as "passage." See also Boisacq (Dictionnaire étymologique s.vv. πείρω and πορεῖν), who defines the word as "passage." So Herodotus 8.72.2 is: "the island lay in the path of the battle which was to be" (Powell's translation). Ships coming from the Attic coast might be presumed to dock at the harbor of Salamis. If πόρος in Diodoros 11.18.3 is taken to mean "passage-way" between Salamis harbor and the Herakleion, the Greek line must have been in a position east of that assigned by Hammond (op.cit. 46), that is, if we wish to follow Diodoros.

⁵⁶ Godley's translation.

⁵⁷ Macan, Herodotus Books VII-VIII-IX 2 307.

⁸⁸ HSCP 17 (1906) 78.

⁸⁹ We may note in passing that there has been one scholar,

a cheer like unto a song of triumph, and, at the same instant, clear from the island crags Echo returned an answering cry. Terror fell on all the barbarians, balked of their purpose; for not as in flight did in that hour the Hellenes chant their solemn paean, but as men rushing to the onset with the courage of gallant hearts. The trumpet with its blast fired all their line; and instantly, at the word of command, with their even stroke of foaming oars they smote the briny deep. Swiftly they all hove clear into view. Their right wing, well marshalled, led on foremost in orderly advance, ..."61 There is nothing in this passage which suggests "the disappearance and the reappearance of the Greek fleet." The Greeks embarked and advanced chanting the war-cry. At first out of sight, they came swiftly into the view of the Persians. 62

Hammond has accused his predecessors of making sport of the battle of Salamis: "In this game of tiddlywinks the ancient evidence is rendered almost meaningless. . . . Most discussions of the topography of the Salamis Channel have started from a preconceived plan of the battle. The temptation then is to force the topographical data to fit the plan or to discard or emend such data as do not fit. . . . This approach towards the ancient evidence does indeed enable one to pick and choose at one's discretion. ... By such methods the ancient evidence can be forced into some congruity with a preconceived plan of the battle . . . ," etc.68

These sentiments seem to me unfortunate. Hammond is hardly fair to accuse his predecessors of playing a game of tiddlywinks: when we examine the record we find that those scholars who made the largest contribution to the study of the battle were both responsible and well-informed. Goodwin, as Director of the American School of Classical Studies, reported that his articles were "the result of frequent visits to Salamis and the Attic shores opposite the island." Rediades, a lieutenant in the

Greek navy, was stationed for years at the navy yard just north of Salamis town. Kallenberg passed fourteen years in these waters. Grundy, Myres, Veith, and W. Keil can hardly be accused of writing in a chimney-corner. The ablest "discussions of the topography of the Salamis Channel" have been made by Leake, Lolling, Milchhöfer, J. G. Frazer and A. Wilhelm, none of whom, surely, is negligible in the field of Greek topography.

Hammond announces his general principles in these words: "In this paper these details (supplied by ancient historians) are accepted as correct, and the various accounts are regarded as complementary and are not set against one another in competition."64 How convenient it would be if matters were as simple as this! Unfortunately, the careless and inaccurate compiler Diodoros is not a Thucydides. Strabo did not know the topography of Greece in the firsthand way that the traveller Pausanias did. "There is very little in Trogus which is not in Herodotus or in Diodoros, and that little is probably or certainly wrong."65 Historians are not all equally well-informed or equally dedicated to research. One of the great problems of historical studies, indeed, is this very matter of the evaluation of sources. For the battle of Chaironeia, Hammond in another study did not hesitate to reject the clearcut identification of the lion monument as the tomb of the Theban dead, although the identification was made by Pausanias.66

Suppose we examine this complementary method of reconstruction as it is applied to one minute detail: the matter of Xerxes' mole. 67 On the evidence of Ktesias in particular,68 but also of Strabo and Aristodemos, the mole was begun before the battle. When Hammond comes to the passage in Herodotus (8.97.1) which mentions the causeway after the battle, he then speaks of it as "the renewal of the attempt." In the opinion of this writer it would be more historically accurate to report that Ktesias

the battle. The word στοίχος as the word "column" when used in military drill, was applied to formations in which the elements are placed one behind another, in distinction to "line." See examples cited in the Thesaurus. The elements of a column may be single soldiers, or twos, squads, platoons, companies, etc. We cannot get rid of difficulties by exaggerating them. As I read Hammond's account, I find no place where he has his ships in column, and he can explain the Aeschylus phrase only as referring to three squadrons, which is no explanation for a word denoting a formation.

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⁶⁴ op.cit. 39.

⁶⁸ Macan, op.cit. II 80.

⁶⁶ Klio 31 (1938) 216-18. 67 op.cit. 42.

⁶⁸ For the validity of Ktesias as a source, see infra.

⁶¹ Smyth's translation

⁶² According to Herodotus (8.84) and Aeschylus (Pers. 398), the two fleets came in sight of one another very soon after they

⁶⁸ These are selected passages from pp. 38-40. I feel that sometimes Hammond does not present the views of his predecessors quite faithfully. For example, in referring to Aeschylus, Pers. 366 and the phrase ev orolxous rpiolv which is applied to the Persian formation, he states (44): "The word στοίχος has been taken to mean a single line ahead. But a formation of three ships abreast and 400 ships deep is an obvious absurdity." Is there, in truth, any recent student of the battle who has argued that the Persian formation was three rows of 400 ships each in single file? I have found none in my reading on

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and Strabo held the view that Xerxes really thought of constructing a causeway to Salamis, before the battle. In Herodotus, who does not locate the structure, the plan is a mere pretence to cover Xerxes' idea of retreat. Hammond's complementary method would result in our believing that Xerxes began this laborious operation while the Greeks were in command of the waters of the bay; and what is more important would imply that Herodotus held such an opinion. Clearly it is erroneous to report that Herodotus gives a "description of the renewal of the attempt."

The matter of our attitude toward the ancient sources is so fundamentally important that I shall again quote from Hammond: "The details, which are supplied by Ctesias, Diodorus, Plutarch, Aristodemus, and others, were probably derived ultimately from contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts. For it is most unlikely that new details or indeed new plans of the battle, which was more famous in Greek history than the defeat of the Spanish Armada in English history, were 'invented' by subsequent historians and in particular by as reputable a historian as Ephorus, who was probably the immediate source of Diodorus' narrative. In this paper these details are accepted as correct."60 This is equivalent to saying that all of our sources are equally valid, a statement which is demonstrably false. For example, Akestodoros says that the seat of Xerxes was in the borderland of Megara, above the Kerata. But the throne cannot be both on Mt. Aigaleos and on the Kerata. Hammond believes (52 n. 83) that there were two thrones, the second prepared by Xerxes in case the fight was near Megara. In his difficulties with his complementary theory, Hammond indulges in the very practice which he condemned in others-forcing the facts into a pattern. Plutarch understood Akestodoros to refer to Xerxes' seat at the time of the battle; he states (Them. 13): "Xerxes was seated on a high place.... This place was according to Akestodoros above the Kerata." I do not, therefore, understand the last two words in Hammond's statement: "This makes sense of Acestodorus' statement which Plutarch, Them. 13, records without explanation." To me, it seems a very unsatisfactory use of sources to create an otherwise unattested alternate plan of

60 op.cit. 39. Even about the Armada actions, D. M. Waters has recently written (Mariner's Mirror 35 [1949] 124): "Detailed accounts of the battle are confused. There was one action and there were many, and each man glimpsed his own." In examining one important detail, the skill of the Spanish sea-

battle for Xerxes out of this one fragment of Akestodoros, and I do not think that the battle of Salamis can be reconstructed in this way.

Other details which in our preserved sources are definitely contradictory are listed below. Where Hammond has attempted to reconcile the contradictions by his "complementary" theory, I give his solution. I pass over all differences, supposed or real, between the accounts of Herodotus and Aeschylus, although many scholars believe that for Aeschylus the battle was up-channel, for Herodotus acrosschannel.

1) Ktesias places the battle of Salamis after that of Plataia.70 Other authorities reverse the order. 2) Plutarch (Them. 16; Arist. 9) and Polyaenus (1.30.4) give the name of Themistokles' messenger after the sea-fight as Arnakes, a captured Persian eunuch, whereas in Herodotus (8.110) the man is Sikinnos: Aeschylus (Pers. 355) calls him a Greek. 3) Herodotus (8.51 and 115) gives the time consumed by Xerxes in the marches from the Hellespont to Athens and return as three months and 45 days respectively, whereas Cornelius Nepos (Them. 5.2) exaggerates the haste of the King's retreat: "qua sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est." 4) In Diodoros (11.17.3-4) a Samian deserter performs the function of Aristides in Herodotus (8.79-82). In addition to the Samian mentioned by Diodoros, Plutarch (Them. 12) speaks of a Tenedian ship; and Herodotus (8.82) of a trireme with Tenian deserters. 5) In Herodotus (8.85) the Athenians held the left wing and the Lacedaemonians the right. whereas in Diodoros (11.18) the Lacedaemonians are stationed with the Athenians, and the Megarians and Aiginetans are assigned the right wing. Hammond (50) places the Aiginetans on the extreme right. As the Aiginetans later in the battle fell upon the flank of the Phoenician contingent, some scholars place Aigina next to Athens. 6) Diodoros (11.19) reports that in the contest 200 ships were lost by the Persians, whereas Ktesias gives the number as 500. 7) Ktesias (ed. Gilmore § 57) says that the total number of Greek ships in the sea-fight was 700: the Athenian contingent is given as 110 triremes. Herodotus states (8.48) "the whole number of Greek ships, beside the pentekonters, was

men, Waters notes (117-18) that contemporary accounts did not reach agreement.

⁷⁰ Frag. 30, \$56-57: Gilmore, The Persika of Ktesias (London 1888) 156; cf. Macan op.cis. II 319.

378"; he gives the Athenian number as 180. Other figures are found in Aeschylus, Pers. 230 (210 ships); Thucydides 1.74.1 (400); Demosthenes de Cor. 238 (300). This subject of the number of ships in the fleet has of course been much discussed. Hammond (41 n.34a) seems to accept all figures, the one in Ktesias representing the total for "warships of all kinds,"71 the figure in Herodotus for the fleet "before the engagement," the figure in Aeschylus for the fleet "when the engagement began." I do not find where in his account of the battle Hammond refers to the 322 additional warships he derives from Ktesias, nor where he reconciles the figures for Athenian ships. 8) Herodotus (8.65) places the vision and the sound of the Iacchos-song of the mysteries sometime prior to the day of the battle, whereas Plutarch (Them. 15) puts it on the very day. Hammond (47 n. 56) believes that there were visions on different days. He is denying, therefore, that Plutarch here derived his account from the historian, which seems very unlikely. 9) Aeschylus (Pers. 455) places the exploit of the capture of Psyttaleia by Aristeides after the enemy's fleet had been defeated. Plutarch (Arist. 9) makes Aristeides land at the beginning of the sea-fight.72 10) Ktesias in effect places the Herakleion at Perama, Aristodemos at the foot of Mt. Parnes. 78

I do not mean, however, to exaggerate differences. Clearly, Diodoros and Plutarch contain relatively little which cannot be traced to Herodotus. Of the new facts, certainly some and possibly most are either embroidery or inference. Hammond to the contrary notwithstanding (39-40), "chunks of varying size are jettisoned" and some must be jettisoned.

On the fragment of Aristodemos referred to in item 10, Jacoby succinctly commented: "für die entscheidung der Salamisfrage gibt der unklare bericht nichts aus." Aristodemos, dated possibly in

71 Although Herodotus states that his figure of 378 was the total of warships except for the pentekonters, the figure did in fact include the 7 pentekonters. For convenient tables of the list of ships, see Grundy, Great Persian War (London 1901) 354 and Myres, Herodotus (Oxford 1953) 263.

72 Cf. How-Wells on Herodotus 8.95.

73 FGH 2 A 493. As to the Herakleion, we unfortunately cannot be sure where the sanctuary was located. Ktesias was the first to mention it and he placed it, in effect, at Perama. Plutarch (Them. 13) and Diodoros (11.18) are hardly decisive. If, as Gomme (Thucydides 1.30) has concluded, "we are compelled to doubt" Ktesias in general, his site cannot be regarded as secure. Insecure, too, would be any source using Ktesias, and we know that at times Ephoros did: see Mess, RhM 61 (1906) 361-407. On the other hand, this Herakleion has been identified by some with the foundations of a temple and other ruins seen by Leake at the church of Joannis Rentis

the fourth century of our era,78 compiled a history of which Scullard said, "The fragments suggest that its historical value was negligible."76 Similarly, we could bring the same criticism against the use of Ktesias as a source. He wrote his Persika as a counterblast to Herodotus, and the account of Salamis clearly shows that he was trying to belittle Athens. 77 In the opinion of E. Powell: "the remains we have are a mass of phantastic untruth."78 More recently, Gomme (Thucydides I [Oxford 1945] 30) has stated: "he was so careless of the truth that he cannot be trusted; most of the work that has survived -in epitome-is so obviously false where it can be tested, that we are compelled to doubt even where what he says may be true." It is clear that we cannot reconstruct an account of Salamis by combining, and even equating, Ktesias, Aristodemos, Akestodoros and so forth, on the one hand, with Herodotus and Aeschylus on the other.

Any restudy of the battle of Salamis must be based on secure topographical data. This involves not merely personal investigation, but a careful examination of finds as reported in the literature. The ancient shoreline should be satisfactorily determined in order that we may be sure of what were islands and what were peninsulas. Even so, we must be prepared to accept that much will remain uncertain geographically. A single instance will suffice. Of the sites which were mentioned by Herodotus, the most debated surely is Keos. Wilhelm has argued that it was not an island. The locates it as a peninsula of the Peiraeus near the Bay of Trapezona. He emends Κέον to Κέ(ραμ)ον (8.76) and cites the fact that this peninsula is called Keramos on modern maps. This identification has been accepted by Kromayer.80 Similarly, Legrand has placed Keos on Cape Varvara or on the Attic shore opposite.81 Grégoire, on the other hand, unmindful

above the bay to the south of Mt. Aigaleos. These ruins are regarded as the τετράκωμον 'Ηράκλειον, a sanctuary of four city-demes. See pl. 62, fig. 3 and Leake, op.cit. 33-34. Goodwin in PASAth I (1882-83) 255-57, after studying the problem in detail, favored the Perama location. Later (HSCP 17 [1906] 95) he was persuaded by the arguments of Rediades (op.cit. 5-6) that the second position was correct. There has been no new evidence, nor any new argument advanced, since Goodwin.

74 op.cit. 2 C 321.

76 ibid.

77 Cf. Tarn, JHS 28 (1908) 220 n. 70.

79 SBWien 211 (1929) 1-38.

80 Antike Schlachtfelder IV 582-83.

⁷⁸ So Scullard, Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v. (with question mark).

⁷⁸ Herodotus, Book VIII (Cambridge 1939) xv.

⁸¹ Ad Her. 8.76 (n. 3). Cf. REA 38 (1936) 55-66.

to

of Wilhelm's work, insists that only the well-known island of Kéws located southeast of Sounion can be meant, ⁸² and Myres, too, sees no need to duplicate names. ⁸³ Finally, Hammond has returned to the traditional view that Keos is an island west of Lipsokoutali, ⁸⁴ in his case Talantonisi. Obviously, there is nothing to clinch this site. Scholars will locate it according to their theories of the battle. But we can attain to some degree of certainty, as I have tried to show, about such topographical points as

Salamis town, the Quarry, and Psyttaleia. It is only possible, however, to make true progress if we present our hypotheses with utmost candor, both as regards the identification of sites and as regards the weighing of the ancient sources. Moreover, the later sources must be studied not merely for what they have to say about Salamis *in vacuo* but also for their historical validity in general.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

includes much bibliography about Herodotus' sources, the authors believe Herodotus used two different accounts; one was Athenian and more dramatic in nature; from this the action was largely drawn; this version is derived from the tragedians of the 470's. The other was more Hellenic and rhetorical, and is seen in particular in the speeches of Herodotus. This source was unfavorable to Corinth, whereas Aigina played a major role. Similarly, Herodotus' use of Aeschylus is much contested. For example, Lattimore (Classical Studies in Honor of Old-father [Urbana 1943] 92-93) detects close resemblances in thought and language between the two authors, whereas Legrand in 1953 (Herodote 8 p. 43) wrote: "je ne crois pas que . . . Herodote doive rien à Eschyle."

⁸² EtCl 4 (1935) 519-31. Grégoire has shown that Κέον can stand for the accusative of the well-known island.

⁸³ Herodotus (Oxford 1953) 274-75.

⁸⁴ op.cit. 38. It should be noted that E. Powell believes that the entire phrase containing the word Keos is an interpolation. He omits it altogether from his translation.

⁸⁵ In this article I have said nothing about the sources of Herodotus, although this is a subject on which many have expressed an opinion. Unfortunately, little has been really established. Some believe they detect disharmonious elements within the account of Herodotus. In the most recent study known to me, that of Smets and Dorsingfans-Smets in Vol. 4 of Mélanges Grégoire (AnnPhilHist 12 [1952] 409-26), an article which

The Gordion Campaign of 1958:

Preliminary Report

G. ROGER EDWARDS

PLATES 63-68

During the seventh season at Gordion, from June 13 to September 21, attention was primarily concentrated on the upper levels of the City Mound and on the northern spur of its neighbor, the Küçük Hüyük.¹ The objectives were, on the City Mound, to clear as much as possible of the upper levels in preparation for a large scale campaign in Phrygian levels in 1959 and, in the area of the small mound, to trace the northward progress of the mud-brick fortification wall.

THE PRE- AND POST-KIMMERIAN PERIODS

A. Pre-Kimmerian

During this season no excavation was undertaken in the levels dating prior to the Kimmerian invasion of the early seventh century B.C. Some work of recording and conservation, however, was done on the rapidly vanishing "doodle stones" (AIA 61 [1957] 323; 62 [1958] 143) of the West Phrygian House,2 and in renewing the protective covering of its great mosaic floor. It has not yet proved possible for the Turkish Archaeological Service to furnish permanent protection in the form of a roofed shed, as had been hoped, but some encouragement has been forthcoming for adequate protection of this great Phrygian monument during 1959. The Archaeological Service has, on the other hand, advanced considerably the project of ultimate conservation of the tomb chamber in the Big Tumulus (A]A 62 [1958] 147-54). The difficult problem of the procedure to be adopted for removal of the re-

maining cap of rubble over the tomb chamber and the substitution of a protective roof or dome over it has been studied. Recommendations made to this end have been tabled for the present with the thought that it would be desirable to solicit and consider as many opinions as possible from both Turkish and American or other engineers before selecting the final plan of operation. In the meantime the Turkish Archaeological Service and the Gordion Expedition have collaborated in erecting very strong supports in the interior of the wooden tomb chamber which should fully ensure its preservation until such time as exterior work can be undertaken.8 The interior faces of the walls have again been coated with linseed oil as a protection against decay through dampness, and drilling holes above have been plugged.

B. Post-Kimmerian

Attention was earlier called to the "Lacuna Period" (AJA 60 [1956] 264) on the city mound at Gordion, extending from the Kimmerian destruction of the city in the early 7th century until the Persian occupation of Gordion shortly after the middle of the 6th century. During the present excavations on the City Mound a few more imported sherds of this interim period have been found in late contexts, which have served, as with similar previous finds here, to arouse speculation as to where the Phrygian King and his government lived and exercised their official functions during these 150

¹The staff consisted of the undersigned as acting field director; J. S. Last of Episkopi, Cyprus, architect; Miss Ann K. Knudsen, in charge of records and conservation; excavators: Professor Machteld J. Mellink of Bryn Mawr College, on the Küçük Hüyük; Mr. & Mrs. Wallace E. McLeod of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and the acting field director on the City Mound. Miss Saadet Onat represented the Turkish Archaeological Service as commissioner. To all for unstinted assistance and numerous contributions in archaeological interpretation, efficient organization, or the solution of local problems warm thanks are due. With Miss Onat the long-standing helpful cooperation of our previous commissioners, Mr. Raci Temizer and Mr. Burhan Tezcan, has happily continued; to her and to them, whose good works for Gordion have con-

tinued long beyond their tours of duty, especial appreciation.

2 These were of soft limestone badly damaged by fire so that the surface on which the "doodles" were engraved in many cases was nearly reduced to powder. In the case of a number in poor condition the surfaces were hardened with a solution of white shellac and alcohol and then covered with cotton cloth and plaster and removed to the Gordion museum. This work was ably directed by Mr. Mustapha Tutuş of the Archaeological Museum in Ankara to whom many thanks are due for devising this method of removal.

³ This work was under the general supervision of a committee appointed by the Archaeological Service and was locally directed by Mr. Şukru Aksoy and Miss Saadet Onat.

years. The new sherds (pl. 65, fig. 1) are: (1) from a large, closed vase, decorated with a frieze of birds, probably East Greek of the first half of the 7th century; (2) from a mid-7th century "bird-bowl," also East Greek; (3) from the wall of a Corinthian alabastron showing the head of a woman or sphinx; (4) a bit of the wall of a Laconian kylix. To these are to be added fragments of an Attic black-figured amphora (pl. 65, fig. 8) datable in the decade 560-550 B.C. which will be discussed below.

It has already been emphasized that continuity of inhabitation existed in this period in the Gordion area elsewhere than the City Mound. That the builders of the later city existing during the early part of the Persian occupation drew on a still vital Phrygian architectural tradition is perhaps best exemplified by new general plans prepared in 1958 by J. S. Last of the Phrygian (pl. 63, fig. 2) and Persian (pl. 63, fig. 3) levels. The superposition of the later city gate on the earlier, the resemblance of the two gates in plan, the similar city plans with buildings grouped in units separated from one another by enclosure walls, the similar basic building plans: these and other considerations of architectural construction might even be adduced to indicate that the Persian Level builders were fully aware of the plan of the earlier city and consciously attempted to reproduce it in general function and, where possible, in detail. In nomenclature, "Middle Phrygian" would perhaps better express the character of this level.

The season's excavations by Miss Mellink on the Küçük Hüyük add new facets to the interesting possibilities of the "Lacuna Period" and make solid contributions to the history of the area just outside the city gates to the east. It was established in 1957 that the basic structure accounting for the entirely artificial Küçük Hüyük and its spurs to north and south was a mud-brick fortification wall which was apparently laid out to enclose a crescentshaped area adjoining the eastern side of the City Mound. Intensive investigation during two months, often arduous and under water, has added some 250 meters of the northern stretch of the wall beyond the central tumulus to that previously exposed, also a gateway of impressive and intricate design very nearly opposite the Phrygian city gate (pl. 64, fig. 4), and the knowledge that here we have to deal not with a fortification of a single

period but with "a stratified and modified set of defense walls kept in repair for several generations if not centuries." Three periods of fortification are distinguished here. (1) The earliest period of construction may belong to the early 7th century in the years immediately following the departure of the Kimmerians after their destruction of Gordion. A section of the wall of the earliest period was found north of the gateway, built of mud-brick whose composition of bits of burned matter (charcoal, burnt pottery, tiles, discolored earth), as Miss Mellink has suggested, may well represent "an emergency manufacture of bricks of Kimmerian destruction debris" by the surviving inhabitants of Gordion. (2) In the second period of construction, probably also of the 7th century, a wall of green mud-brick was added to the first. It was ca. 7 meters thick, had offsets where minor changes of direction occurred and, at intervals, towers or bastions, the most northerly of which now known is, exceptionally, of well-cut stone blocks. This wall has been traced to the north beyond the Küçük Hüyük proper into the alluvial plain of the Sangarios. Here definite evidence for the rise of ground level and of water table since antiquity is seen in the level of the base of the wall which rests on a stone plinth two meters below water level and four to five meters below the present surface of the river plain. (3) The third period of construction, dating prior to the middle of the 6th century, included repairs and revisions of the green wall of the second period. A new section, with a different orientation, was added between the gateway and the tumulus. This probably went out of use about 540 B.C., for houses built against a part of a bastion of period (3) were destroyed by fire and collapse.

The succession of massive, defensible and long defended walls in this area help to fill in, then, the "Lacuna Period." Structures of the years the walls represent are known to exist, although covered by heavy alluvial layers, in the area enclosed between these walls and the City Mound. Accordingly it seems possible now to suggest, as a theory worth testing, that following the destruction of Gordion by the Kimmerians the king of Phrygia and his government may have established themselves here, just outside their ruined capital, and that they and their successors functioned here until the new city above the old was habitable.

UPPER LEVELS OF THE CITY MOUND

Excavation here during 1958 proceeded on a line 70 meters long which included the area between the NCT Building and Buildings H and M, part of Building M itself, and a section southwest of Building M and northwest of Building I (pl. 63, fig. 3). The alignment of trenches was designed to parallel that of previously exposed structures of

the Pre-Kimmerian Phrygian level. The 1958 plan of the Persian Level (pl. 63, fig. 3) includes the structures excavated and discussed since the last published plan of 1955 (A]A 60 [1956] pl. 84, fig. 15; for Buildings H to M see AIA 62 [1958] 141-42). To the Enclosure Wall of the Gate-Court (A]A 60 [1956] 254; 61 [1957] 320) which sets off Buildings C through G from those beyond, the 1958 season has added a small stretch behind the back (SW) wall of Building M (pl. 64, fig. 5). The new stretch, 4.50 m. wide and 7.00 long, is badly pillaged far below the level of the top of the heavy rubble foundations on which the superstructure rested. The filling thrown in after pillaging "varied from quite hard clay with many small fragments of carbonized wood to a softer ashy fill." The considerable amount of pottery from it suggests a date probably not later than the middle of the 5th century B.C. for the destruction of this part of the wall. From the pillaged wall came one of the handsomest finds of the season, a fine gold ring (pl. 65, fig. 6) similar in form to a mid-sixth century bracelet with terminal lions' heads found in 1950 in

Tumulus A (UPMB 16, I [May 1951] pl. 8, fig. 1). Parallel to Building H and of similar plan, with pronaos and cella, lies Building M. Part of its east wall and northeast corner were uncovered in 1957 (AJA 62 [1958] 142). During the present campaign the east wall was completely exposed and parts of the north and south walls and the cross wall (pl. 63, fig. 3, and pl. 65, fig. 7). In length it is approximately 20.50 m.; 10.80 m. of its width have been exposed so far.

As in other structures of the Persian Level, the foundations of Building M, of broken-up limestone fragments, extend deep down into the clay introduced to cover the ruined Phrygian city. For this building they are ca. 2.50 m. wide. Pillaging here

⁴ Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer has verbally placed these in a class between Lydos and the Tyrrhenian Group and concurs in the dating, which has also been suggested by others. He suggests that the decoration includes sphinxes and sirens heraldically arranged with palmette-and-lotus crosses.

was largely limited to the blocks of the superstructure. Traces of beams used as levelling courses for the blocks of the walls were found at both ends of the building. Of the walls there were found some blocks still in situ in 1958 along the south wall and at the southeast corner, with a single block in place near the northeast corner (more, visible here in 1957, collapsed during winter rains). The blocks, ca. 0.80 x 0.50 x 0.30 m. in size, were laid in double rows, the greatest number of courses preserved being three. Within the building two working floors of stone chips surfacing layers of clay were distinguished below a third, thick layer of reddishbrown clay which is considered the habitation floor of Building M. Over this floor in many places lay a thick layer of burned reeds, suggesting both the nature of part of the roofing and perhaps also of the destruction of Building M. A possible indication of the position of a door was found near the NE end of the building.

Good evidence for the date of the construction of Building M was found in the brown clay floor filling, the only floor associated with the lifetime of this large structure. Here in several places fragments of a handsome Attic black-figured amphora (pl. 65, fig. 8) with a continuous zone of winged creatures were found. They have been dated within the decade 560-550 B.C.4 thus providing a terminus post quem for the construction of Building M.

The active lifetime of the building may lie entirely within the half century 550 to 500 B.C. During this time activities whose nature remains puzzling resulted in the burial in pits apparently cut through and below the floor in various parts of the building of at least four hoards of large pots, primarily openmouthed. One such hoard of 16 (pl. 65, fig. 9) lay near the northeast corner of the cella, including a handsome red pithos with a graffito inscription on its wall in large letters 0.19 m. high in the Phrygian alphabet: BENAΓONOΣ⁸ (pl. 65, fig. 10). Other pots so buried are known to be present in places for the moment inaccessible; the total so far recovered in these circumstances is 41. The purpose of the interment of so many pots, many of open shapes without lids, is yet to be discovered.

Fire probably contributed to the abandonment

⁵ In addition to the word four compass-drawn circles were incised on the wall which are taken to be indications of capacity (as first conjectured by the excavator, Mrs. McLeod, and later confirmed by Professor Mabel Lang).

of Building M, perhaps around 500 B.C. Many of the blocks of its walls were pillaged and reworked on the spot, leaving, especially toward the southwest end, a thick layer of stone chips, perhaps during the 5th century B.C. A subsequent room built over the east wall (pl. 64, fig. 5) and over part of the floor of Building M probably in the 4th century very likely utilized many of the wall blocks of the earlier building.

The area between the NCT Building on the north and Buildings H and M on the south was entered directly from the Persian Gate-Court through the Pylon in the Enclosure Wall of the Gate-Court (pl. 63, fig. 3). That the area so bounded would be an open square providing access to the three big buildings and no doubt to others beyond seems a reasonable assumption. Here the entire area has been opened up, but excavation has reached the Persian Level in only a few spots. In several instances, however, the finding of patches of paving (pl. 66, fig. 11) at a level corresponding very closely to that of the floor of Building M and set on a shallow filling immediately above the "clay operation" suggests that we do indeed have to do with an Inner Court of some kind. Its extent as so far indicated may be at least 20 meters on a side. From beneath the section of paying just south of the crosswall of the NCT Building came a gold rosette (pl. 65, fig. 12).

Much more may yet be learned about the nature of this court, if such it is, and its history. We have reason to believe that the Enclosure Wall south of Buildings H and M was out of use by about the middle of the 5th century, and that Building M was also probably ruinous by then. The Pylon may well have lasted longer, being still in a comparatively good state (AJA 61 [1957] pl. 87, fig. 2). But parallel to it and just beyond its western arms was placed, probably in the second quarter of the 5th century, a somewhat impressive structure of stone and mud brick which must have blocked all direct passage west from the Pylon.

Various pieces of evidence independently accumulated by the excavators on the City Mound this year together indicate that sometime between say 500 and 450 B.C. the Persian Level structures in the areas under consideration were put out of use and supplanted by others of a humbler nature. Fire and perhaps violence played a part. The destruction of Building A and its replacement by the Mosaic Building, the damage to the Gate Building and its

subsequent repair (UPMB 17, 4 [Dec. 1953] 17) may well be contemporary. Here at least and in many other places on the mound no attempt was made to erect comparable replacements for the pretentious civic buildings of the Persian Level.

In the fifth and lowest level of those which succeeded the Persian (pl. 66, fig. 13), as distinguished this year, still another bit of evidence toward this suggestion was forthcoming in the small, square, one-roomed structure erected over and overlapping the south wall of Building I (pl. 63, fig. 3). It was constructed of ashlar masonry on its inner face with rubble packing against the outside. Its inner face of good blocks quite likely was pillaged from the walls of Building I whose position it partly usurped. Sherds from beneath its floor may date down to the second quarter of the 5th century, providing a date for the construction of this building and a terminus ante quem for the abandonment of Building I. The later building, as numerous floors within its walls show, stayed in use through the rest of the 5th century.

A second structure of Level V is that which was placed, a short distance away, across the inner end of the Pylon (pl. 66, fig. 13). Although of relatively humble construction it shows certain features which suggest it may have had a special use. It probably had several rooms. One was clearly outlined this year, of good scale (7.30 x 5.90 m. in inner dimensions). The only fully exposed wall had the exceptional breadth of 1.30 m. The fragmentary north and east walls of the room and no doubt the south wall also (excavated and removed in 1957) were single courses of stone placed at floor level with upper walls of mud-brick. The inner faces of the walls were coated with thick, handsome, yellow mud plaster giving the building the name of the Yellow House. In its southwest corner was a square area let into the floor, curbed and its surface covered with loose river pebbles of egg size, the unit suggesting a soakage pit or bathing area. In the center of the west wall projecting light mud brick walls, also plastered, formed a kind of closet against whose outer face was placed a low, rectangular hearth. Behind the closet there was probably an opening in the west wall leading into a room or rooms beyond. Fallen mud plaster for some distance north of the north wall indicates a further section of the building here. From beneath its floor (which in part overlay "Inner Court" paving) along with Phrygian pottery of archaic and 5th century date came an Attic kylix handle fragment of a form current perhaps about 475 B.C.

The four succeeding levels probably fully cover the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., perhaps representing not more than a generation or so apiece. Rubble wall foundations with mud brick superstructures for buildings exclusively private in nature are the general rule. Between the two latest structural levels, II and I, we may have indication of a nonstructural inhabitation of Gordion by the Galatians, probably during the 3rd century B.C.6 For between these levels intervened here, as generally elsewhere on the City Mound, heavy fillings of ash, burning, animal bones and fragments of blackened cooking pots not associated with construction. The character of these fillings would well accord with the prodigious appetites and casual housekeeping manners of those living under primitive conditions. If this interpretation of the intervening fillings is correct, the final structural level, I, may well represent a reoccupation of the site by its previous inhabitants or others culturally related.

The most comprehensible building of the latest level excavated this year was the Potters' Establishment which lay in the area enclosed, at the Persian Level, by the NCT Building, the Pylon, and Buildings H and M. It included (pl. 67, fig. 14): (4) an informal entrance court; (1) a partly-open kitchen, with fire-pit, a brazier, and a pithos set in the floor; (2) a pantry (?); (5) and (6), rooms of undetermined use; and (3) a large, central courtyard in which were located the two kilns which identified the structure.

The kilns are of special interest, for although a very active local tradition of the manufacture of ceramic products reaching back to the city's early years could readily be assumed, these are the first structural proof of local manufacture. In earlier days the potters' factories must have been located outside the city.

Of the earlier, larger kiln (pl. 68, fig. 17) only the lower part was preserved providing the semicircular plan of the mouth for the introduction of fuel and of part of the oval plan of the fire-chamber. Technically interesting was the finding in situ of several large mud-bricks set vertically on their short sides in the opening between the mouth and the fire-chamber, no doubt to regulate the draught in the ultimate stage of firing. Numerous unfired

fragments of pottery (rims and bases of open vessels, parts of unguentaria) (pl. 68, fig. 16) and unformed lumps of soft, green clay were found in the filling near the top of the kiln chamber. With them was a rather large doughnut-shaped object, also unfired, which, as Miss Mellink has suggested, may in these circumstances be prepared clay made up in this form by the potter for storage, to be hung on a string or skewered on a stick until needed.

The later, small kiln (pl. 68, fig. 17 and pl. 67, fig. 18) had an ovoid fire-chamber below. A bit of its stacking floor and of its dome-shaped upper chamber were also preserved. In the ash and carbon filling of the fire-chamber were, in addition to a number of pieces of unfired unguentaria, two unfired molds. One mold (pl. 68, fig. 19, center) was for the production of a large conical pottery bowl or finial decorated with long petals in relief. Two fired fragments of bowls or finials (pl. 68, fig. 19, left and right) closely similar to that which our petalled mold was intended to produce were found in Room 1 of the establishment. One perhaps served as a patrix for our mold. The second mold (pl. 68, fig. 20) was for the front half of a female mask or protome of about half life-size. One hand is raised, probably holding up tresses of her hair.

In fillings contemporary with the destruction of the later kiln, within the establishment and particularly near the kiln and in Room 2, a considerable amount of fired pottery including unguentaria (pl. 68, fig. 21) was found. This undoubtedly includes products of these kilns which will serve to establish the character of the locally produced Hellenistic pottery of Gordion.

The Potters' Establishment was destroyed by fire, although perhaps not in the very last days of the city, for over the destruction debris, especially in Room 1, lay objects discarded by neighbors. These included a black-burnished jug decorated with incision and red paint (pl. 68, fig. 22, left) in what must be an Asia Minor if not a local Gordion Hellenistic style related to the West Slope style of other areas. From the courtyard came a black-burnished bowl (pl. 68, fig. 22, right). The long tradition at Gordion of black-burnished ware, which we have come to consider typically Phrygian, is thus seen to have persisted into the latest days of the city, even though Greek influence by this time

⁶ For the area occupied by the Galatians, including Gordion, see the map in RE, s.v. Galatia, 529-30.

was very largely predominant in many aspects of the civilization of Gordion.

It has already been suggested that to all intents and purposes the greater part of the site was abandoned in 189 B.C. (AJA 60 [1956] 250). Material

from such last level structures as the Potters' Establishment will provide the cultural evidence with which this proposal can be tested.

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

A New Interpretation of the So-Called South Arabian House Model

GUS W. VAN BEEK

PLATES 69-70

A group of extremely interesting reliefs from South Arabia are believed by scholars to portray pre-Islamic buildings. The first (pl. 60, fig. 1), from an unknown provenience in Yemen and in the Istanbul Museum since 1882, was described in detail by Messerschmidt in 1907, and his interpretation has been followed by Krencker, Grohmann, Rathjens and von Wissmann.3 This relief measures 99 cm. long, 66.5 cm. high, and 6 cm. thick; its thinness indicates that it was probably used as a wall panel or a facing for some object. According to the accepted view, it represents the façade of a South Arabian house with walls of recessed panels arranged in an a-b-c-b-a pattern and surmounted by three towers, each of which is decorated with bull horns. The lower half of each tower or "a" panel contains a door crowned with a battlement. Above the battlement, as well as in flanking or "b" panels, the most deeply recessed surface is divided by horizontal bars creating window-like openings. The towers have been compared with the conical roofs of buildings shown in a relief from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh.

Identical reliefs (pl. 69, fig. 2) were discovered by Fakhry on two blocks at the site known as Dar el-Beida at Marib in the course of his journey through Yemen in 1947.⁵ Here the motif, which is found on two surfaces of the blocks, one face and one end, differs from the one described above only in overall proportions. These blocks measure 1.70 m. long, 40 cm. high, and 40 cm. thick; their size, particularly their thickness, together with the long shallow cuttings on their back surfaces points to a

use different from that of the above-mentioned panel. Fakhry's explanation of the motif agrees with Messerschmidt's.

A fragment of a relief in the Şan'a Museum (pl. 70, fig. 3), which has been described by Rathjens, belongs to the same group, though it differs in detail. The upper projection, which would normally be explained as a tower, is considered by Rathjens to be a highly stylized bull head.

The view that this motif represents a South Arabian building involves serious difficulties. Consider the so-called towers and battlements. Among the many towers shown on reliefs from all parts of the ancient Near East, none resembles them. Square, rectangular, and round towers with flat roofs are common, but rectangular towers with conical roofs crowned with flaring parapets and rising above the building roof more than 20% of the total height of the building are unknown. Petrie was probably right in identifying the conical roofs in the Nineveh reliefs as granaries and in associating them with the granaries which he discovered at Tell Jemmeh in 1926-27.8 It is doubtful whether the roof of a granary would ever have been turned into an ornamental tower for a building of this type. Similarly, battlements of crenels and merlons are common on both walls and towers throughout the Near East, but the use of machicolations-as the horizontal members have been interpreted -in conjunction with crenels and merlons, and the placing of the battlements above the door midway in the vertical surface of the wall is also without parallel.

¹ D. Krencker, Ältere Denkmäler Nordabessiniens (Deutsche Aksum-Expedition II, Berlin 1913) 18, 29 esp. n. 1, fig. 35, 54.

³C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, Vorislamische Altertümer (Hamburg 1932) 51f, fig. 22.

⁴ Krencker, op.cis. (supra n. 1) 29, n. 1. For a good reproduction of this relief, see A. Paterson, Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib (Hague 1905) pl. 31.

⁵ A. Fakhry, An Archaeological Journey to Yemen I (Cairo 1952) 127f, esp. figs. 80, 81 for rough freehand sketches; III

(Cairo 1951) pl. 48A.

⁶ C. Rathjens, Sabaeica II: Die unlokalisierten Funde (Hamburg 1955) 121, fig. 183, 184.

⁷ For representative examples of towers, see: W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte II, pl. 58 showing Ashkelon under attack by Ramses II; Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: From Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib (London 1938) pl. 9, 11 showing towers and battlements in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, and pl. 63 of Sennacherib.

8 W. M. F. Petrie, Gerar (London 1928) 8f, pl. 14:2, 3.

9 Grohmann, op.cit. (supra n. 2) 156.

² A. Grohmann, "Zur Archäologie Südarabiens," *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, D. Nielsen, ed. (Copenhagen 1927) 156f, fig. 44.

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But if these two features render the house-model interpretation difficult, the beautifully turned member¹⁰ separating the so-called towers on the ends of the Marib blocks make this explanation impossible. As far as the writer knows, the use of such an elaborately turned and heavy beam to brace towers is unparalleled in the history of architecture.

If we turn the relief upside down, these difficulties vanish. The towers become legs; the battlements above the door become a common South Arabian architectural motif; the beam between the towers becomes a turned stretcher bracing the legs. That the relief must be viewed in this position is proved by other South Arabian objects whose stance is certain and whose elements and motifs parallel those of our reliefs. As a matter of fact, viewing the reliefs right side up enables us to explain a number of previously unintelligible South Arabian objects.

The use of animal legs and feet on furniture was common in South Arabia. Quite a number of bronze hoofs, which had been used as furniture feet, and a large stone hoof with a recessed panel on the shank, which must have also been part of an article of furniture, have been discovered in houses near the South Gate of Timna';11 another bronze hoof and an alabaster relief showing the lower part of a hoof, which is similar to those of our reliefs, have been found at the Timna' temple.12 Similar legs and feet of stone modeled in the round are known from other sites in South Arabia. Rathjens has published two fragments with parts of turned stretchers which can only be furniture legs and are not highly stylized bull heads as originally believed (pl. 70, fig. 4).13 Two roughly similar fragments were found at Dar el-Beida by Fakhry,14 who correctly identified them as legs of furniture,

although he did not associate them with those on our reliefs. It should also be noted that the foot represented on the San'a relief (pl. 70, fig. 3),15 is probably a stylized lion paw. Numerous examples of the use of lion paws as furniture feet are known from Timna¹⁸ and other South Arabian sites. 17 The projections on the shank just above the hoof (pl. 69, fig. 1), which have been previously described as bull horns, are probably stylized representations of dewclaws (the vestigial toes which project from the pastern area of the bull's leg). In spite of the fact that none of these legs and feet is identical with the more stylized representations on our reliefs, they are certainly similar enough to establish a clear relationship of motif and function, and to prove that we are dealing with legs rather than towers.

Similarly the supposed battlement is actually a common architectural motif which was employed on different kinds of objects. It is composed of a series of horizontal louvers and a row of raised tegular panels which slope outward toward the bottom. In virtually every instance the series of horizontal louvers are arranged above the row of raised tegular panels. Here we will limit ourselves to a few examples which clearly demonstrate this arrangement. The motif is repeated twice above each of the sixty-four false windows in the entrance hall of Temple Awwam (the so-called Haram Bilgis) near Marib (pl. 69, fig. 5);18 it was also commonly used on inscribed plaques, as shown by examples from Marib,19 Hajar Bin Humeid (pl. 69, fig. 6),20 Shabwa,21 Hadaqan,22 and other sites;28 it appears occasionally on capitals,24 and on incense burners.25 One of the latter, now at Marseille (pl. 70, fig. 7), is particularly instructive, since the motif is used in a recessed panel in precisely the same way as in our

¹¹ These objects, which are not yet published, bear the following catalogue numbers: bronze hoofs S63, S64, TS854; stone hoof TS863.

12 Catalogue number of bronze hoof TTI778; of alabaster relief TTI723.

18 Rathjens, op.cit. (supra n. 6) 120f, photo. 427-28.

14 Fakhry, op.cit. (supra n. 5) I, fig. 83; III, pl. 50A.

15 Rathjens, op.cit. (supra n. 6).

16 For example, S13 and TS571.

¹⁰ Fakhry, op.cit. (supra n. 5). While Fakhry's schematic drawing correctly reproduces the number and arrangement of turnings, it shows them as sharply angular, whereas they are actually gracefully rounded, as shown by pl. 69, fig. 2.

¹⁷ Rathjens, op.cit. (supra n. 6) photo. 451-52. That these are lion paws is clear from their similarity to the bronze lion paws from Huqqa (op.cit. [supra n. 3] fig. 51-55) and from Timna' (Berta Segall, "The Lion-Riders from Timna'," Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia [Baltimore 1958] pl. 97-104).

¹⁸ F. P. Albright, "Excavations at Marib in Yemen," Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia (supra n. 17) 223, pl. 162, 165, 166, 168.

¹⁹ Fakhry, op.cit. (supra n. 5) III, pl. 37B.

²⁰ A. Jamme, "A Qatabanian Dedicatory Inscription from Hajar Bin Humeid," JAOS 75 (1955) photograph opposite p. 97.

<sup>97.

21</sup> W. L. Brown, A. F. L. Beeston, "Sculptures and Inscriptions from Shabwa," JRAS (1954) pl. 22, fig. 1.

²² Grohmann, op.cit. (supra n. 2) fig. 63. Also reproduced in H. Th. Bossert, Altsyrien (Tübingen 1951) no. 1296.

²³ For example, ClS IV, 1, pl. 31:309 from Riyam; and ClS IV, 1, pl. 27:307 from 'Uşam.

²⁴ Fakhry, op.cit. (supra n. 5) III, pl. 20A from Sirwah; and Rathjens, Sabaeica I: Der Reisebericht (Hamburg 1953) fig. 58 from Husn Ghaiman.

²⁵ For example, Grohmann, op.cit. (supra n. 2) fig. 64. Also reproduced in Bossert, op.cit. (supra n. 22) no. 1270.

reliefs, and on it the panels are beneath the louvers. The exceptions in which a row of panels appears above the louvers are found on a few capitals²⁶ and on at least one statue base,²⁷ but in these instances the motif is used in a manner that is in no way comparable with the usage in a recessed panel. It is clear from this material that the motif was employed as an architectonic decoration in this position rather than upside down as a battlement.

Turned stretchers for bracing legs have also come to light in South Arabia, although they have not been hitherto recognized as such. The two Şan'a leg fragments (pl. 70, fig. 4) have small sections of turned stretchers preserved; both display some of the same general turnings as the stretchers on the Marib reliefs (pl. 69, fig. 2), but are not as bold. Fragments of two other turned stretchers in marble were found in the excavations at Ḥuqqa (pl. 70, fig. 8);²⁸ enough is preserved here to show that they are identical in arrangement and style with those on our Marib reliefs. Another fragment of a relief which was purchased in Şan'a and published by Rathjens offers an identical form.²⁹

In view of this evidence, there can be no doubt that the usual interpretation of these reliefs as South Arabian house models is wrong; when properly viewed, they represent some article of South Arabian furniture. But the particular piece that is portrayed here cannot yet be determined with certainty, owing to the fact that we know almost nothing about the furnishings of any South Arabian building. Nor does comparing our piece with furniture of other civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean world enable us to define it precisely. Such comparisons, however, do permit us to narrow considerably the range of possibility, since there is surprising agreement-in some instances almost uniformity-in the basic design of furniture used in the different countries from the eighth

century B.C. to the early centuries A.D.³⁰ Obviously details and refinements of an article differed from country to country, and each culture had some types that were peculiar to it alone. That Arabia was no exception is proved by two reliefs³¹ on which appear a throne, a couch, and a folding stool, that might equally well be at home in the West, with allowances for the poor craftsmanship of the reliefs. The fact that Arabia shared these common types of furniture means that we can use the furniture of other countries in determining the nature of this piece.

Here two features are particularly important, proportions and paneling. From the standpoint of proportions, our piece might be a couch, bench, table, chest, or sarcophagus, since its length greatly exceeds its width. We can safely rule out both the couch and the table, in view of differences in design. Most ancient couches are open in construction, i.e., the frame-consisting of legs and rails-is exposed, and broad paneling of sides and ends, such as that represented on our reliefs, was not used. The few benches shown in Graeco-Roman paintings and reliefs⁸² are similarly designed with legs and seat, and without end and side panels. Even assuming the development of the bench from the backless throne or stool, we find no clear-cut evidence of paneling on these articles in the West. Only the box or rectangular stool with its decorated sides and ends⁸⁸ offers an example of covered construction, but it does not seem to have gained wide popularity, and differences from our article are numerous, e.g., the absence of feet. Tables also feature open construction, consisting of legs, frequently braced by stretchers, and a top; in Roman times we find tables with solid, elaborately carved end supports,34 but these bear no resemblance to our panels. Chests and sarcophagi, on the other hand, have large side and end surfaces which lend them-

²⁸ Rathjens and von Wissmann, op.cit. (supra n. 3) fig. 12-14 from Huqqa; fig. 62 from Haz; fig. 88 from el-Gheras; Rathjens op.cit. (supra n. 24) fig. 27 from 'Amran; fig. 107-08 from Shibam el-Kaukaban.

²⁷ Rathjens, op.cit. (supra n. 6) figs. 232-35.

²⁸ Rathjens and von Wissmann, op.cit. (supra n. 3) 95, fig.

<sup>56.

29</sup> Rathjens, op.cis. (supra n. 6) 149, photo. 507-08.

³⁰ Note, for example, the general similarity of design between an Assyrian couch of the time of Assurbanipal (see A. Patterson, Assyrian Sculptures [Harlem 1901-07] pl. 61) and Greek couches of the fourth century and later (G. M. A. Richter, Ancient Furniture [Oxford 1926] fig. 187, 189, 191).

³¹ For the throne and couch, see Grohmann, op.cit. (supra n. 2) fig. 57; also reproduced in Bossert, op.cit. (supra n. 22) no. 1306. For the folding stool, see CIS IV, 2, pl. 13; also

reproduced in Bossert, op.cit. (supra n. 22) no. 1302. It is possible, of course, that the articles of furniture shown here reflect Graeco-Roman stylistic influence.

 $^{^{82}}$ See Miss Richter's discussion op.cit. (supra n. 30) 134f, and fig. 318.

⁸³ *ibid*. 44, fig. 122-25. ⁸⁴ *ibid*. 141f, fig. 332-36.

⁸⁵ For a convenient summary of household chests, see *ibid*. 89-99, 114, 143-44 and illustrations. Among the many examples of Egyptian canopic chests and sarcophagi, note esp. the painted recessed panels on a chest of the Saite period, W. D. Wijngaarden, Aegyptischen Sammlung XIII (Hague 1926) pl. 15; and those conveniently collected by G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art: l'Egypte (Paris 1882), especially fig. 123-24, 289, 394.

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selves to paneling,^{a5} but they are generally shown with only four legs rather than six, eight, or more as in our piece. In view of general similarities of design, we are inclined to consider the article represented in these reliefs as a chest or sarcophagus, although the possibility that a bench or some other piece of furniture of local inspiration is portrayed here cannot be ruled out.

With regard to the date of these reliefs, we are on solid ground. Two wall (?) panel fragments (pl. 70, fig. 9), which were found associated with buildings near the South Gate of Timna', provide our best evidence. These panels exhibit the same arrangement of the various styles of recessed panels and of the louver-tegular panel motif found on our reliefs. They belong to the final occupation of Timna', which was destroyed in the first quarter of the first century A.D., and therefore were probably carved in the first century B.C. Fragments of similar panels have been found at the Ḥuqqa Temple,36 which seems to date from the Hellenistic period and was destroyed probably about the beginning of the Christian era or a little later.37 To the same period belong the fragments of turned stretchers discovered in the Hugga excavations (pl. 70, fig. 8).38 The louver-tegular panel motif has a somewhat longer history. The earliest examples are found associated with the false windows of the Awwam Entrance Hall at Marib (pl. 69, fig. 5) 89 and on the Fakhry plaque,40 which can be assigned to the fifth or early fourth century B.C. The motif appears sporadically on other plaques41 whose dates range over the second half of the first millennium B.c. It also occurs in conjunction with recessed panels of our type on the Marseille incense burner (pl. 70, fig. 7),42 which probably belongs to the latter half of the first century B.C. or to the early first century A.D. Since the closest parallels in this group all date about the first century B.C. or the early first century A.D., and since there is nothing against a date about the beginning of the Christian era, we cannot be far wrong in assigning our reliefs to this general period.

36 Rathjens and von Wissmann, op.cit. (supra n. 3) 51f, fig. 8-21.

The source or sources of the furniture motif represented in our reliefs are not altogether clear as yet. There are no articles of furniture known to the writer that can be classed as parallels to our piece. Nor are studies of the various elements in our reliefs of much help. Although furniture legs made in imitation of animal legs have a long history in the Near East, none resembles the highly stylized ones found on these reliefs. This is also the case with recessed paneling, which goes back at least to the First Dynasty in Egypt and to the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia. Since we plan to discuss elsewhere the complicated problem of the development and diffusion of the recessed panel, we will only observe here that our South Arabian panels are different from those of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia, although they share some features.

Our stretcher with bold turnings is also unparalleled elsewhere. The first turned stretchers known to the writer appear on a table in a relief showing Assurbanipal and his wife feasting in a garden.48 Here there are groups of three simple turnings. More developed turnings are found on thrones and footstools on reliefs in the Council Hall and the Treasury at Persepolis, which belong to the reign of Darius I.44 The stretchers on these thrones have three groups of four turnings; the stretchers on the footstools have continuous identical turnings from end to end. Other turned stretchers, which differ only in having three groups of three turnings, are found on a backless stool being carried by an attendant in the eastern stairway reliefs of the Apadana; these reliefs are assigned to Xerxes. 45 Turnings, identical with those shown in the Darius reliefs, are found on the stretchers of thrones and footstools appearing in reliefs on the jambs of the northern and southern doorways of the Throne Hall which were built by Artaxerxes I.46 Thus the turned stretchers on these reliefs have a maximum range in date from about 522 to 423 B.C., which can probably be narrowed to about 487 to 423 B.C. In Greece and Rome, turned legs were commonly

³⁷ None of the objects found in the Temple require a terminal date as late as the third century A.D., as suggested by the excavators, ibid. 209.

²⁸ ibid. 95, fig. 56.

³⁹ Albright, *op.cit.* (supra n. 18) 223, 230f, pl. 162, 165, 166.
⁴⁰ Fakhry, *op.cit.* (supra n. 5) III pl. 37B; I p. 123. fig. 71.

⁴¹ Supra n. 20-23.

⁴² Supra n. 25.

⁴⁸ See Patterson, op.cit. (supra n. 30).

⁴⁴ E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis I (OIP 68, Chicago 1953) 107, 116f and pl. 77-78 for reliefs on jambs of eastern doorway of the Council Hall; 162-69 (esp. 164), and 171, and pl. 119, 121-23 for reliefs from the southern and eastern porticos of the Courtyard of the Treasury. Reliefs in both buildings are assigned to the last years of Darius, probably 487-486 a.c.

⁴⁶ ibid. 82f, pl. 19, 51 for reliefs on west face of eastern stairway of the Apadana.

⁴⁶ ibid. 129, 132-34, pl. 96-99, 102-07 for reliefs on jambs of the northern and southern doorways of the Throne Hall.

used on thrones, stools, and couches, but stretchers with turnings were not common in classical lands, with one possible exception. That exception is a stool or throne-sometimes it is shown with turned stretchers and sometimes without-represented on a number of coins as part of a motif in which Zeus or another deity is enthroned. The great majority of the coins bearing this motif belong to Alexander the Great and his Seleucid and Ptolemaic successors,47 and thereafter the motif appears sporadically on coins well into the Imperial period.48 As far as the writer knows, the stool with turned stretchers first appears in this motif on Cilician issues of Persian satraps about the middle of the fourth century B.C.49 It was also known in South Arabia, as shown by a second century B.C. Minaean imitation of an Alexandrine tetradrachm with a South Arabic inscription which perhaps reads Abikarib Yithi 50 In all instances where these turnings are clearly represented on coins, they are identical in form and continuous across the stretcher. Whether the Cilician engravers copied the turned stretcher in this motif from Persian or Persian-inspired stools or chairs, or whether they actually represented Greek

47 For examples, see E. T. Newell, Alexander Hoards: Demanhur, 1905 (American Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs, 19, New York 1923) passim; L. Forrer, The Weber Collection II (London 1924) pl. 82:2133, 2134; 83:2155, 2157 (Philip III, Aridaeus c. 323-316 B.C.); 104:2721 (Lysimachus of Thrace, 306-281 B.C.); B. V. Head, G. F. Hill, A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks (London 1932) 51, pl. 28:18 (Alexander IV, 323-311 B.C.). I wish to acknowledge here the helpful suggestions made by Miss Sarah Elizabeth Freeman who kindly read this section.

48 E.g., L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection* III 2 (London 1929) pl. 247:6975 (Nero); 266:7390 (Geta); 269:7485 (Antoninus Pius).

stools and chairs with turned stretchers—all other evidence for which has long since disappeared—remains unknown. We consider the former alternative more probable.⁵¹ If furniture with turned stretchers had been common in ancient Greece, we would expect to find examples in other art forms, such as sculpture and painting, where furniture of different designs is amply represented. In any case, it is safe to conclude that the turned stretcher never attained popularity in either Greece or Rome.

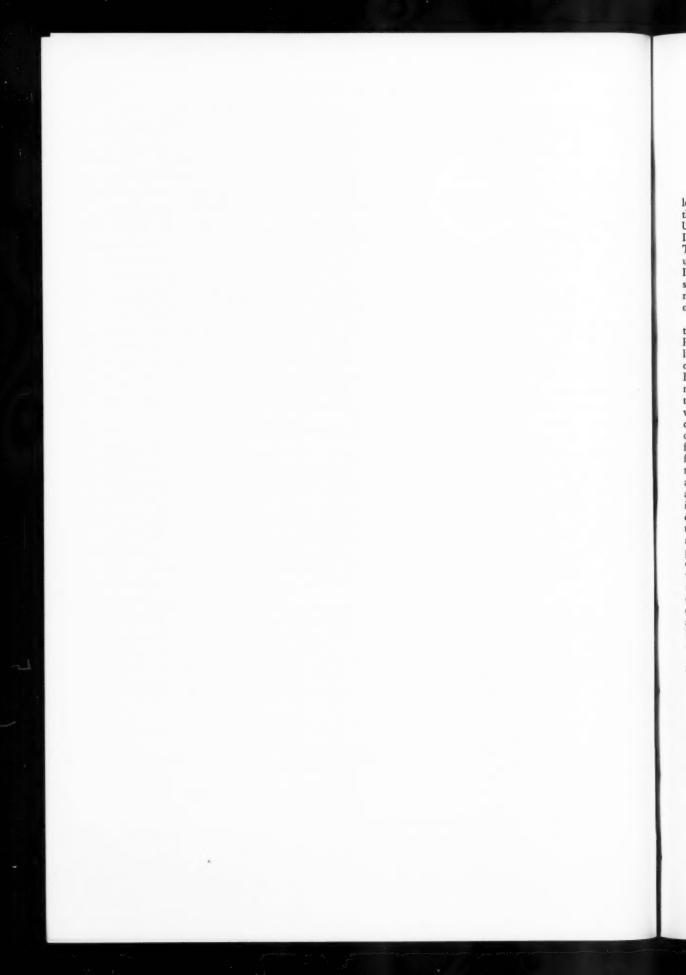
At this stage, the comparative material is of little or no assistance in defining the sources of this style of chest or sarcophagus. Although the ultimate sources of inspiration for the various components may go back to the middle of the first millennium B.C. in the north, there are no links that would establish a direct connection between the furniture of that region in that period and our South Arabian piece from about the turn of the Christian era. It is probably better to consider our article of furniture as specifically South Arabian in its present form until more definitive material is brought to light.

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49 See E. T. Newell, "Tarsos under Alexander," AJNum 52 (1918) 71f, pl. I:1-5; L. Forrer, op.cit. (supra n. 48) pl. 276: 7632-35 (Mazaeus, 361-333 B.c.); 7639, 7641, 7643 (Mazaeus as governor of Trans-Euphratesia and Cilicia, 351-334 B.c.); B. V. Head, G. F. Hill, op.cit. (supra n. 47) 35, pl. 20:51 (Mazaeus).

50 Cf. G. F. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia (London 1922) pp. lxxxiiff, pl. 50:5.

51 Note that the bold turnings on the legs of the stools or thrones shown on these coins more closely resemble the heavy turnings on the Persian thrones and stools at Persepolis than contemporary turned legs of Greek origin, although they are not identical.



Archaeological Notes

MORGANTINA: Hellenistic Inkstands

PLATE 71

Among the many minor objects found in the Hellenistic layers of the ancient city of Morgantina during the excavation of the site, undertaken by Princeton University, I here present two vases of a type to which I have found no good parallels in Sicily or elsewhere. They are, in themselves, no remarkable ceramic products, but their specific shape and the purpose for which I believe they were made, prompt me to publish them separately, in the hope that the evidence here studied may prove of help to excavators and other archae-

ologists.

Both vases were found in the spring of 1958 when the Expedition was under the directorship of Professor Richard Stillwell who has kindly consented to my publishing this note. They were found within the perimeter of a sacred place, an olnos adjacent to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, excavated the previous year, and may have been either votive gifts or a part of the sanctuary's regular equipment. The contexts in which they were found allow theoretically of a rather wide range of dating, i.e. from the end of the fourth to the first quarter of the second century B.c. One (58-563) was found in the layer of architectural debris covering the floor of one of the rooms. This layer (Stratum 2) contained material from the time the sanctuary was in use and marked, at the same time, its destruction and final abandonment. The second piece (58-547) was found in the upper layers of a cistern situated in a courtyard of the same complex. The cistern fill is similar in texture to the architectural debris layer just described, and contained many broken tiles. It seems, therefore, probable that the filling-in of the cistern was an effect of the destruction of the sanctuary. We have not to do with an intentional, sealed filling, nor with a gradually stratified one. The material which came into the cistern, consequently, contained essentially the same sort of debris which made up Stratum 2 in the adjacent rooms, and does not help in narrowing down the chronological brackets above mentioned. The majority of the coins of the layer is from the reign of Hieron II (274-215 B.c.), some are earlier, and no coin has necessarily to be dated to a period later than the end of the third century, while Stratum 1, extending above Stratum 2, contained i.a., a Roman bronze coin overstruck on a Hieron II issue and tentatively dated to 175-172 B.C. (inv. no. 58-721). These circumstances speak in favor of a dating of our vases to the first half or the middle of the third century. The fabric, the quality of the glaze and, finally, the type of the letters of the inscription confirm such a date. And now, a short description of

¹ In collecting the evidence I have relied upon the notebooks of Mr. Kyle M. Phillips who was in charge of this section of the excavations. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to his sharp eye and cogent observations.

Inv. no. 58-536, found in Area IV, Trench 6 B, Stratum 2 (pl. 71, fig. 1). H. 0.038 m.; diam. of bowl 0.056 m.; diam. of base 0.073 m. Squat bowl with incurving rim; broad flaring base with upturned edge, a groove near its upper edge, and a raised ring around the bottom of the base. Pink-buff clay; semi-lustrous brownish-black glaze, worn off here and there, particularly in the bottom of the bowl where the paint is missing and the fabric shows signs of having been rubbed and mechanically worn. A crack from edge to bottom of bowl and two chips at the circumference of the base, otherwise well preserved. On the underside of the base within the space framed by the base-ring there is an inscription, made after the baking of the vase. It cuts through some dashes of paint which by mistake have found their way to the underside of the base. The inscription contains four lines, the lettering is careful and presents no reading difficulties (pl. 71,

ΑΝΤΑΛΛΟ ΥΤΟΜΕΛ ΑΝΟΒΑΦ 'Αντάλλου το μελανόβαφον ΟΝ

Inv. no. 58-547, found in Area IV, Trench 6, Cistern 2, Stratum 1 (pl. 71, fig. 3). H. 0.027 m.; diam. of bowl 0.051 m.; diam. of base 0.068 m. Small squat bowl with incurving rim and broad raised heavy base. Incised concentric grooves on the bottom of the base (pl. 71, fig. 4). Reddish clay, semilustrous black glaze over body and base. A chip at the edge of bowl. The interior center of the bowl shows no traces of rubbing or west.

The two vases are variations of the same type. They are both low and shallow, of thick and sturdy fabric, and are provided with a disproportionately wide and heavy base. They do not easily turn over, and the liquid they contained was prevented from splashing by the characteristically inturned rim. The ring around the edge of the bottom of the base (58-536) and, still more, the unusual device of the concentric grooves under the base (58-547), would effectively prevent the vases from gliding if placed on a table covered with a cloth. They must have served the same and very specific purpose. That purpose is, I believe, revealed by the inscription under the base of the larger of the two vases.

The name in genitive must stand for the owner, the dedicator, or—less probably—the maker. *Ανταλλος is a curious name and is, according to Pape's suggestion, derived from, and an abbreviation of, the adjective ἀντάλλαγος, exchanged for another.² The adjective

² W. Pape, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen 93, s.v. Cf. F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen 38 and 58.

occurs, as a matter of fact, in the form of ἄνταλλος in the scholia to Dionysius Thrax.3 When used as a name it must be equivalent to "changeling child," which certainly may seem an ungracious name. I know of only two sure instances when it was used in Greece proper, one quoted by Pape (loc.cit) of an Antallos, whose son was a Delphian priest, called Socrates.4 The other was also a Delphian and one of the treasurers of the temple in 94 B.c.5 Another may also refer to a Greek from Delphi, though such a supposition is by no means necessary. It is mentioned by Ritschl who in his turn quotes a letter from K. Keil, and it refers to a slave-boy, mentioned in a Delphian inscription on the occasion of his manumissio.6 In a fourth inscription from the same site we know of an Antallos who certainly was from Magna Graecia, a man from Elaia who received a proxeny at Delphi.⁷ In rather striking contrast to these two or possibly three examples from the mainland and the rest of the Greek world, and the one from Magna Graecia, stands the relative commonness of the name in Sicily.

We have two magistrates, sons of an older and a younger Antallos, mentioned in an inscription from the theatre of Tauromenium (IG Vol. 14, no. 421.I a 67 and a 81). An ephebe, to be crowned among several others in Phintias (the modern Licata) is called Antallos and his father carried the same name (IG Vol. 14, no. 256, line 31). A gymnasiarchus in Solus (Solunto) was so called and his father and grandfather had the name before him (IG Vol. 14, no. 311). In Thermae Himeraeae (Termini Imeresi), the famous health resort on the north coast of Sicily, there is recorded an agoranomos called Antallos, son of Nymphon (IG Vol. 14, no. 313). Add to these instances a stamped amphora handle from Eryx (Erice) (IG Vol. 14, no. 2393, 78) with the single name Antallos, and a complete amphora from Caltagirone, one of the handles of which is stamped with this name among others (IG Vol. 14, no. 2393, 7).

Antallos is not directly common in Sicily, it is certainly not unusual, and in comparison with its great rarity in other parts of the Greek world, it should be called in preference a Sicilian name.8

To the men so called and earlier known through

We may conclude that, if the awkward name of

8 Scholia in Dionysium Thracem, ed. A. Hilgard, Grammatici Graeci I, pars 3, p. 343, lines 27, 30, 33; cf. Liddell Scott, s.v.

⁴ Σωκράτης 'Αντάλλου. See E. Curtius, Anecdota Delphica (1843) 60, no. 10, and P. Lebas, Inscriptions grecques et latines 3, Phocide, no. 910:18.

⁵ Mentioned on the decree in honor of Nicomedes III Euergetes and Laodice, Fouilles de Delphes, tome 3, Epigraphie, fasc. 4, par G. Colin, 120, no. 77:20.

6 F. Ritschl, Epigraphisches, 3, RhM 21 (1866) 139: παιδάριον ψ δνομα "Ανταλλοτ. See Wescher et Foucart, Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes (1863) no. 166:2.

7 Wescher et Foucart, op.cit. no. 18:124.

8 It may be mentioned in passing that modern Italian family names like Esposito and Trovato which in an unmistakable way refer to an unfortunate family ascendency, similar to that of Antallos, are more common in Sicily and the South than in other parts of Italy.

the above documentation, we have now to add the unknown Morgantinian who owned or dedicated our

Μελανόβαφον-it should undoubtedly be read as one word—is a new word, a απαξ λεγόμενον in the Greek language. It is obviously a composite the first part of which is μέλαν, black, while the second is connected with the verb βάπτων, dip, and particularly dip into a coloring matter, dye. It should further be pointed out

that το μέλαν as a noun means ink.

A similar composite is ὀξύβαφον, a shallow bowl or saucer containing vinegar.9 It was used on the dinnertable to dip titbits in, according to Pollux' description.10 What it looked like is not quite certain. A flat dish with a central cavity is recorded from Olynthus, and dated by Robinson to the fourth century B.C.11 It is provided with the graffito inscription OEYBA, but does not answer too well to the literary description, provided that it was not only the central cavity that was so called. If that were the case it would strengthen Professor D. Trendall's suggestion, made orally to me, that oxybaphon was the technical term for the central cavity of the common South Italian fish-plate, made for containing the vinegar sauce.12

We can further ascertain that the oxybaphon was of small size, as it also stands for a measure of liquids, equal to a quarter of a kotyle, i.e. about an eighth of

If, therefore, an oxybaphon is an open saucer-like little bowl, made for containing something ôξύς (i.e. vinegar), I would suggest that our melanobaphon, in analogy, was a similar little vase made for containing

τὸ μέλαν, the ink.

The common word for inkstand in Greek is μελανοδοχείον, with the variation of μελανοδόχον [άγγείον] mentioned by Pollux.13 There are several types of them recorded from antiquity, either of metal or of earthenware. One type, a small chalice-shaped inkstand of lead comes from Delos. It is provided with a tilted rim and a flat base, and its upper part is covered, with the exception of a small central hole just sufficiently large to allow the scribe to insert the pen.14 From Priene comes a globular type of earthenware, with broad flat base and a small hole at the top. It is so constructed that it can never be completely emptied and, if reversed, it

9 I am indebted to Miss Frances F. Jones for drawing my

attention to this parallel case.

10 Thes. Linguae Gr., s.v. with reference to Pollux 6.85, where the oxybapha are counted among the spice vessels (τὰ δὲ τῶν ήδυσμάτων άγγεία). See also W. Becher, RE 36.1, coll. 2021-2022, s.v. I leave aside the many references to the part played by this type of vessel in the popular kottabos game, which do not concern us here.

11 D. M. Robinson, Olynthus 5, 255, no. 1057 and pls. 190-

12 Reference should be made to Frances F. Jones' discussion in H. Goldman, Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus 1, 155, no. 13. Miss Jones objects to the idea that the "fish-plate" was called oxybaphon, and musters other literary and archaeological arguments in support of her opinion.

18 Liddell-Scott, s.v. and Pollux 10.60.

14 Exploration archéologique de Délos 18, W. Deonna, Le mobilier délien 255, pl. 81, 679-680.

will keep most of its contents.15 A similar one is also recorded from Delos.16 These specimens are all Hellenistic. I know of no certified examples from earlier Greek times, but would suggest that a set of small composite vessels from Olynthus of the fourth century may have served the same purpose.17 They consist of a closed sack-shaped vase communicating with an attached open bowl. By tilting it, the contents of the vessel would have poured into the bowl, and it would thus have been a very rationally constructed inkstand, preventing the ink from evaporating and at the same time making the necessary amount of liquid readily accessible to the scribe. In Roman times, and perhaps even earlier, the types multiply.18 We have the double receptacle of metal, designed for the alternate use of black and red ink, and the portable inkstand, attached to the theca, or pen-holder. The latter which is still in use in the Near East is appropriately called καλαμάριον, the Latin calamarium, surviving in the modern Italian calamaio. But the simple inkstand is found even in Roman contexts. From Pompeii comes a small globular juglet, like an aryballus, with a wide flat rim around a small circular mouth, and in that respect reminds us of the Hellenistic specimens from Delos and Priene.19 It is kept steady by means of an attached disc-shaped foot. A stopper could easily be inserted in the small mouth of the vessel; a string around its neck would be kept safely in place by the broad rim, and so the inkstand could be made portable and even hang from the scribe's belt. In form and function it is very different from Antallus' inkstand and its companion piece from Morgantina, made for stable table use.

Still, even the Morgantina specimens are functional in their way. Ink in antiquity was made and sold in solid form and consisted generally of soot of burned resin from the pitch-pine mixed with gum in the proportion of 3:1. Water was added in order to give it the desired fluency.²⁰ The recipes were often kept secret, as was the case with China ink which is produced on basically the same principle. Simplifications and falsifications were common.²¹ Ink made of iron and copper salts, gallnuts etc., are somewhat later inventions, but seem anyhow to belong to antiquity.

The regular solid ink had to be ground and pulverized when prepared for use, a painstaking and humble work. Demosthenes, in De Corona (258/313/), addresses Aeschines in a rather haughty way, comparing his own aristocratic upbringing with the poor childhood of his opponent: "In your childhood you were reared in abject poverty. You helped your father

15 T. Wiegand, *Priene* 426, no. 98 (see photo, p. 423, fig. 540:4 and drawing, p. 430, fig. 549).

16 Delos, op.cit. 256 and pl. 81, 684.

17 D. M. Robinson, op.cit. 260-261, nos. 1091-1104 and pl.

18 Here I rely much upon Charles Graux' article Atramentarium in Dar Sag I, 528-529, and his references. Other source material is gathered by V. Gardthausen, Griech. Palaeographie²

19 Graux, art.cit., fig. 619.

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²⁰ For detailed references, see Gertrud Herzog-Hauser's article *Tinte*, *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940) coll. 1574-1579 and Ch. Graux, *Atramentum* in Dar Sag 1, 529-530, s.v.

in the drudgery of a grammar-school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, and sweeping the school-room..." (transl. by C. A. Vince, Loeb Class. libr.) ²²

It is in such and similar situations that the functional character of Antallos' inkstand is vindicated. If one for economy's sake-and ink was an expensive material28-wanted to grind and prepare just the amount necessary for the occasion, it should be made in the inkstand itself in order to prevent waste. The open bowl with the inturned rim and the steady foot was ideal for the operation, and as a receptacle for the ready product it served its purpose with the same advantage. The traces of friction or grinding in the bottom of one of our specimens show how it had been used for το μέλαν τρίβειν every time before coming into use. That the other piece lacks all signs of similar treatment should be explained by the fact that we are confronted with dedicatory offerings. The unknown scribe gave the deity a new inkstand, acquired for the occasion, while Antallos offered his old and worn one.

Even if the new word μελανόβαφον and the new form associated with it is best translated and interpreted as "inkstand," one should keep in mind that the object was used in a way different from that of the common μελανοδοχεῖον. This may account for the different nomenclatures. It remains to be seen if the form, to which I have found no parallels, is a Sicilian invention. If that be the case, we should call μελανόβαφον a specific glossa of Siciliote Greek origin.

The reasons why the scribes dedicated their inkstands to Demeter and Kore or to a deity associated with them, cannot be specifically explained. But these two pious gifts are welcome proofs of the literacy of the society of Morgantina which, like so many cities of Greek Sicily, has yielded a regrettably small amount of inscriptions. Ink and perishable material were the inadequate means of the Sicilians of the Hellenistic age for conveying to posterity their thoughts and their records of events.

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AN UNUSUAL ROMAN BOWL AT STRASBOURG¹

PLATE 72

The accompanying photograph and drawing (pl. 72, figs. 1 and 2, both with scale in centimeters) illustrate a ceramic bowl found at the Capucin monastery at Königshofen near Strasbourg, and now in the Mu-

21 Plin. Nat. Hist. 35.25 (41-42).

22 Cf. the comments on this passage by Pollux, 4.19.

²⁸ Twelve denarii a pound according to Diocletian's maximal tariff. See T. Frank, An economic survey of Ancient Rome 5, 369, no. 11 a.

¹ My thanks for permission to publish this note and for much help in doing so, including the line-drawing, are owed to Prof. J.-J. Hatt, Director of the Strasbourg Museum; grateful appreciation of other courtesies extending far beyond the limits of the present text is due both to him and to Dr. Vonbank, Director of the Bregenz Museum.

seum of the Château des Rohan, Strasbourg; inv. no. 6600; diam. 61/2 in., ht. 21/8 in. It is of thin fabric covered with a green surface and is decorated with eight panels alternating a stylized leaf pattern and a rosette pattern rendered in a strange technique combining barbotine and incision. All the straight lines, i.e. the vertical divisions between panels, the ribs and the veins of the leaves, and the rays of the rosettes, seem to have been laid on in barbotine and then scored lengthwise; small drops of barbotine form the dots placed along the periphery of the leaves and rosettes and arbitrarily scattered along the vertical central rib of the leaves and along the vertical panel divisions. In addition, there are two ruled grooves below the lip and one above the foot; these roughly limit the area available for decoration. The foot itself is a small low ring.

This bowl has been published by Henning, Denk-Altertums-Sammlung zu mäler der Elsässischen Strassburg i. Els. (1912) pl. xv 9 and p. 16, and has also been discussed by Drexel, Kastell Faimingen, ORL 66, p. 82, fig. 8, as a parallel to the Raetian wares which he describes on the preceding pages, especially Group I. The former of these publications is not easily available, while the latter introduces our bowl only incidentally to another topic. Neither one cites another

instance of precisely the same fabric.

However, at least one exact parallel is in the Bregenz Museum at the upper end of Lake Constance, where it had presumably been found locally; further, a bowl decorated with straight lines of barbotine scored lengthwise like ours, and with dots at the extremities and intersections of these lines, was found at Seebruck (anc. Bedaium) on the Chiemsee, Bavaria.2 Granting that this latter specimen differs from the Strasbourg bowl in its shape and in its less imaginative decorative idiom, nevertheless it clearly belongs to the same general school of decorative technique; and Dr. Viktorine von Gonzenbach kindly informs me that a related

fabric is found in some quantities on the Engehalbinsel, Bern, where it was probably locally made.8 Thus, while "Raetian ware" is a convenient conventional name for this category, or these categories, of Roman wares, nevertheless the geographical implications of the term are a little too limited.

An interesting feature of the Strasbourg bowl is its surface, which Henning calls "Glasur," Hatt calls "glaçure," Ulbert calls "Firnis," and which seems to me can properly be called "glaze" in at least a broad

The Roman occupation of Seebruck commenced under Claudius,4 and there is no reason for supposing that the scanty Raetian ware at the site antedates Roman occupation. Drexel's parallel groups at Faimingen are consistent with such a chronology. Further, the ruled grooves below the lip and above the foot of the Seebruck and Strasbourg bowls recall the organization of space on certain vasi a pareti sottili. All this suggests a tentative attribution of these bowls under consideration to the second quarter of the first Christian century.

While the foregoing note has been in press, Dr. von Gonzenbach has written of four additional pieces from the same general area. All are decorated with barbotine line-and-dot rosettes similar to those of the Strasbourg bowl and with crossed pairs of lines similar to those of the Seebruck bowl, but not with stylized leaves. The shapes are apparently different from those at both Strasbourg and Seebruck. Vindonissa Mus. inv. no. 27.1716, from the Camp (not from the earlier Schutthügel) is of the "usual Bernese-Raetic fabric, late second century rather than first century"; U. Fischer, Materialhefte zur bayr. Vorgeschichte 10 (1957) figs. 16 2, 16 9, 36 4 are from Kempten (anc. Cambodu-

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en barbotine and attributed to Hadrian's reign, see Tschumi, 'Raetische Keramik im Aaregebiet," Oxé Festschrift, pp. 113-15.

4 Kellner and Ulbert, p. 68.

² Kellner and Ulbert, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 23 (1958) pl. 7. ⁸ For other locally made pottery from the same site, decorated

News Letter from Greece

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

PLATES 73-76

There have been some outstanding discoveries in the past year. Early Palaeolithic remains have been found in the Larissa area in Thessaly, below the bed of the prehistoric lake. A remarkable anthropomorphic stele, probably prehistoric, was found in the same district. In a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Marathon a pair of horses was found buried in the dromos, evidently sacrificed in the course of the funeral ceremony. The archaic Castalian fountain at Delphi has been discovered. A small sanctuary, probably that of Artemis Aristoboule founded by Themistokles, was found in Athens. At Brauron in Attica many fine classical reliefs and statues and an interesting fifth century inscription were discovered. At Olympia a drinking cup belonging to Pheidias was found. From Pheneos in Arcadia comes a colossal head of an acrolithic statue made by Attalos, son of Lachares, of Athens. The Oracle of the Dead in Thesprotia has been identified.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

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MUSEUMS. In the Acropolis Museum three galleries of archaic sculpture have been opened to the public. They contain the poros pediment groups and many of the korai. The National Museum has opened five galleries of archaic sculpture containing many kouroi, grave reliefs and other pieces. An interesting experiment is a full sized reproduction in color of the well known painted stele of Lyseas which has been placed beside the rather faded original (Richter, Archaic Attic Gravestones fig. 94). In another gallery some of the recent discoveries at Brauron are already on display: see below.

sanctuary of artemis. The remains of a small temple were discovered by chance in the course of construction of a modern house just west of Kolonos Agoraios along the road leading to the Piraeus Gates (W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen', Plan I, D 4: at the short blunt end of the first block). Mr. Threpsiades conducted an excavation which revealed the plan of a small temple in antis facing west (pl. 74, figs. 4-5). The porch and the threshold block of the door were well preserved and the walls of the cella could be traced. The foundation for the altar which stood in front of the temple was

found, and the poros altar itself was lying nearby. An inscribed stele that had been re-used in a late remodelling of the sanctuary contains a decree of the fourth century B.C. passed by the demesmen of Melite (the deme in which the sanctuary is actually located) in honor of Neoptolemos, son of Antikles, of Melite, a very wealthy Athenian known from the orations of Demosthenes. The decree contains the provision that it be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis. The sanctuary in which it was found is clearly then a sanctuary of Artemis, and may well be the famous sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule which Themistokles established near his house in Melite and which was still standing in Plutarch's time (Life of Themistokles 22).

PLATO'S ACADEMY. Mr. Stavropoulos has continued his work in the section to the west of the main areas excavated before the war (A]A 61 [1957] 282). His principal topographical discovery is a long stretch of enclosure wall which he has uncovered for a distance of about 130 meters but which continues both to north and south. It is not straight, but bends slightly at several points, evidently to enclose a large area lying to the east of it, i.e. the Academy. The wall is about 0.60 m. wide, and 0.50 m. high, and what is preserved is evidently a socle for a superstructure of mud brick. There are buttresses at intervals of about 6.50 m. along the outer face of the wall. Various styles of construction are to be noted in different sections of the wall showing that it was kept in repair over a long period, but Mr. Stavropoulos believes that the oldest sections go back to the sixth century B.C. The wall will thus be the Wall of Hipparchos recorded by Suidas, s.v. τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον. This wall had been built around the Academy by Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos the tyrant, at great expense which he compelled the people of Athens to defray; it thus became proverbial for any expensive project.

At a point just inside the wall of Hipparchos part of a small building was uncovered. In the ground near it lay about a hundred inscribed slabs and fragments of slabs of most unusual form. They are of slate-like stone and are irregular in size and shape. Most of them have a hole for suspension near one edge. They resemble schoolboy's slates, and, in fact, this is what Mr. Stavropoulos believes them to be. The letters are scratched on lightly with a sharp instrument and in many cases can be quite easily rubbed off. The slates may be dated in the fifth century B.C. by pottery found in the layer with them as well as by the fact that the letters show a mixture of Attic and Ionic forms. A peculiarity of spelling which occurs on several plaques is the substitution of *iota* for *eta*, as for example on one of the largest plaques where we read the names of the gods AΘINA APIΣ APTEMIΣ and underneath the name of the pupil ΔΙΜΟΣΟΘΕΝΙΣ (pl. 75, fig. 11).

LONG WALLS. A section of the northern Long Wall between Athens and Piraeus was exposed when a deep drain was dug in Cyprus Street two or three hundred meters northwest of the Kallithea station of the electric railway. Mr. Mastrokostas investigated. Remains belonging to various periods were noted in different places. Most characteristic was a section of polygonal limestone which had originally served as a socle for a superstructure of mud brick. This belongs to the Kononian reconstruction of the early fourth century B.C. In our photograph (pl. 75, fig. 8) the original mud brick has been replaced by rubble and mortar construction of Roman times.

BRAURON. Mr. Papadimitriou excavated again at Brauron on the east coast of Attica, concentrating on the level area north of the temple where he had discovered a stoa in an earlier campaign (Praktika [1950] 177-87). The results were astonishing. The stoa proved to have been crowded with votive offerings standing in two or three rows against the back wall between the doors leading into the rooms behind. Many of these votives were found lying as they had fallen when the stoa was destroyed. There were numerous marble reliefs, some of them of outstanding quality (pl. 73, figs. 1 and 2), and also several statues and many heads of young girls, no doubt the "arktoi" or "bears" who took part in the ceremonies. Many architectural members belonging to the stoa were also found lying as they had fallen. One of the most interesting discoveries was a complete inscribed stele of the year of the archon Arimnestos (416/415 B.C.) recording the transfer of the treasures of the sanctuary from Brauron to the Acropolis, no doubt for greater safety as the renewal of the Peloponnesian War and the expedition to Sicily were impending. The transfer was in the

charge of one Demetrios of Halai. See also *ILN* for October 25, 1958.

MARATHON. The Mycenaean tholos tomb excavated in the nineteen thirties by the late Professor Soteriades has been the scene of further work (Praktika [1935] 105; AA [1935] 179-81). In the previous excavations only the chamber, the doorway and the immediately adjacent part of the dromos had been cleared. Now the whole dromos has been opened up. Only a short section near the door is lined with masonry, the rest is simply cut out of hard-pan. As the tomb lies in the open plain where the ground is almost flat, the dromos is as much as 25 meters long and slopes quite steeply downward. Near its outer end a remarkable discovery was made. The skeletons of two horses were found neatly laid out in a shallow pit, their heads towards the outer end of the dromos, their backs towards the sides and their legs interlocking in the center (pl. 74, fig. 6). They had clearly been sacrificed here as part of the funeral ceremony. The missing upper part of the cupola of the tomb has been restored.

PELOPONNESOS

GALATAKI. Mr. Verdelis has excavated for two seasons at Galataki, a village in the northeastern Peloponnesos five kilometers from Kenchreai, Corinth's port on the Saronic Gulf. The village occupies the site of the ancient Solygeia which was the scene of a battle in the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 4.42). About 300 meters west of the village the ruins of an apsidal building were discovered. Two periods could be distinguished, one of the second half of the eighth century B.C., the other of the early sixth; it was destroyed and abandoned in the early fifth century. The building was probably a temple, if we may judge from the \subseteq-shaped foundation near the apse, which is probably the place where the cult statue stood, and from the votive deposit found nearby. The votives had been buried in a ruined Mycenaean chamber tomb. About 1000 small vases were found and about 50 figurines. They range in date from late geometric times to the early fifth century B.c. Their character suggests that they were dedications to Hera.

PHENEOS. At the village of Kalyvia in the Pheneos basin (northeastern Arcadia), which probably occupies the site of the ancient city of Pheneos, a chance discovery of considerable interest was made. Miss Protonotariou followed up with an investigation.

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Part of an ancient building was cleared. In one of its rooms, which had a mosaic floor with zones of decoration on it, there was found a large base built of squared blocks. The base bears the following inscription:

ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΥ ΘΗΡΙΛΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΩΘΉ ΤΑ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ | ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΔΑΧΑΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΉΣΕΝ

Fragments of the statues mentioned in the inscription were found on and near the base. They were colossal acrolithic statues. A female head in marble (ht. 0.80 m.) is in almost perfect condition with its inset eyes and eyelashes still in place (pl. 76, fig. 13). Several colossal feet were also found (pl. 76, fig. 12). The statues probably represented Asklepios and Hygeia. They date from Hellenistic times, perhaps the second century B.C.

LERNA. Mr. Caskey made supplementary investigations of limited extent at the prehistoric site of Lerna. A building designated as BG, parts of which had been observed in 1957 (Hesperia 27 [1958] 130 and fig. 1), was examined further. It proves to have been another edifice of palatial size, almost certainly a precursor of the great Early Helladic palace known as the House of the Tiles. The plan apparently comprised a row of large rooms flanked on either side by corridors and is thus in general the same as that of the later palace.

OLYMPIA. Some supplementary digging was done in the area of the Workshop of Pheidias and a remarkable discovery was made: a drinking cup belonging to Pheidias himself and identified by an inscription incised on it under side which reads ΦΕΙΔΙΟ ΕΙΜΙ (pl. 75, figs. 9 and 10). Black glazed mugs of this type are common in the second half of the fifth century B.C. but do not occur before the middle of the century: cf. Hesperia 22 (1953) 79, nos. 44 and 45 and the references given there.

A fragment of a marble sima belonging to the Temple of Zeus and still retaining traces of color was found in a well of the fourth century B.C. This adds another item to the already large mass of evidence indicating that the temple was extensively repaired in the fourth century.

The work of remaking the stadium is well advanced. The south embankment has been completed, the track is largely cleared and work has begun on the north embankment.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

EUTRESIS. Mr. and Mrs. Caskey conducted a supplementary excavation of the earliest strata at Eu-

tresis in Boeotia at the suggestion of Miss Hetty Goldman, who had excavated the site in 1924-1927. Their purpose was to gain further information about the first inhabitants, and specifically to determine whether the site had been occupied in Neolithic times.

A trench 11 m. long and 4 m. wide was laid out, and the excavation was carried down through successive layers of Early Helladic times. Towards the bottom several cobbled pavements belonging to the earliest E.H. phase were encountered. Below the lowest of these, in several cavities in the virgin soil, abundant fragments of Neolithic wares were found (pl. 76, fig. 14). These include fine black sherds with burnished pattern in reserved panels and fragments of vessels in light colored wares with designs in dull paint of one or two darker colors. A few sherds were coated with red-brown glaze (Urfirnis). and fragments of two steatopygous terracotta figurines were found. These earliest deposits, purely Neolithic in character, were tightly sealed by the pavements that passed over them and can therefore be taken as conclusive evidence of habitation on the site in Neolithic times.

AULIS. Mr. Threpsiades did a little further excavation at Aulis where two years ago he discovered the famous temple of Artemis (AJA 61 [1957] 283-84). In front of the temple he found a spring, no doubt that beside which the Greeks sacrificed before setting out for Troy "under a beautiful plane tree whence sparkling water flowed" (Homer, Iliad 2.305ff). The spring is enclosed in a small rectangular basin and is reached by a flight of six steps. An ample supply of good drinking water still flows into the basin.

DELPHI. The archaic Castalian fountain has been discovered. The rock-cut fountain which has always been visible and which is set deeply back into one side of the gorge probably dates from Roman times. The earlier fountain proves to have been lower down beside the road. It was discovered when the modern road was being widened to take care of the ever increasing motor traffic. It lies directly under the road as it was before the recent improvements and at a depth of about four meters (pl. 75, fig. 7).

It consists of a poros basin about four meters wide and 0.75 m. from front to back which is fed by a poros channel. In front of this is a rectangular court paved with large slabs of grey limestone. The court was at some later time covered with a thick coat of stucco and apparently turned into a water basin. The all-lead clamps of swallow-tail form used in

all the poros blocks indicate a date in the sixth century B.c. for the original construction of the fountain. Mr. Orlandos is undertaking the publication.

THESPROTIA. Mr. Dakaris has located the famous Oracle of the Dead on the Acheron River in Thesprotia where the souls of the dead were called up and consulted; thus the envoys of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, called up the ghost of the tyrant's wife (Herodotos 5.92). It is on the site of the ruined monastery of St. John near the village of Mesopotamos (formerly Likuresi), where the Kokytos River joins the Acheron, about 4 km. from the sea. Ruins have long been visible here, but no excavation had ever been undertaken so that their extent and character were not known. Mr. Dakaris' excavations have revealed a large precinct, 62 by 46 m., enclosed by a wall of polygonal masonry, and within it a sanctuary 21 m. square. In front of the sanctuary is a dark labyrinth with three vaulted entrances closed by iron gates. The third of these entrances leads to a room 15.35 x 4.40 m. whose walls are preserved to a height of 3.25 m. Beneath this room there is an underground chamber of the same size, its roof, which is the floor of the room above, being supported by 15 stone arches. The complex appears to date from the third century B.C. Such an agglomeration of dark winding passages, gates, and an underground chamber are admirably suited to necromancy, and thus the identification of the ruin seems assured.

LARISSA AREA. Messrs. Milojcic and Biesantz of the German Institute and Mr. Theocharis, the Ephor of Thessaly, have been active at several places around Larissa.

Palaeolithic stone implements and bones of prehistoric animals were found at great depths in soundings made at a dozen or more points. Most significant is the sounding at the Gremnos-Argissa mound on the north bank of the Peneios a few miles above Larissa (earlier reports, AA [1955] 192ff; [1956] 141ff). Excavation has shown that this mound was occupied in Classical times and also in the Bronze Age and in the Neolithic period. The lowest habitation layers belong to a pre-pottery stage of Neolithic. A sounding carried out below this level revealed a number of sterile layers, including one of silt about four meters thick which had evidently been laid down on the bottom of the prehistoric lake that once covered a large part of Thessaly. Under this layer of silt, and thus dating from a time prior to the formation of the lake, Palaeolithic stone implements of "Aurignacian" type were found. These indicate human habitation in Thessaly at a very remote period, some twenty or thirty thousand years ago, far earlier than anything hitherto reported in Greece.

The chance discovery of a remarkable anthropomorphic stele (pl. 74, fig. 3) drew attention to Souphli, a prehistoric mound on the south bank of the Peneios four kilometers northeast of Larissa on the road to Tempe (No. 28 on the map in AM 62 [1937] pl. 37). The stele is a tall narrow slab of greenish stone about the height of a man and decorated on all four of its sides. On the front the main human features are indicated in low relief; feet, arms held across body, breasts. From the neck hangs a sort of necklace indicated by a series of concentric semicircles. The head narrows to a point, and seven small holes symmetrically arranged perhaps stand for the seven natural openings. On the narrow sides of the stele serpents are carved in low relief. On the upper part of the back are decorative patterns.

Nothing like this stele has ever been found in Greece, and the nearest parallels are the statue-menhirs of southern France (V. Gordon Childe, Dawn of European Civilization,6 312, fig. 145). Other possible comparisons are suggested by Mr. Biesantz in a preliminary notice of the stele AA (1957) 53ff. The date of the stele is by no means certain. Investigations made in the area after the accidental discovery revealed graves of various prehistoric periods, and nothing of later date. At the time the stele was found several small Mycenaean vases were found, evidently from a grave, but the relationship of the stele to the grave and pots could not be determined. Middle Helladic and Neolithic burials were also found nearby. The latter are remarkable since few Neolithic graves are known from any site, and even more remarkable is the fact that they are cremation burials.

DEMETRIAS. The ancient theatre of Demetrias near Volo has been partly cleared under the supervision of Mr. Theocharis and with the support of the recently founded local Society of Antiquaries. This society is also publishing a periodical, Thessalika, for archaeological and historical studies concerning Thessaly; the first fascicle has already appeared. In the theatre the scene building of Roman times was cleared as well as the orchestra and the lowest rows of seats. An inscribed stele was found containing a well preserved decree of the Koinon of the Magnesians in honor of one Demetrios, son of Orestes, of Demetrias.

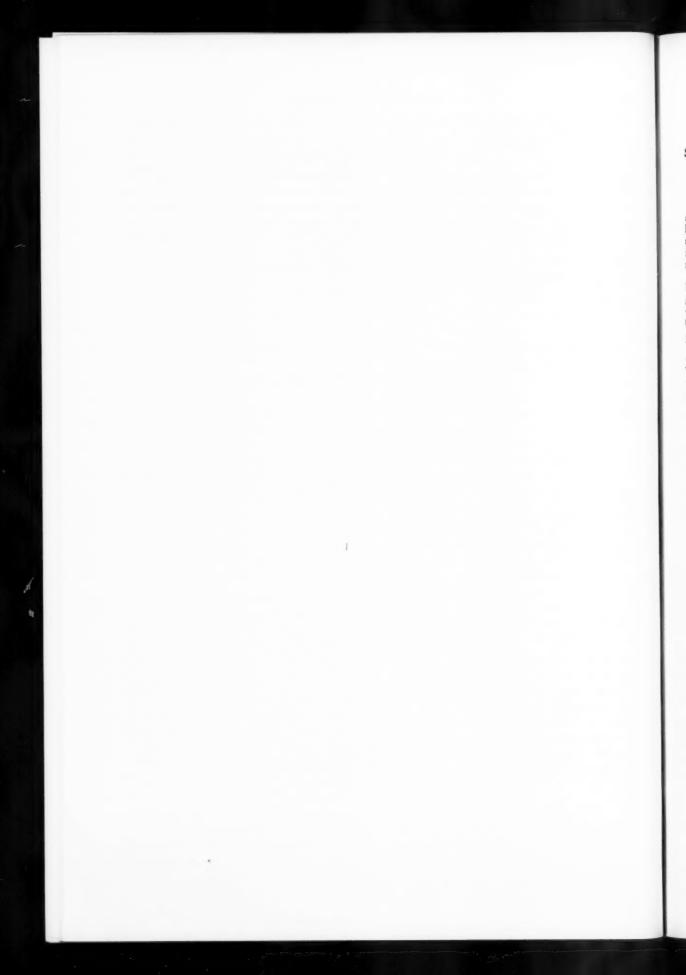
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stryme. Messrs. Bakalakis and Andronikos with a group of students from the University of Salonica have done further work at the site which they identify as Stryme (AJA 61 [1957] 285). It lies on a peninsula which runs out into a lagoon southwest of Komotini, Thrace. Remains of houses, cisterns, streets and the fortification wall have been found. The town appears to have been destroyed in the fourth century B.C., and the site was not re-occupied. Among the finds we may note a hoard of 28 silver tetradrachms of Maroneia of the period before 359 B.C. They were found in a bronze pyxis hidden in

a chink in a wall. Two different types are represented, one with a prancing horse on the obverse and the inscription EIII ETIIOΛΙΟΣ on the reverse (pl. 76, fig. 15), the other with a head of Dionysos on the obverse and MAPΩNITEΩN EIII MHTPO-[ΦA]NEOΣ on the reverse (pl. 76, fig. 16). A nice fragment of a classical grave relief in sandstone was found in the area of the cemetery outside the town (pl. 76, fig. 17). An Attic red-figured pelike was also found in a grave.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES ATHENS



BOOK REVIEWS

STUDIES IN ANCIENT TECHNOLOGY, Volume V, by R. J. Forbes. Pp. vii + 235, illus., tables. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1957. 20 guilders.

This, the latest of the series of monographs on ancient technology that was begun in 1955, covers leather, sugar and glass in antiquity. Each topic is supported by a lengthy bibliography, the whole totaling nearly 900 items. The text is little more than a

running annotation for the bibliography.

The first section on leather is particularly welcome because the bibliography shows there is scarcely any good written account in English on the early history of leather and tanning. (Most of the important contributions seem to be in German.) The tanning process and materials used are well explained for the layman. Tanning is a process by which hides through chemical agents are rendered insoluble and imputrescible in water. Leather was an important item in early economy, and enjoyed varied uses as in the making of harness, military equipment and clothing. In ancient Rome, shoemakers formed a guild apart from the tanners and the making of shoes was almost as specialized as it is today.

A sweeter subject is the middle section on sugar and honey. Here again the author has drawn from obscure sources. In early Egypt honey was used for ritual as well as for food purposes. The Romans enjoyed a wide variety of honey cakes and sweets. In the period of the Early Empire honey became one of the most important

exports, on a par with oil and wine.

The longest section in the book deals with glass, which was one of the most important technical discoveries of the ancient world. After a discussion of raw materials, furnaces, composition and early manufacture the author traces development of glass from its beginnings in each of the important parts of the ancient world up to Medieval times in Europe and to the Islamic period in the Near East. He gives small space to glass in early China. This reviewer disagrees with the author on his statement that cobalt compounds were not used in glass coloring until introduced by the Venetians in the fifteenth century; recent evidence indicates that cobalt minerals for glass coloring purposes were supplied to much of the civilized world in antiquity from the cobalt deposits at Qamsar, near the town of Kashan in Persia.

At the end of the book quantitative chemical analyses of 120 specimens of ancient glass (Egyptian, Accadian, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic) gleaned from the literature are presented in tabular form. Although many of these analyses were made in the last century they are still useful. We can look forward to the time, however, when they can be greatly augmented by the modern analytical work on ancient glass that is being encouraged by Ray Winfield Smith.

It is unfortunate that for the author the center of the ancient world lies somewhere between Rome and

the Tigris River. He pays but scant attention to the early and perhaps independent technological developments of ancient China. The author appears quite uncritical of his bibliographical material; as an example he states on p. 184 that the Japanese applied amalgam to a bronze mirror. This whole group of monographs seems to be a rather hurried job of compilation.

The series is nicely printed and illustrated on glossy paper but the text unfortunately is marred by numerous misspellings and other typographical errors for which the publishers must share the blame. The subject index is only fairly adequate. Nevertheless this book as well as the others will be useful to all who are concerned with materials and "know-how" of ancient times.

R. J. GETTENS

FREER GALLERY OF ART

ZLATNOTO SURROVISHTE OT VULCHITRUN, by V. Mikov. Pp. 68, figs. 40, pls. xxi. Izdanie na Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite. Sofiiia, 1958, Lv. 18. 30.

The well-known Bulgarian archaeologist, V. Mikov, describes in this volume a treasure of gold objects found in 1924 in north Bulgaria and now in the Archaeological Museum of Sofiia. Though the treasure has been described and discussed many times, this is the first time it has been done in book form. This, it seems, is intended to be the definitive publication.

The hoard consists of thirteen objects having a total weight of 12,425 grams. Prominent among them are a vase and three small cups. The percentage of gold and other metals differ. One object has, excluding gold, 9.7% silver, 1.47% copper, and 0.4% iron. Another consists of 62.7% silver, 25% gold and 12% copper. There have been various estimates of the time when the treasure was made. For example, Parvan estimated it to be between 1200 and 1000 B.C., Andriesescu between 1500 and 1300 B.C., Reinecke in the Middle and Late Hallstatt, Vulpe in Mycenaean times, while Wilke placed it in the first period of Hallstatt Iron Age. The forms of the objects are not quite duplicated in other finds. Ornamentation does not show plants or animals but consists solely of geometric motives. Comparison with similar designs on the pottery from both sides of the Lower Danube and with gold treasures of southeast Europe such as those of Dalj, Bedrögkeresztur, Cafalva and others convinced Mikov that the objects were made toward the end of the Bronze Age or at the beginning of the Iron Age, which he places in the eighth century B.c. Photographs are beautifully reproduced and there is also an adequate summary in

VLADIMIR MARKOTIC

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ALGÉRIE PRÉHISTORIQUE, by Lionel Balout. Pp. 182, unnumbered plates of photographs 142, maps 2. Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris (for the Ministère de l'Algérie, Sous-Direction des Beaux-Arts), 1958. No price.

This handsome volume of photographs with text gives an easily grasped account of the prehistory of Algeria. It is the latest in a government-sponsored series already providing similar coverage on the middle ages and classical antiquity of Algeria. Balout deliberately presents a generous collection of visual material to complement fuller texts elsewhere. A popularization in the best sense, this book illustrates the characteristic artifacts of each period in chronological order along with a selection of associated skeletal materials and views of the sites from which these all came. An informative unlabored running commentary binds the sequence together in a single essay of six short sections. These are useful for specialist and layman alike, giving the present position briefly and adding perspective by occasional asides on past concepts and future problems.

The photographs are superb. They show the terrain setting of the major sites chosen and close-ups of sections and workshop floors with stone tools and fossil bones emerging from excavations underway, as well as views of the outstanding human skeletal material and selected fragments of representative fauna. Typical artifacts, thoughtfully culled from collections in the museums of Tebessa, Constantine, Algiers, Oran and Tlemcen and supplemented by a few characteristic specimens from northwest Africa outside of Algeria, provide both a handy typological reference and a vivid portrayal of the quality of surface textures and details of workmanship and flaking scars. On this last score a handful of color plates, including the cover, are particularly striking.

The text, closely interwoven with the pictures, treats the entire range of prehistory in Algeria in chronological sequence from the lower Palaeolithic horizons, vaguely measured in several hundreds of thousands of years, through the middle and upper Palaeolithic, lasting down to about the sixth millennium B.C., and ending with the Neolithic and protohistoric remains eventually touched by Carthage and history. Leading off with the primitive pebble-tool site of Ain Hanech at St. Arnaud near Setif, the account turns to the somewhat later water-logged encampment at Ternifine near Mascara. This yielded three remarkable jaws of the very archaic human type labelled Atlanthropus, recalling the Pithecanthropines of Java and China and associated with pebble tools, hand-axes, various coarse flake tools and quantities of mammal bones. The succeeding three sections discuss remains from the middle and later Palaeolithic cultural horizons. The widespread Aterian industry with its tanged artifacts and generally Mousterian character is a horizon which has yet to yield human skeletal remains and may perhaps have persisted relatively late compared to European and Near Eastern counterparts. Next, the vast middens

of the snail-eating Capsians have been found scattered in the interior of Constantine Province, adjoining central Tunisia and southward into Tidikelt in rockshelters or in the open, their deposits stuffed with handsome expertly made specialized blade tools and microliths. Still another techno-typological tradition of stone working, the Iberomaurusian, is in part older than, but also probably ran concurrently with, the Capsian although both traditions perhaps persisted quite late and in several instances reflect Neolithic influences. The Iberomaurusian has characteristic small and microlithic blade tools for the most part and is associated with a rugged group resembling the Cro-Magnon types of Europe. It has been noted over much of coastal northwest Africa and in Algeria where it also extends from the coast through wooded foothills onto the high plains beyond the Atlas.

A final section draws on stone, bone and ceramic material from many sites to illustrate Neolithic and protohistoric material culture. Here we see not only a special flowering in the Sahara, with its astounding regional variation in weapons and art, but also a more meager province in the northern regions. In these last the tradition seems poorer and ultimately overwhelmed by currents from the identifiable Mediterranean world exemplified by dolmenic necropoli and various pottery and metal traits, including those added by contacts with Carthage. The account ends with pictures of late protohistoric painted vessels of the first century B.C. The particular and elaborate elements of decorative design on this general class of painted ware enter the ethnological present among the Berbers of this same region. The current and protohistoric versions are notorious as recurrently debated examples of ancient, some claim possibly Cypriote, influences. In any event, they are a good case of continuity out of the

BRUCE Howe

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THE PREHISTORY OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY, by V. Gordon Childe. Pp. 185. Penguin Books, Inc., Baltimore, 1958, \$0.85.

Gordon Childe was the greatest European prehistorian since Oscar Montelius. To many he was also a Communist, but he called himself a Marxist and could indeed be severely critical of Russia.

Childe was not content merely to record archaeological data about ancient cultures. He felt that one should interpret them as an ethnologist interprets living tribes. Very few possessed his skill in this direction or his ability to tread surefootedly among limitless mountain ranges of prehistoric European fact, though his studies in the Ancient East were less successful.

These biographical comments are necessary to a discussion of Childe's last book. One feels that he knew that it would be his last, and in it he gave full rein to his ethnological and ideological interests. The better to do this, he has largely dispensed with the learned

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lumber of footnotes and references and merely refers the reader interested in such details to his previous books. His main purpose is to answer the question of how and why the ancient societies of Europe behaved in a distinctly European way as opposed to those of the Middle East, or on the other hand as opposed to the Indians of North America who progressed as far as the neolithic and no further.

He begins by discussing the favorable geographical factors in Europe, a more equable climate than any other comparable land mass, vast mineral resources including the magic amber of the north, long navigable rivers and island-studded seas to encourage early mariners. All would admit that these advantages had their effect. As for the hunters of the Palaeolithic everyone would agree that they were to a large extent creatures of their environment, but when we are told that among their neolithic successors with their sub-Near Eastern agriculture and cattle-raising even burial rites and decorations on pots expressed adaptation to local conditions, one asks oneself whether these peoples are to be allowed no initiative of their own at all.

Childe also concludes that the early Europeans would never have advanced any further than the Neolithic without renewed stimuli from the Near East, where the Urban Revolution had already taken place. The Urban Revolution was in his view the result of the discovery of metal, for metal working and metal trading required a new population of full time specialists who were not peasant farmers. The only way in which this new social caste could be maintained was by pooling the tiny surpluses (capital) of vast numbers of peasant farmers and concentrating them in the hands of a divine king or the representatives of a god.

To accept this theory may require an act of Marxian faith, but it is Childe's explanation alike of the wealth of the oriental civilizations, of the reckless extravagance of royal tombs in Egypt and Mesopotamia and of the impregnable brick citadels of the Indus as contrasted with the miserable lot of the enslaved peasantry. It should be added that Childe's views on the peasantries of these times is almost entirely based on inference, not necessarily justified. These kings appear as the predecessors of Stalin, though Childe does not say so, ruthlessly driving their lands from barbarism to industrialism and world power by enslaving the multitude and concentrating "capital" in their own hands. Childe deplores the frightful cruelties of these regimes, but says that on their Urban Revolution depended all future progress in science and technology.

As for Europe, it was the beneficiary of these progressive tyrannies. It had been necessary in order to establish a bronze industry to divide the Near Eastern nations into a tiny caste of rulers and a population of serfs. But once the machinery had been established, the peoples of Europe could adopt the progress without the tyranny. Does Childe also imply that Europe today could accept Communism without Stalinism? In the Early Aegean world substantial halls must mean kings, but kings who were not raised above their subjects like a Pharaoh or a King of Ur. Large and small houses have been found grouped closely together indicating

that people of widely differing economic status lived side by side, a sharp contrast to his eastern nations of serfs. Later on, Agamemnon was "king of men," not "king of kings" as he would have been in the Orient, and the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae reveal a prosperous middle class. Childe extends his analogies to many other early cultures of Europe, but it is not necessary to analyze his views further here.

A reader would probably have to be as Marxian as Childe to accept such an economic explanation of history. But he can be stimulated by Childe's erudition and, even though he may not accept his premises, he is impelled to do some thinking of his own.

HUGH HENCKEN

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF PREHISTORIC RESEARCH, PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT, by W. Stevenson Smith (The Pelican History of Art). Pp. xxvii + 301, figs. 171 + map, pls. 192. Penguin Books, London, 1958.

This book has been eagerly awaited and surpasses expectations. Before the reader can fully realize its underlying qualities of balance, completeness and deep understanding he will be struck by the relative lack of formal organization within a broad chronological framework. In fact, many will complain that the main body of the text is far from methodical in its arrangement. After an introductory chapter, which summarizes the general development and characteristics of Egyptian art with consummate skill, the centuries unfold without separation of the material into its categories of architecture, sculpture in the round, reliefs and paintings, and the minor arts, nor even strictly according to site. For example, in chapter 13 Hatshepsut's career is described in connection with the Tuthmosid buildings at Karnak, which are themselves discussed in the midst of the long account of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, together with its reliefs and statuary; and in chapter 14 the tomb pictures form the basis for an introductory discussion of the historical background of the period, and evoke references to many other subjects including the minor arts and some of the sculpture in the round, while architecture is not discussed until towards the end of the chapter. Particular works are not always mentioned in their chronological setting but may instead appear as throwbacks to add force to a later discussion, as with the reference to Fourth Dynasty animal-sculpture in connection with the rare examples of Fifth Dynasty royal statuary (p. 66). The purely chronological order of the chapters is interrupted by chapter 11, which is an invaluable account of the foreign relations of the Middle Kingdom as a whole based chiefly on an examination of the minor arts, and by chapter 15, which is an equally enthralling description of domestic architecture in the New Kingdom.

The reviewer would emphatically deny that the

organization of the book is at fault. This is an excellent way to treat a subject that is fundamentally indivisible. The basic unity of the ancient life, so far as it is in the power of knowledge and understanding to reconstruct it from the material remains, is never lost, and the artistic achievements, strange as their forms of expression are to most modern eyes, are more easily comprehended in this informal atmosphere, which allows a greater range of association. Only with the aid of a book such as this, which creates the impression of an actual journey through time and space, can the daily-life material from the tombs correct for the average person the distorted picture produced by the overwhelming mass of evidence from burials and the almost complete absence of evidence from living sites (p. 2). There is a single instance where the author himself, in formulating the general characteristics in his introduction, might have created a false impression had not the book as a whole belied it: in the course of a brief comparison with Minoan art he speaks of the "avoidance of movement" in Egyptian representations (p. 4), but this statement cannot be misinterpreted after the wonderful revelation in subsequent chapters of the Egyptian's skill in the communication of typical actions, and of the lively effect produced by the scenes of daily life.

The text is of course inseparable from the illustrations. The 308 photographs reproduced on the plates are mostly of fine quality, and many are published here for the first time. They are beautifully supplemented by the line drawings of reliefs and paintings in the text, which also contains excellent architectural plans and reconstructions. A map of the Nile Valley from the Mediterranean to the Sixth Cataract is included. Scales for a few of the building plans and for the map are lacking. In the list of plates much would have been gained, at low cost in space, by greater consistency in the recording of measurements and materials for the sculpture in the round. Of greater concern is the inadequacy of the index. This is particularly unfortunate since the informal arrangement of the text lessens the book's handiness for quick reference, a minor fault that would have been remedied by a good index.

With its complete objectivity the book should dispel once and for all any misconceptions still lingering on in the minds of a few classicists of the old school. The earliest flowering of Egyptian civilization from the 1st to the 5th Dynasty, and not the later periods, should be compared for inventive genius with the classical and Hellenistic ages of Greece. Moreover, in the far more plentifully preserved later periods and even during the 1st millennium the art constantly exhibited "significant changes which appear against the long continuity of Egyptian civilization" (p. 5). Those who are more familiar with the subject will find a wealth of new material, as well as illuminating treatment of the old, on almost every page. See, for example, the account of the royal reliefs of the 4th Dynasty summarizing the recent discoveries at Dahshur and Giza (chapter 5); the evaluation of the Weserkaf reliefs, with the author's excellent drawings of unpublished pieces (pp. 68-71, figs. 31-32); the account of the unpublished and

scarcely known early 18th-Dynasty palaces at Deir el-Ballas (pp. 156-59); the re-examination of the coregency between Amenophis IV and his father (pp. 184-85); and the presentation of the Gebel Barkal monuments of the Kushite kings (pp. 238-39, pls. 172-

This book will inevitably be compared with Walter Wolf's comprehensive and beautifully illustrated Die Kunst Aegyptens (Stuttgart 1957), which appeared in print only a few months earlier, too late to be included in the short bibliography. The two books differ radically in their general approach to the material. In Wolf's the latter is formally classified under the headings of architecture, sculpture in the round, and paintings and reliefs (there is no applied art). The treatment is theoretical, with the emphasis on form analysis in terms of space-time concepts, basic attitudes to reality, and other abstractions. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that he dwells on the "static" aspects of Egyptian art, and that he stresses religious motivation. On the other hand Smith, duly noting the religious basis of the tomb art, leaves the reader to speculate on how closely this art may have been connected with a co-existent secular art, and whether it may have been dependent on more complex motivation, not entirely religious in character. He seldom does more than to suggest such abstractions, which remain subordinate at all times to the interpretation of concrete works, as in the mention of two possible nonfunerary sources for the scenes from daily life (p. 46). It is to be hoped that he will sometime publish an important contribution towards a solution of the more abstract problems, perhaps in defence of Schaefer. No one could be better equipped to deal with such problems, but we must be grateful to him for refraining from doing so in the present book.

WINIFRED NEEDLER

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO

CEILING STELAE IN SECOND DYNASTY TOMBS, From the Excavations at Helwan, by Zaky Y. Saad. (Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cahier No. 21). Pp. xvi + 84, figs. 39, pls. 39, plans 21. Le Caire, 1957.

In this publication of ceiling stelae Dr. Zaky Saad presents one of the most important discoveries made in the course of his excavations at Helwan during the years between 1941 and 1947. Although this type of stela and its subject matter has long been known to Egyptologists, the new and surprising factor is its unusual location in these Second Dynasty tombs.

The rectangular stone slab bearing a relief sculpture of the deceased seated at a table of offerings is a standard element in the chapels of Old Kingdom tombs from the Fourth Dynasty on, when it appears as a panel above the false door through which the dead Egyptian magically emerged into the living world. Archaeological evidence has always seemed to indicate

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that the panel originated as a part of the false door and therefore most scholars have interpreted its purpose to be that of a window over the door showing a view of the subterranean tomb chamber where the owner is partaking of the funerary offerings that were left for him in the chapel. Thus its subject matter was considered important as the prototype of the later more elaborate wall scenes showing the deceased banqueting with his family or being "glorified" by priests performing the funerary ritual. During the excavations at Helwan, Dr. Zaky Saad uncovered these panels in a place so far removed from their usual context that their discovery dealt a blow to the neatness of established interpretation. Not only was the parent false door absent, but the panel was found at the bottom of a shaft cut through the earth, installed in the ceiling of the tomb chamber, facing downwards solely for the benefit of the deceased himself.

The twenty-five stelae are presented in an identical format. The excavation number of the tomb, the stela, the scene on the stela, the hieroglyphs, the workmanship and the date follow each other in that order. A line drawing has been included which shows the deceased and the offering table as they are represented on each stela. In the remaining sections of the book twenty-five additional tombs are described which contained emplacements for stelae now missing, the objects found with the stelae are listed and five new hieroglyphic signs are reproduced in line drawing. The indices give proper names, titles and occupations, names of offerings and a concordance of tomb and stelae numbers. There are photographic plates for the stelae and for some of the objects, as well as plans of the tombs without stelae.

All in all Dr. Zaky Saad has presented facts from his finds in an organized fashion that makes for easy reference. The occasional typographical errors and awkwardness of English are faults of the editor and not of the author. The strength of the volume lies in the amount of material it offers for study. The fact that the author, having reference to his complete excavation records, has neither summarized nor assessed this material is a disappointment. However, the industrious reader remains indebted to Dr. Zaky Saad and his generous dedication of this volume to his colleagues.

Mr. Étienne Drioton, who wrote the introduction to the book, briefly discusses the possible purpose of the stelae and suggests that they could have been installed for the deceased as markers to indicate the passage out of the tomb chamber to the place above where real offerings were deposited. Since in every case the stela is located at the subterranean end of an apparently unused shaft, this reasoning seems quite valid. However, when these ceiling panels are considered solely on their face value, several additional points come to light which can apply to the false door panels as well, and thus help to establish an identical purpose for both groups.

Stelae of this type present the first known depictions of the offering table scene as part of the tomb. At all later periods such offerings magically provided the deceased with after-life necessities, so it seems logical

that they would serve the same purpose in their early representations. Whether the stela was located over the false door or in the underground tomb chamber, its subject matter would still fulfill the independently important role of supplying sustenance for the "spirit" of the dead. In fact, during these earlier dynasties the panel stela with its offering scene was the sole illustration that acted as a magical insurance against neglect and privation; an insurance which was deemed so necessary in the later periods of the Old Kingdom that this same offering table scene was duplicated many times on the walls of a single mastaba tomb.

There are two other factors that fall into line when the stelae are considered as the magic source of offerings. First the presence of the deceased's name on the panel is not merely to identify him as owner of the tomb but, much more important to ancient Egyptian belief, to identify, and thus immortalize, the "spirit" that is to "live" by means of its contents. Second the representation of cloth and other accessories as staple articles in shelf-like rows or enclosed in compartmented frames indicates their use as reserve supplies. At a later period their location in this scene is taken over by a tabulated list of offerings used in the recitation of the ritual, and these commodities are moved out into the arms of offering bearers. This change, however, shows a difference in funerary procedure and does not cancel the fact that they appear in these cases as after-life necessities.

It has not been possible as yet to establish a chronology of the individual stelae from the Helwan excavation. Internal details such as chair styles and the number of slices of bread on the altar, which were former yardsticks, are inconsistent here and cannot be depended upon. The very plausible new theory of Mr. Drioton that the numbers of offerings progress from zero through tens and hundreds into a final one thousand should be given serious study. Since the hieroglyphic number one thousand is eventually adopted into the offering formulae as an abstract term for numerical infinity, it would logically seem that it should be the last to develop on the stelae. However, the intervening numbers must be studied in comparison with the contents of the stelae as a group. Any conclusions as to chronology are therefore limited by a lack of background information.

The degree to which an individual or his locale were "au courant" with the changing patterns of style and usage in ancient Egypt depended upon their relation to the king and the royal court. Eleven of the twenty-five owners of the stelae in this publication are titled, three royally, suggesting that this was a relatively important cemetery, and although Helwan is removed from the environs of the royal court, its proximity to Heliopolis, the most important religious center of the Old Kingdom, would explain funerary ideas more advanced than we should expect from a provincial site. The existence of the stelae in quantity shows an accepted usage, but their value for comparison is limited because they were all found at a single site. However, in spite of the paucity of the above

mentioned facts, some conclusions concerning the stelae are still possible.

The consistency of the way in which the body is represented, the action involved, the presence of the table and offerings, are a measure of their stage in the development of the class of objects as a whole. The helter-skelter depiction of offerings which are shown later in the rigid format of the tabulated list and the presence of reserve supplies of staple commodities instead of the tabulated list to guide the recitation of formulae, show that any "glorification of the Spirit" remained at the spoken rather than the recorded stage.

The simultaneous development of chapel, false door and stelae at about this time would point, in turn, to the growth of an organized religion. When from the moment of their combining each of these elements follows a steady progression of elaboration and evolution until the collapse of the Old Kingdom, one feels reasonably safe in asserting that the ceiling stelae, as well as the false door panel stelae, indicate stages in the development of religious ideas and even in that of the liturgy and the priesthood itself. They are both, therefore, most important when considered as independent monuments and not as secondary elements of the false door.

VIRGINIA BURTON

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Ausgrabungen von Büyük Güllücek ausgeführt durch die Türkische Historische Gesellschaft. Vorbericht über die Arbeiten von 1947 und 1949, by *Dr. Hamit Koşay* and *Mahmut Akok* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan, V Seri, no. 16). Pp. 49, pls. 35. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, Ankara, 1957.

The small village site of Büyük Güllücek in the Central Anatolian plateau was investigated in two campaigns by the Turkish Historical Society, and Dr. Koşay and Mr. Akok here report on the finds in Turkish and in German. Although the upper levels of the site have yielded house walls and a little pottery of Phrygian date, the major finds belong to the Chalcolithic age. There are two Chalcolithic levels, the lower founded on hardpan; both show the stone foundations and mudbrick superstructures of rectangular rooms, some containing plastered hearths and ovens. The finds, as usual in prehistoric sites, are chiefly pottery and, as the authors point out, its major interest is the striking parallelism to the Late Neolithic of northern Greece and contiguous regions.

The bulk of the pottery is dark—gray, black, red, or a combination of these—and usually coarse. There is a small group of dark burnished sherds with designs in light paint, incision, or punctation; and it is this decorated group which provides most of the points of contact with the European fabrics. The simple linear painting with parallel lines in chevrons, zigzags, and hatched triangles: parallel-line incision in similar patterns; punctate fill within incised motifs and blocks

or bands of punctation; gouging or impression of small ovals; rope molding and raised ridges; wishbone or horned handles; band handles with thickened attachments; carinate bowl forms, sometimes with lug or loop handle at the carination point; bowls on high hollow feet ("fruitstands")—all these features are found in the Late Neolithic of Macedonia and Thessaly. The bulky clay "idols" with little approximation to human features are in general similar to those of northern Greece; and the two areas share also pointed bone awls, often with the epiphysis left unworked, flint and obsidian flakes, polished celts, bored stone ax- or hammer-heads, and flat copper axes. Güllücek then is another link in the chain of evidence connecting the Anatolian Chalcolithic with the latter part of the Greek Neolithic.

The Güllücek material is related to the Chalcolithic of Alishar, also within the plateau of the Halys River, and similar pottery (largely unpublished) is said to have been found at Dundartepe on the Black Sea coast near Samsun, and at Fikirtepe on the Bosphorus. Troy I has similar fabric, high pointed handles similar to some of the Güllücek horned handles, tall hollow feet, linear incision, incised motifs filled with punctation, a little white painted design in multiple-line chevrons. bone awls, and the bored hammer-head. Tigani in Samos shows dark pottery with incised, punctationfilled motifs, wishbone handles, plastic decoration, high hollow base, multiple-line chevron incision; and Late Neolithic Crete has most of the same features. This distribution of sites with related material indicates that communication went from the Halys plateau to the Black Sea coast and thence westward, moving across the Bosphorus to Macedonia and Northern Greece, and also via the west coast of Anatolia by sea to the Cyclades and Crete. Such material is conspicuously lacking in central and southern Anatolia, including the region of Hacilar, which has recently yielded a painted pottery style related to the Thessalian Neolithic. It becomes increasingly evident that there was considerable communication between Anatolia and southeastern Europe in prehistoric times, contact stemming from more than one source. The careful surveys of Anatolia which are being made by both Turkish and foreign scholars, especially the British School in Ankara, will provide increasingly more detailed and accurate material to assist in working out the mechanisms of communication.

ANN PERKINS

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Excavations at Nuzi, VII. Economic and Social Documents, by *E. R. Lacheman*. Harvard Semitic Series XVI. Pp. xii + 139, pls. 11. Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

The latest volume of texts from ancient Nuzi, near present-day Kirkuk is the fifth from the hand of Dr. Lacheman, who undertook the vast task of publication of these important archives after the death of Edward Chiera twenty-five years ago. In all, close to 3000

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tablets from the site have now been published in autographed copies or in transliteration, the majority of them by Dr. Lacheman. With the exception of 200odd Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian texts from the site published by Meek, these records reflect a homogeneous milieu of a kind that is unique in cuneiform studies. No other site in ancient Mesopotamia has vielded so much direct and varied information about the local social institutions, laws, economy, administration, material culture, and even religious institutions, as have the archives of Nuzi. It is probably safe to say that we can reconstruct, on the basis of these records, a more vivid and three-dimensional picture of daily life at Hurrian Nuzi ca. 1500 B.C. than we can for any ancient city in the Near East.

In the preface to the present volume, Dr. Lacheman offers a brief survey of the different archives uncovered in the course of excavation, together with their respective loci in the various areas of excavation. Of the 466 texts which are published in the volume about half concern the disbursement of quantities of grain, usually barley, to various individuals for rations and other purposes. Another group of texts, comprising around eighty-five tablets, deals with the disposition of small cattle, mainly sheep, which are assigned to or collected from different individuals. Another group of texts of about the same number is devoted to lists of personal names of men and women compiled for various purposes, e.g. as receivers of rations (or as not having received them), work details of different kinds in the localities around Nuzi, etc. The purpose of yet other such rosters is not explicitly stated. Many of these individuals, both male and female, are clearly in the status of state slaves. A group of miscellaneous texts deal with assignments and notations of cattle, fodder (usually for horses), oil, wool, and other materials.

With the exception of Nos. 458 and 459, for which autographs are provided, the material is presented in transliteration only, in accordance with the plan for the publication of the economic and administrative material from Nuzi followed since the appearance of Volume IV of the Harvard Nuzi texts. Very little, if anything, has been lost by the adoption of this method of publication, while much has been gained. The relative insignificance of the individual tablet of this type did not warrant the expenditure of the time and effort necessary for hand-copying; the "cumulative evidence," which is the main contribution of such material, is gained just as effectively from transliterations. The benefit of the plan is to be seen in the fact that, with the exception of a few insignificant fragments, all the Nuzi material at Harvard now stands published. According to Lacheman, there remain only about 350 unpublished Nuzi texts at the Oriental Institute in Chicago, whose publication we may safely expect in the not too distant future. Such a publication record for a single site sets an example which those concerned with the editing of texts from other sites would do well to emulate.

J. J. FINKELSTEIN

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DIE HETHITISCHEN GRABFUNDE VON OSMANKAYASI (Boğazköy-Hattuša, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts und der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft II; 71. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft), by Kurt Bittel, Wolf Herre, Heinrich Otten, Manfred Röhrs, Johann Schaeuble. Pp. 86, figs. 26, pls. 36. Berlin, Gebr. Mann,

This new installment of the Boğazköy excavation reports is a model of its kind. It deals with a small but important cemetery which contained a mixed group of cremations and inhumations belonging to the Middle and Late Bronze Age. The excavation lasted some six weeks and was performed by a maximum of five workmen under the closest supervision. The book presents the material and a careful analysis by experts of various branches of scholarship: archaeology, topography, zoology, anthropology and philology. Each branch has its own direct connection with the outcome of this rewarding excavation.

The existence of cremations in the area of the Hittite capital had been known for some time, but a preliminary excavation by H. Winckler in 1912 had been improperly recorded. The ceramic material from this early digging was published in WVDOG 60, pls. 20-23, 25, 26:1. The site of the cremation cemetery was rediscovered in 1936. It lies across the gorge north of the city and north of Büyükkaya, not far to the west of the rock-cut sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. The tombs discovered by Winckler were laid in a depression on top of a small rock formation, the fill in which was artificially safeguarded by retaining walls. The new graves, accidentally exposed in 1952, had been deposited in the shelter of a natural overhanging rock formation (nicknamed Osmankayası) without architectural reinforcements. The number of cremation and inhumation burials had been large, but frequent collapse and crumbling of stones as well as prolonged tomb-diggers' activities had turned the site into a jumble of unevenly preserved funeral deposits. Some 54 cremations were reasonably intact and 36 inhumations could at least be counted by skull fragments.

The burials are mixed in locations and periods. Stratification allows a rough distinction in three phases, with pottery types suggesting a chronological range from about the 18th into the 14th century B.C. (ceramic parallels begin in the period of Karum level Ib, Kültepe). The pots are mostly used as containers for ashes: amphorae, bowls, pitchers broken in antiquity; others, fewer, were apparently left as tomb-gifts: flasks or smaller jars of tricky shapes (figs. 5, 5-6; 7, 13) and many broken pieces of miscellaneous vessels. Few other tomb-gifts of the usual kind occurred; a few shells, some bronze wire and one stamp seal form the

meager harvest.

This frugal equipment is in line with average Anatolian burial practices. The unusual paraphernalia in this cemetery are the animal offerings. Horses (two

skulls and other fragments) and donkeys (eleven skulls, miscellaneous fragments) were deposited with the cremated or buried human remains. These unburnt funeral gifts undoubtedly are of sacrificial and ritual importance. Archaeologically they lead to the tracing of Asiatic and Greek parallels (Caucasian, Scythian, Phrygian, e.g. tumulus KY at Gordion, AJA 60 [1956] pl. 96, p. 266, and Mycenaean, cf. recent discoveries of a horse skeleton in a L.H. tomb at Argos, BCH 80 [1956] 365, and of two horse skeletons antithetically arranged in the dromos of the tholos at Marathon, Kathimerini August 30, 1958); philologically they can be associated with references in Hittite texts describing funeral rituals. H. Otten in an appendix gives a preview of his more elaborate study of Hethitische Totenrituale (Berlin 1958). The emphasis is mostly on the ritual of cremation, which is clearly attested in Hittite royal funerals, but the symbolic implications of the horse and (as a cheaper substitute?) donkey offerings will also have to be elucidated by the texts from the Hittite archives. Other animal bones identified attest the presence of dogs (not unusual as companions in cemeteries), pigs, sheep and cows, the latter undoubtedly remnants of food offerings.

The various categories of material are carefully evaluated in their bearing upon comparative studies. K. Bittel contributed the archaeological chapters. His analysis of the ceramic material and its place in the evolution of Anatolian pottery is convincing. It furnishes more evidence for a reappraisal of the Beycesultan material (cf. the Middle Bronze Age parallels in pottery and seals AnatSt 6 [1956] pl. xiic with the present volume pp. 26, 28 and pl. xxII, 5). The references to central Anatolia are beyond dispute and those to Tarsus seem even more definite to the reviewer than as presented by the author. (P. 28 note 27 a, the amphorae H. Goldman, Tarsus II, Nos. 887, 888, 1044, 1045 seem of good Anatolian shape and of the proper chronological subdivision, Middle Bronze rather than Late Bronze in type. The presence of M.B. Schnabelkannen and a good red polished jar of central Anatolian type in Tarsus II, No. 1051, fig. 309, cf. Bittel pl. xvIII, 1-2, pp. 27f and note 24, confirms that close parallels exist between the territories on either side of the Taurus.)

Bittel's analysis of the ocurrence of cremations in Anatolia and the ancient world is the most up-to-date statement in this recently expanding field of archaeological knowledge. At present the Osmankayası cemetery is the earliest of its kind, with Karahüyük near Konya a close follower and Troy VI another, although later, well documented case of Anatolian Bronze Age cremation practices. It is pointed out that the graves found at Osmankayası are by no means of aristocratic or exceptional nature, since the tomb gifts are modest. The royal cremation burials of the Hittites are still to be discovered; their wealth is perhaps vaguely reflected in the "gold grave" at Carchemish (Carchemish III, pls. 63-64).

The anthropological chapter by J. Schaeuble gives an extremely informative and (even for the archaeologists) readable account of the skeletal material.

What strikes one as in need of explanation is the high percentage of double (adult and child) cremation burials. Five out of seven preserved urns contained the remnants of an adult cremated simultaneously with a child of ages 2-6 and over (36f). One hopes this does not call for a ritual explanation. Anthropological observations find close relatives for some of the Hittite men from Boğazköy among the people of Tepe Hissar III (coarse skulls pp. 55 and 57) whose archaeological affinities to Anatolia also look convincing.

The animal bones are discussed by W. Herre and M. Röhrs. They preface their technical analysis with a survey of the occurrence of horses and donkeys in Western Asia (pp. 60-62) and conclude with a good bibliography, making their contribution useful to the general archaeological reader.

With the publication of this clear, handsome and well-considered monograph Boğazköy maintains its proud place as a key site in Aegaean and Western Asiatic studies.

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Soundings at Tell Farhariyah, by Calvin W. McEwant, Linda S. Braidwood, Henri Frankfort, Hans H. Güterbock, Richard C. Haines, Helene J. Kantor, Carl H. Kraeling. (The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 79). Pp. xiv + 103, pls. 87. The University of Chicago Press, 1958. \$35.00.

An imposing array of scholars have united to pay a debt of piety to the late C. W. McEwan, whose untimely death in 1950 forestalled the publication of his campaign at Tell Fakhariyah, which took place in 1940. That the important results obtained by McEwan have thus been rescued is greatly to the credit of the editor and Director of the Oriental Institute, Carl H. Kraeling, and the architect R. C. Haines, who prepared for publication the highly competent but necessarily incomplete topographic and architectural data assembled in the field by the late Harold D. Hill. In 1955 and 1956 additional soundings were undertaken at Tell Fakhariyah by a German expedition. Their reports, which Donald P. Hansen kindly brought to my attention, must be consulted together with the volume under review. Cf. A. Moortgat, AOF 17(1956) 429-31; 18 (1957) 180-83; id., Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien (= Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abh. 62) (Cologne 1956).

Located in a well-watered plain at the western headwaters of the Khabur River, the large mound of Tell Fakhariyah had been proposed by D. Opitz as a candidate for the site of Waššukani, capital of the Kingdom of Mitanni. This identification had been accepted by many scholars (W. F. Albright, *The Aegean and the Near East* (1956) 152, n. 26). However, A. Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957) 66, n. 139, proposes region of Mardin. The twelve cuneiform tablets found

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by McEwan and presented with his usual competence by H. G. Güterbock neither confirm nor decisively refute this hypothesis. All are Assyrian and all names are Assyrian. The earliest tablet dates from the reign of Shalmaneser I (1272-1243 B.C.), another from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206). Güterbock suggests that Fakhariyah may have been located within the Kingdom of Hanigalbat, first conquered by Adadnirari I (1304-1273 B.C.). (Cf. also the Middle Assyrian seals and impressions discussed by H. J. Kantor, 68ff.) He points out that a place "Dunnu" (stronghold) mentioned in one of the tablets may, from the context, be Fakhariyah. "This possibility has to be kept in mind in any discussion of the old hypothesis that Fakhariyah is the site of Washukani," (88) Moortgat (op.cit., cf.) has found no new evidence. He accepts, however, the identification of Tell Fakhariyah with "Sikani at the headwaters of the Khabur" mentioned by Adad-nirari.

McEwan "did not expose any homogeneous Mitannian level in any of his soundings" (H. J. Kantor, 23). The lowest level reached was "Floor 6" in Sounding IX, interpreted as an area leveled preparatory to the construction of an Iron Age Palace. Moortgat's results in this and another area indicate that a continuum with Mitannian and Khabur wares lies about two meters deeper. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that McEwan's material included only a few

Mitannian ("Nuzu") ware sherds.
In Sounding VI, McEwan had exposed a Middle Assyrian building (18ff, pl. 6A). It is arranged in form of an L adjacent to a courtyard, and is probably a private house, as private business documents were found there. They supply dates in the thirteenth cen-

Seals and sealings as much as the tablets indicate a remarkably close connection with Assur. However, two of the most popular sealings (XLIII, XLIV) are of Mitannian inspiration. H. J. Kantor argues that a "depleted" style derived from Mitanni glyptic was still in vogue during the thirteenth century, living on in

Syria and Palestine.

Some such phenomenon of stylistic survival from the Mitanni era is in my judgment responsible for the peculiar motifs (sun-disk, bearded, heavily-draped genii touching a plant, eagle-headed running demons) and heavy linear style of the very fragmentary but very fascinating ivories found on "Floor 6" of Sounding IX, mentioned above. H. J. Kantor defines them as provincial products of the "Canaanite" school-"Canaanite" understood to mean the art of the Syro-Palestinian area in the Late Bronze Age. But surely the closest parallel for style and motif of the peculiar "Hathor" heads is in the "Mitannian" wall paintings of Nuzu, which she duly cites. The stylistic lineage runs from wall paintings of Mari through Nuzu to the "Late Hittite" reliefs and Urartian ivories. (H. Frankfort, AAO 144, pl. 69. Cf. R. D. Barnett, The Nimrud Ivories [1957] 41, n. 13.)

Kantor's dating of the ivories to the thirteenth century is not implausible and has been accepted-with hesitation-by Moortgat. It may be worth while to recall that if "Floor 6" was the result of levelling, the ivories might be either earlier-if, for instance, they had lain on collapsed debris of a second floor; or later, as their terminus ante is the Iron Age palace above,

itself of very uncertain date.

On the strength of possible resemblance to the "Upper Palace" at Sencirli (entrance with one column), C. Kraeling apparently envisages for the Iron Age palace a date in the ninth or eighth century, though the sequence-forecourt, long hall, central court-is more like that in the Bronze Age Palace of Niqmepa at Alalakh (Frankfort, AAO fig. 67). Moortgat, who did not dig in this sector, suggests that an (intermediate?) Assyrian level before 1000 B.C. intervenes between the Late and Middle Assyrian

The interesting samples of Khabur Iron Age pottery are thoroughly treated by H. J. Kantor, who would distinguish for the Khabur and the Amuq an Aramaic phase of ca. 900-800 B.c. and an Assyrian of ca. 800-600 B.C. Red-burnished wares, wares with decoration of "Cypriote" type (I doubt whether more than one piece is genuine Cypriote), Assyrian and Assyrianizing wares occur. A ware with Near Eastern shapes decorated with horizontal red or brown bands is tentatively located in the Khabur region. This "Red-Banded" ware (see my forthcoming discussion in Tarsus III) is very widely spread and perhaps more likely to have originated in an area more exposed to Aegean influences whence the decoration is derived. Another notable Iron Age object is a jewelry mold paralleled at Sencirli and Byblos.

Specialists should not overlook the publication of Hellenistic (black-glazed and painted), Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic pottery. This brings us to the discovery at Tell Fakhariyah of two well-developed systems of fortifications, one of mud brick, the other of stone. C. Kraeling and R. C. Haines in an admirably methodical discussion would assign the defenses of stone to the Roman colony of Resaina, those of mud brick to the Parthian era. Moortgat's recent findings may not agree too well with these suggestions, but Kraeling's discussion remains an important contribution to military history and architecture of Rome's

eastern frontier.

Two sections take us back to the problematic beginnings of Tell Fakhariyah. Linda S. Braidwood argues that the numerous flint and obsidian objects were carried upward from levels as early as the Halafian period, perhaps when an early settlement was quarried for mud-brick. The late H. Frankfort concedes defeat in face of the strange couple of redpainted stone figurines, one male, one female—they do not resemble anything known so far. They are not, I think, ancient "hillbilly art," but quite early. Red paint is common on Neolithic figurines. It is a "Prehistoric" trait. Bitumen is used to fasten eyes and other details in a way which suggests an early stage of the technique well known from Early Dynastic statues. Finally, the practice of placing male-female couples in shrines recalls the couples of copper figurines found at Tell al-Judaidah and assigned to the first half of the third millennium (Frankfort, AAO 134, pl. 135).

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EXTINCT LANGUAGES, by *Johannes Friedrich*. Pp. 182. Philosophical Library, New York, 1957.

The present work is a translation of the German Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen (Berlin 1954), a volume of the series Verständliche Wissenschaft. The title of the German work is more appropriate than that of the English since the book deals far more with the history and methods of decipherment of scripts than with the analysis of extinct languages themselves. One must welcome under any name, however, a popularization by such a distinguished orientalist as Friedrich, who is recognized as a scholar of the first rank for his work in Hittite and

Semitic linguistics.

Chapter I is devoted to the three great decipherments of modern scholarship, namely, Egyptian hieroglyphic and derived scripts, cuneiform in its principal uses, and Hittite hieroglyphic. Each section contains a description of the script, the contributions of the scholars who deciphered it, and the methods they employed. Short specimens of the scripts and languages involved are given. In treating the development of Egyptian writing the author often makes statements which are a little puzzling or misleading in view of the facts. To say that "the Egyptian apparently attached little importance to vowels" (p. 10), for example, obscures the real problem, which is one concerning the relationship of writing systems to the language they are representing. The statement lacks precision. Egyptian writing seems based more on the criterion of invariant elements of the language rather than on some undefined concept of "importance." It is, moreover, quite incorrect to say that the ancient Egyptians never thought of dissecting their words into syllables, let alone letters (p. 15). The syllabic orthography so commonly employed in the New Kingdom for native as well as foreign words shows a deliberate and conscious effort at syllabification; a sense of individual letters, or better, consonant sounds, is clearly evident from the late enigmatic writings as well as from the "alphabetical" arrangement of signs in the fragments of a hieroglyphic dictionary recently published by E. Iversen (1958). This latter work (Papyrus Carlsberg No. VII), dating from around the beginning of the Christian Era, is also of great importance for understanding the origins and continuity of the tradition concerning Egyptian hieroglyphics and reaffirms the authenticity (partial, to be sure) of the first section of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica, a fact already seen by Champollion and recently restated by the detailed study of Van de Walle and Vergote.

The second chapter contains a wealth of material on a wide variety of scripts which have yielded completely, partially, or not at all to the efforts of the

modern decipherer and linguist. The most surprising classification, at least to this reviewer, is that of Proto-Byblian among the deciphered scripts, while Proto-Sinaitic is placed among the undeciphered. Dhorme's attempted decipherment of the Proto-Byblian script has certainly not been universally accepted for a variety of reasons which we have no space for in the present review. Friedrich's rejection of the results of Gardiner, Sayce, Cowley, and Albright in deciphering the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (he mentions, by the way, only the relatively unsuccessful attempts of Grimme) appears to stem from his complete distrust of typological comparisons. When coupled with sound linguistic method and the various combinatory techniques available to the decipherer, actual form comparisons can be a much more effective tool than the author acknowledges in his brief discussion on method (pp. 151-58).

A short appendix on the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris closes the work, which, with the exception of certain minor matters such as those pointed out above, will prove a welcome source of re-

liable information.

THOMAS O. LAMBDIN

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LA IONIA NEL MONDO MICENEO, by Filippo Cassola. Pp. 373. Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli, 1957.

The title of this book makes one wonder how it could have grown to the size of 373 pages. Our knowledge regarding Ionia in the Mycenaean world can be amply expounded in a pamphlet; but Cassola takes his assignment in a much wider sense. His chronological limits are not set by the Mycenaean period. The Ionian problem is considered with all its ramifications in the Dark Ages and Iron Age. The geographical limits are also liberalized, and the history of Mycenaean expansion to the Aegaean islands, to non-Ionian Asia Minor, to Cyprus and Ugarit is included in the discussions. Within this expanded framework, the book is not primarily concerned with archaeological problems but endeavors to examine historical, political, social, religious, mythological and linguistic evidence as well. It is written with a great deal of learning, enthusiasm and bibliography.

The main thesis of the book is that the Mycenaean period was characterized by the existence of a cultural koine, that this koine was also represented in Ionia and that differentiation and development of typical Ionian cultural features and institutions did not take place until well after the end of the Bronze Age. The evaluation of the historical argument has to be left to other reviewers. Here a few comments may be offered regarding the archaeological evidence as handled by

Cassola.

As far as the Ionian part of Asia Minor is concerned, the chief problem for the evaluation of the *koine* is the size and extent of Mycenaean expansion on the continent. The critical position of many scholars (e.g.

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Hanfmann) is duly quoted, but Cassola is filled with a disarming optimism about the probability of further Mycenaean sites to be discovered on Anatolian soil (e.g. p. 14: "basta cercare il miceneo per trovarlo," cf. pp. 341, 345). One should agree with a moderate dose of optimism regarding coastal sites in the vicinity of Miletus, which is such a strong representative of L.H. settlement in Ionia. But Miletus has a variety of archaeological documents to prove Mycenaean habitation: houses, a fortification system, tombs, pottery. Mycenaean pottery alone would not suffice to prove Achaeans in residence, except where it is obviously manufactured locally in vast quantities. Apart from Miletus and Kolophon not a single site in Ionian Asia Minor has produced more than an incidental Mycenaean ceramic find, which proves nothing about cultural homogeneity in Ionia. Even within the wider geographical range of the koine as seen by Cassola one should at least distinguish three kinds of Mycenaean ceramic expansion: 1. authentic colonization (Miletus); 2. frequent commercial visits by Achaeans to coastal sites (much L.H. pottery in exotic context, e.g. at Ugarit, which has no proved Mycenaean residential district, and certainly is not dominated by a Mycenaean element, cf. pp. 13, 312, 321); 3. a trickle of Mycenaean objects to the interior by secondary trade, not necessarily carried by Greeks (e.g. the Mycenaean stirrup-vase from Fraktin, overrated on p. 14, a threehandled jar from Çerkez north of Magnesia on the Sipylos, a few sherds from Beycesultan). This pottery evidence, diverse as it is, cannot support arguments in favor of undifferentiated cultural expansion, nor even prove close economic and political ties.

The confident optimism in Cassola's case is partly based on texts, in this case the various Ahhiyava texts which prove intensive dynastic, military and political contact between Achaeans, West Anatolian potentates and Hittite kings. The weight of the literary evidence is impressive, but it should not induce one to believe that Achaean military intrigue in the west of Anatolia would have left its ceramic residue. The local traditions in the humble craft of pottery-making were very tenacious in Asia Minor, and a city may have been temporarily occupied by a triumphant Achaean army without for a moment changing its archaeological (including ceramic) character.

The reviewer has other qualms about some of Cassola's interpretations. His handling of the archaeological evidence from Beycesultan (pp. 339f) is not in agreement with a critical chronological analysis of that site, whereas the architectural resemblances between Beycesultan and Crete or Mycenae are debatable. The reference to Hittite pottery in Lycia (p. 316 note 36) is cryptic. "Terracotta friezes in Mesopotamian temples" (p. 152) need elaborate qualification (Assyrian fayence slabs?) before being introduced into the discussion of archaic architectural revetments in Asia Minor. Attarissiyas" invasion in Cilicia (p. 332) is a geographical hypothesis not in agreement with the latest research in Hittite nomenclature.

The book is lively in presentation and never pompous. It will offer good general reading and bibliograph-

ical briefing for the period and problems involved, but needs critical confrontation with literature by specialists in the multiple aspects of its topic.

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

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MYCENEAN POTTERY IN ITALY AND ADJACENT AREAS, by Lord William Taylour. Pp. xx + 204, pls. 17, figs. 27, maps 2. Cambridge University Press, 1958. \$9.50.

In his now classic article "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Commerce with the West, 800-600 B.C. (BSA 33 [1932-33] 170ff), Alan Blakeway developed the theory that trade precedes and invites colonization.1 In the present monograph Lord William Taylour has collected the evidence for a much earlier phase of Greek commercial expansion, that of the Mycenaean period. The recent decipherment of the Linear B script has proved that the Mycenaeans were Greeks. Ought we therefore to view these two phases of Greek commerce with the West as completely separate phenomena? The combined evidence collected by Taylour and Blakeway shows that this trade began during the 17th C. B.C., quickened during the period of greatest Mycenaean commercial expansion (14th and 13th C.), slackened in the troubled centuries following the raids of the Sea Peoples, but was being slowly resumed in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, increasing in momentum immediately preceding the foundation of the historic Greek colonies of the late 8th and 7th C. To the reviewer these are the full implications of T.'s monograph, although the author only hints at such a continuity.

T. is primarily interested in the Bronze Age per se and the whole range of Mycenaean influence in the Western Mediterranean (see J. G. D. Clark, Prehistoric Europe [1952] 261-69). He has wisely confined himself to a study of tangible archaeological evidence, essentially the distribution of Mycenaean pottery, so

¹ There has been criticism of Blakeway's article (especially R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece, 800-600 B.C.," JHS 66 [1946] 67-98). Doubtless some of his dates must be lowered (cf. E. H. Dohan, Italic Tomb Groups [1942] 29, 40, 45, 105-09 and R. H. Young, Hesperia, Suppl. II, 3, n. 2). However, even if most of his Geometric vases must be dated to the middle of the 8th C., i.e. the period of the foundation of Cumae, this need not vitiate his argument that trade precedes colonization. Cook (84ff) goes to some length to prove the early date of the mercantile colony at Al-Mina in the East and the originally mercantile character of Cumae (presumably for trade with the Etruscans, perhaps for iron from the island of Elba); I therefore cannot agree with his conclusion that trade was the result of the colonizing movement. The offshore position of Scoglio del Tonno and Ischia is suggestive and both of them, as we shall see, were centers of Mycenaean trade and had post-Mycenaean imports antedating the colonizing movement. When the Greeks were ready to found a proper colony at each of these sites, they gave up the island or reef controlling the harbor and settled in a position where they could spread out over the far found in the West only in the Aeolian islands, Sicily and Italy (1-2). One might regard this monograph as a companion to a similar one dealing with the Eastern Mediterranean: Frank Stubbings' Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant (Cambridge 1951). Actually, however, the similarity is more apparent than real. Stubbings' book is by necessity a synopsis of main types based on thousands of whole vases, from which a scant 200 have been illustrated, only a few for the first time: T.'s, on the other hand, is a primary and exhaustive publication of all Mycenaean pottery found in the Central Mediterranean. It can be such because the sum total of items, mostly fragmentary, is slightly under 400. Of these not more than ten percent had been previously illustrated. Consequently the 17 plates, furnished largely by the Italian authorities, which illustrate almost all except the few examples which had been adequately published, are of prime importance. Although perhaps less useful to the general student than Stubbings' monograph, T.'s will be

even more fundamental for the specialist. Mycenean Pottery in Italy is thus essentially a corpus of Mycenaean pottery from the West arranged geographically, each chapter consisting of descriptive inventories in smaller type, preceded by general remarks on the site and followed by general conclusions. Following a brief "Introduction" (1-6) in which T. accepts Furumark's stylistic classification and in general his chronology, the author discusses the material according to regions, moving from West to East, a practice which enables him to begin with the earlier material. Chapter II (7-53) "Ischia and the Aeolian Islands" deals especially with the material from Bernabò Brea's postwar excavations on Lipari. Chapter III (54-80) "Sicily" supplements the catalogue of wellpreserved pots from Thapsos and elsewhere with a discussion (67ff) of possible Mycenaean influences on the native culture and concludes with an appendix (A) on Malta. Chapter IV (81-137) "Scoglio del Tonno, Taranto" publishes the rich cache of Mycenaean pottery discovered in 1899: over 750 fragments, yielding 146 catalogue items and 520 more too small or nondescript to be classified. Chapter V (138-69) "Apulia-Other Sites" deals with the material from Leporano, Torre Castelluccia, and Coppa Nevigata, and is concerned especially with T.'s "Iapygian Geometric" ware; it concludes with an appendix (B) on two vases from San Cosimo. Chapter VI (170-80) "Mycenean Influence in Other Parts of Italy" is somewhat of a catch-all, publishing Mycenaean vases said to have come from Torcello and Campania, along with brief sections on Sardinia, on Spain (Appendix C) and on the new chamber tombs near Olympia (Appendix D). This is followed by a brief Chapter VII (181-90) "Conclusions," and an Index (197-204). Two maps of Italy and Sicily showing the distribution of Mycenaean pottery are a useful guide.

In reviewing a book containing so much new material, it has seemed preferable to consider it as a whole in the light of our knowledge of Mycenaean trade with the Levant, and to discuss it according to certain general topics, the full implications of which

are not always explicit in a monograph arranged geographically.

1. Chronology. The discovery of Mycenaean pottery in the Central Mediterranean contributes nothing to the internal chronology of Mycenaean. Absolute dates are completely lacking, and even relative dates within the sequence are practically nil. The stratification at Lipari (10-12) confirms what we already knew from Greece itself, while that at Scoglio del Tonno, Taranto, was "hopelessly confused" with Mycenaean and Protocorinthian found together in the top stratum (81-82; 133-34). Consequently all dates for this material depend ultimately on Oriental and Egyptian synchronisms either from Greece or the Levant. This negative evidence for chronology is, however, of positive value if we view it from the other side. We have shifted from a literate historical world to that of European prehistory, where the Terramare, Bell-beaker and Wessex cultures are mere archaeological terms, and Mycenaean pottery is of fundamental importance in bridging this gap. The author does not, in my opinion, bring this out sufficiently strongly, and one gets a better appreciation of these implications in the work of an Italian prehistorian. Bernabò Brea, the excavator of the Lipari acropolis, stresses the significance for European prehistory of imported Aegean sherds in his Early Bronze Age or Capo Graziano culture on the Aeolian islands, for this connects with the Castelluccio culture in Sicily (through imported Aeolian vases) and the latter (through the imported Bell-beaker at Villafrati) with the Bell-beaker folk and ultimately with the Wessex culture of Britain (Sicily before the Greeks [London 1957] 108, 118). A wholesome exchange of information characterizes these two works, and Brea is undoubtedly indebted to T. for the precise dates of the LH imports at Lipari.

2. Chronological range and distribution. Apparently mainland Greek trade began even earlier with the West than with Egypt or the Levant (Troy excepted). T. has made an important contribution in recognizing the Matt-painted cup from Monte Sallia, Sicily (pl. 16:1a-b; Brea, 115) as a MH import; the parallels he cites from the mainland are convincing. That this is not an accidental stray is apparent from the few Matt-painted sherds from Filicudi (pl. 1:1-3) and Lipari (pl. 2:6) which seem to be imports, and from others (pl. 2:1-5, 7) which may be local imitations.

About 1550 B.C., with the beginning of Myc. I, mainland trade with the Aeolian islands begins in earnest: out of a total of 12 sherds at Filicudi 9 are Myc. I-II or transitional II/III style, and of 109 at Lipari, 62. As T. points out, over 60% of these imports precede the main period of Mycenaean expansion (49). There are only four certain LM I sherds at Lipari (pl. 2:14-15; 3:1; 4:8) and four that could be either LM or LH. No other Minoan sherds have been found in the Central Mediterranean. Both Lipari and Panaraea, but not Filicudi, continued to receive Mycenaean imports into the III C period, but the heyday of their trade with the mainland of Greece was in the 16th, 15th and 14th C. The few but important sherds from Ischia (pl. 8:1) apparently belong toward the end of this period.

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In Sicily, apart from the MH cup from Monte Sallia, there is no direct evidence for Mycenaean imports until the Thapsos period (14th and 13th C.) when the rock-cut chamber tombs at Thapsos and elsewhere near Syracuse yielded a number of well-preserved Myc. III A and B vases of koine style.

The largest cache of Mycenaean pottery in the West came from the reef in the harbor at Taranto, Scoglio del Tonno or Punta Tonno. It yielded nothing earlier than III A, which is abundant, and ranges through III B and C into Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric. The material from other sites in Apulia is late: III C at Leporano, III B/C at Torre Castelluccia, and non-existent at Coppa Nevigata where it had been claimed.

No other Mycenaean pottery has been found in a certified context in the West, and eight other vases said to have come from Italy are included by the author only in the interest of completeness.

3. Regional styles. Unlike the Levant, the Western material contributes little to our knowledge of new regional styles of Mycenaean pottery. With the exception of some late III C and Submycenaean material from Apulia, nothing can be claimed as local. The Central Mediterranean was the recipient of Mycenaean trade from regions to the East; if there was a Mycenaean colony established at Scoglio del Tonno, as T. thinks likely (134-35; 184-86), it did not manufacture its own pottery so long as there was a ready supply from abroad.

One of the most provocative sections of this book is T.'s analysis of the material from Scoglio del Tonno and its implications of a flourishing trade not only with mainland Greece, but especially with Rhodes and to a lesser extent Cyprus. In this conclusion he is closely dependent upon the work of Stubbings (MPL 5-20; 25-52) and the theory, also held by Furumark, that both Rhodes and Cyprus were independent manufacturing centers of Mycenaean pottery (for a modified view, especially regarding Cyprus, see A]A 56 [1952] 152-54). Strong resemblances to the Mycenaean pottery of Rhodes are undeniable, and at least three distinctive features are hard to reconcile with any other than a Rhodian origin. 1) The large three-handled piriform jar decorated with bosses and painted designs (pl. 10:3-6, 7, 9-10) is an early III A type, and had been known heretofore only in 10 examples, 8 of them from Rhodes; Scoglio del Tonno has furnished 4 or 5 additional examples. Whether this apparently Rhodian feature of boss decoration should draw with it the other examples of three-handled jars of so-called "Rhodian" type is more debatable. Rhodes has 115 examples and the Levant 20, but 50 are known from Greece proper and at least 12 were recently found at Mycenae (128 n.2); Scoglio del Tonno has 25. 2) The globular stirrup-vase with elaborate all-over octopus design (pls. 12:20; 14:12-14) is characteristic of Furumark's Late Eastern material (Rhodes, Kalymnos, Pitane, etc.). T.'s observation (108) that the clay of his examples is "very similar to those . . . in the museum at Rhodes" would suggest a Rhodian origin, and implies direct trade connections down to the be-

ginning of the 12th C. 3) Even more specifically Rhodian are the five examples of perforated tripod braziers with fluted legs and voluted feet (pl. 13:16-21), a type which has never heretofore been found outside Rhodes. Being coarse ware, they would hardly have been imported, had they not some religious significance, a strong argument in favor of a Mycenaean, and particularly a Rhodian, colony at Scoglio del Tonno.

Direct connections with Cyprus are less striking. The pilgrim flask (pl. 11:27-31) is fairly widely distributed, occurring on the mainland as well as in the Levant: it may well have been a koine type especially for export. Only three sherds belong to Stubbings' specific Cypriote forms (here nos. 66, 86 and 87 representing the angular depressed stirrup-jar, the shallow or pedestalled bowl with interior decoration, and the cup with wishbone handle), although T. cites other parallels in decoration.

Some connections with the Ionian islands, and particularly with the III C and Submycenaean ware of Kephallenia, are noted by T. at Scoglio del Tonno (132) and at Leporano and Torre Castelluccia (164-65). There is even evidence for some local manufacture in Apulia itself at this time, when direct connections with the Eastern Mediterranean were cut off following the raids of the Sea Peoples. Naturally enough, more limited trade across the Adriatic seems to have survived longer, perhaps into the Submycenaean period.

4. Trade routes and commercial settlements. The mainland vs. Minoan character of the early imports at Lipari is noteworthy, yet is hard to reconcile with the fact that Minoans must have known Lipari from the MM period on, if their vases and carvings of liparite, the volcanic glass peculiar to the island, are any indication. T. suggests (49) that the Minoans may have concentrated at the north point of the island, Porticello (still unexcavated), where liparite occurs, whereas the Mycenaeans were particularly attracted to the Lipari acropolis because of the abundance of obsidian there. One might note that such a two-fold exploitation of one general area by Minoans and Mycenaeans is attested also for Rhodes (Trianda and Ialysos, MPL 6ff) and for Miletus (AJA 60 [1956] 379-80). At any rate, the LH I-II material from Lipari reveals the commercial independence of mainland Greece, and shows that her trade with the West was not shackled by the older Minoan thalassocracy, as indeed it does not seem to have been with Egypt (Klio 32 [1939] 145ff).

Apparently the Mycenaeans at this period, and later, went no further West than the Aeolian islands and the Bay of Naples, if we may judge from the distribution of their pottery. Brea suggests (102-03) that Lipari may have been a port-of-call for more distant traders (e.g., in tin from Britain, and might one also postulate Baltic amber?) and may therefore have been the point of diffusion for Mycenaean influence further afield, for instance in the Wessex culture of Britain. Mycenaean sherds recently discovered on the islands of Ischia and Vivara in the Bay of Naples, one of which belongs to the earliest III A style (pl. 8:1c), suggest that Mycenaean traders may have gone this far North. Further excavations may reveal still more evidence of Myce-

naean penetration of this region, perhaps in quest of

tin ores of Tuscany (9 n.1).

This trade route to the Aeolian islands and the Bay of Naples almost certainly passed through the straits of Messina, and would therefore have taken the Mycenaeans past the east coast of Sicily. From precisely this region we have evidence of early contact with the Aegean in the Matt-painted cup from Monte Sallia, as well as in the imitation of Shaft Grave types: the Plemmyrion swords and the tomb slabs from Castelluccio decorated with spirals. Not until the 14th C., however, did Mycenaean influence on the island become more widespread, reflected, as T. notes (67ff), in the architecture of certain rock-cut tombs at Thapsos, the bronzes, jewelry, local vase forms, and perhaps even religion. He concludes that there were Mycenaean trading settlements or ports-of-call, especially in the southeast corner, Thapsos being one of the most im-

Apparently not until the 14th C. was the nearer trade route to Apulia developed. Early in this century, a Mycenaean colony or trading station seems to have been established in the harbor of Taranto, perhaps under Rhodian initiative. Were they attracted, as T. suggests (135), by the abundance of murex shells for the purple dye industry? Or was Scoglio del Tonno a way station for trade with the Terramare and their metal industry of North Italy (185f)? The frequency of Terramare bronzes at Scoglio del Tonno would support this view, also confirmed by the diffusion of certain Terramare types in the Eastern Mediterranean (T. cites the winged axe mold recently found at Mycenae, kylikes with horned handles from Mycenae and Rhodes, a ring-handled knife with curved blade from Ialysos, 172ff). Why Rhodes, lying as she does on the other side of the Aegean, should select Taranto as a sphere of commercial activity is not explained by the author. It has occurred to the reviewer that perhaps she was barred from the metal industry of Cyprus by rival Mycenaean emporia at Enkomi and Kourion, and from the murex industry of Canaan (cf. Albright's identification of the name Canaan as "the land of the purple dye" in Studies in the History of Culture [1942] 25) by a similar clique at Minet-el-Beida. It is certainly striking that the Mycenaean pottery from Rhodes shows little affinity with that of its nearer neighbors in the Levant, and is nowhere duplicated so closely as at Scoglio del Tonno. This trade route to Apulia probably lay close to the west coast of the Peloponnese (the pottery from the recently discovered chamber tombs at Olympia shows resemblances both with that of Rhodes and Scoglio del Tonno, 178-80) and then skirted the Ionian islands, as revealed by connections between Kephallenia and the later material from Apulia.

5. Colonization. In a number of instances Mycenaean trade anticipates to a remarkable extent the foundation sites of the historical Greek colonies. The Aeolian islands drop out (perhaps when obsidian and liparite were no longer in demand) and only late in the colonizing movement was there a foundation on

Lipari by Cnidians and Rhodians (580-76).2 On the other hand, Cumae, the earliest of the Western colonies (? 757-56), is on the promontory directly facing Ischia and Vivara, Syracuse (733) is opposite Plemmyrion on the same harbor, Megara Hyblaea (728) is close to Thapsos, and Tarentum (706) is on the mainland facing the reef Scoglio del Tonno. Only at the last site and in neighboring Apulia (Leporano and Torre Castelluccia) is there anything like continuity from the Mycenaean period onward. This continuity is attested by late Mycenaean imports from the Ionian islands, followed by "Submycenaean and/or Local Ware" (pls. 14:15-18, 22-4; 15:14-16), which is in turn succeeded, but not altogether replaced, by "Iapygian Geometric" (120ff, figs. 14-27, pl. 15:17-22). In the latter T. detects the "survival of a debased Mycenaean tradition" along with strong Geometric influence; this reviewer would question any real Mycenaean connection. Much more in the Mycenaean spirit is the Local Ware of Coppa Nevigata (167, pl. 15:3), which was originally considered Mycenaean by Mosso, then imported Protogeometric by Blakeway, Hanfmann and Dunbabin, but doubted by R. M. Cook. That it was produced locally, and probably as late as the 8th C., is the opinion of T. (185). A few genuine Protogeometric sherds (pl. 14:19) show that "contact with the Eastern Mediterranean was not altogether broken off" (136). This was followed by a revival of trade in the Geometric period (about 57 imported sherds from Scoglio del Tonno). The evidence from Apulia thus confirms the essential correctness of Blakeway's position that trade connections (ultimately going back to the Mycenaean period, we might add) preceded the actual foundation of the Western colonies;8 it shows moreover that there was a relatively narrow gap between the cessation of the latest Mycenaean imports and the resumption of trade, and the local ware of the intervening period demonstrates, in T.'s words, "the continuity of Taranto from its first contact with an Aegean civilization in the fourteenth century up to the time of the arrival of the first Greek colonists" (185). One might add to this picture of continuity in Apulia, the rich evidence of Mycenaean contacts in the Aeolian islands, Sicily and to a lesser extent in the Bay of Naples, and conclude that the Mycenaean Greeks in the second millennium were already familiar with the main trade routes in the Central Mediterranean that were to result in the planting of the Western colonies there in the 8th and 7th centuries. Whether it is mere accident that so many of these later foundations coincide so closely with areas of Mycenaean penetration, but nowhere exactly superimpose on a Mycenaean trading station, remains for those who specialize in the later period to decide. One might note, however, that the Mycenaean settlements were of a commercial rather than a colonizing nature, that they were located at strategic harbors which may have been the depots for overland trade, and that they did not spread out over the coun-

8 See note 1.

² T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) Ch. I, 1-47, Appendix I, 435-71, and Foundation Dates, 485.

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tryside as did the later colonies when overpopulation at home led the colonists to seek new land.

A few minor criticisms might be noted. The use of centimeter scales (omitted in pl. 15:4-8 and 16:2-10) should not be a substitute for actual dimensions of whole vases or large fragments, especially in a book where the author has personally handled the material. It is to be regretted that the reconstructed drawing of an octopus stirrup-vase from Scoglio del Tonno appears merely on the paper jacket. The spelling "Mycenean" occurs throughout the book, and is an unfortunate change by the Cambridge University Press since the publication of Stubbings' monograph. The absence of a complete bibliography is not adequately compensated for by the full list of abbreviations; nowhere is the full title of important articles, such as those of Säflund and Dunbabin, given.

A few fragments suggest a different interpretation

or call for additional remarks:

Pl. 4:15 (30) is decorated with the "tortoise shell" or ripple rather than a formalized "foliate band," thus

according better with its early date.

Pl. 12:23 (95) should be dated III A rather than B. The interlocked C's, while unusual as a filling ornament in the tricurved arch, occur on III A pictorial-style vases (e.g., AJA 49 [1945] 535, fig. 1) and are rare or non-existent in III B.

Pl. 12:18 (97) more likely represents the hooves of a galloping horse than an *agrimi*. The new example from Mycenae (*JHS* Suppl. 76 [1956] pl. 1:D) is not the only representation of a galloping horse: see also

Myk. Vasen (text) 28, fig. 16.

Pl. 10:1-2 (97) more likely features a chessboard panel than an all-over design. The former was popular on III B kraters of the pictorial style and sometimes took the form of hatched rather than solid squares (e.g., SCE i, pl. cxviii:6).

Pl. 11:22 (100) seems III A rather than B because

of the shape of the kylix stem.

Fig. 10, p. 102, I would date III A instead of B. The so-called "triglyph" pattern appears to be rather the lower part of a voluted Mycenaean flower (e.g., Furumark, MP Mot. 18:15). Cf. also the interlocked C's as filling ornament.

Pl. 12:19 (104) seems hardly the tail of a bird.

Could it be the head of a boar?

P. 116, no. 152 (Dragma 461, fig. 4) I would not consider Submycenaean: the shape is too sophisticated for the III C parallels quoted by T. Cf. rather the Geometric parallels in BSA 33 (1932-33) 177, fig. 3 and the thin wavy line in "Iapygian Geometric" (163, fig. 26:12).

Pl. 14:19 (118) seems to show the compass point of the concentric circles, proving indubitably its Proto-

geometric character.

These minor criticisms are not intended to detract from the high opinion this reviewer has of Taylour's monograph. It is in every respect a most admirable and significant production, and one for which we should thank not only the patience and ingenuity of its author, but the acumen and generosity of the Italian archaeologists, Brea and Drago in particular, who

made available for publication their Aegean material to an Aegean specialist. Some critics may wonder whether such a limited body of material warrants any farreaching conclusions as to Aegean trade; in the reviewer's opinion, the author's conclusions are fully justified and might in some cases have been amplified along the lines suggested above. One must always remember, however, that along with the positive evidence of Mycenaean pottery imports, there is much negative evidence from unexplored regions, and new excavations may alter, confirm, or enlarge the picture of Mycenaean penetration of the West.

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THE DECIPHERMENT OF LINEAR B, by John Chadwick. Pp. x + 147, pls. 2, figs. 17. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1958. \$3.75.

What many Greek scholars consider to be a major landmark in the study of Prehellenic history—the decipherment of the most abundant Minoan script, Linear B—is described in all its intensity by the noted scholar, John Chadwick. The story of any decipherment is exciting, but this one is perhaps more so because of the unexpectedness of the solution. For years one of the few definite statements that might be made about Linear B was that it was not Greek. Yet when Michael Ventris began to break through the script's mysteries, to his own surprise he found it to be the Greek language, albeit a very archaic form of Greek. The step-by-step story of this discovery is the core of Chadwick's book.

In effect, Chadwick had a dual purpose: first, to describe the process of the decipherment in a more general way than is found in *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, and second, to serve as a testament to the ability and character of the decipherer, Michael Ventris. The book is meant for the general reader, however, and the author makes this clear in his preface: "To my professional colleagues: this book is not for them."

The author begins appropriately with a brief account of Ventris' life, then moves on to discuss the early stages of Greek development as we know them from folk-memory and legend, archaeology, and study of the Greek language itself. There follows a description of Minoan writing and of Cypro-Minoan scripts, and a report on the contributions of the various workers in the field preceding the decipherment, including the early work of Ventris himself. After this back ground to orient the reader, Chadwick describes how Ventris went about breaking the script through an internal analysis of the script itself. Such an analysis involves the study of statistical frequencies of recurring combinations of signs and of special uses of signs. For example, one sign occurs quite frequently on some tablets at the end of words. After a thorough study, Ventris concluded that, since it appeared to be a separable suffix and not an essential part of the word to which it was attached, and since it occurred frequently among what appear to be lists of weighed quantities, this sign might be a conjunction meaning "and." Only through such painstaking analyses as this, producing one clue at a time, was the script finally broken. It was not until the later stages of this internal analysis that Ventris became aware that the language of the script, instead of being related to Etruscan as he had anticipated, was Greek.

Chadwick then provides us with a first-hand account of how he came into the picture, how the work continued to progress rapidly, how the decipherment was presented to the world of scholars, and how more and more workers became convinced of its essential correctness. As with any startling discovery, there are critics. The author explains their positions and gives his answers to their objections. An able summary of "Life in Mycenaean Greece" constitutes the last quarter of the work.

This attractive, well-planned little book makes excellent reading for all those interested in Greek and Prehellenic history. John Chadwick has indeed made the most of an already exciting topic.

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Samaria-Sebaste. Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935. No. 3. The Objects from Samaria, by J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon, with contributions by S. A. Birnbaum, J. H. Iliffe, J. S. Kirkman, Silva Lake, E. L. Sukenik. Pp. xvii + 478, pl. xxvii, figs. in text 122. Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1957.

Excavation, in itself pleasurable, exciting, and exhausting, entails publication which also has its own peculiar vicissitudes and rewards. Harvard University's explorations, cut short in 1910, were published in 1924 in two volumes that were ahead of their time in detail of presentation. Work at the site was resumed as a joint project of Harvard University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Academy, and the British School in Jerusalem, subsequently by the last three institutions. The volume under review concludes the final reports on their investigations. The quarter of a century which has lapsed between initiation and conclusion of the project has hardly been favorable to sustained archaeological effort and it is a tribute to the devotion and perseverance of a hardy group that illness, death, and world politics have not enforced far greater delay. The editorial problems must have been many; if occasionally the weave of the fabric shows that the shuttle changed hands, we must be grateful to those who were willing to pick it up midway. The result of combined efforts, scholarly and financial, is a useful book the publication

of which has been underwritten by friends as a tribute to the memory of Mrs. Crowfoot, who did not live to see the volume on which she devoted so much time and care

The first chapter is an introduction summarizing the Israelite, pre-Alexander, Hellenistic, and Roman settlements which are published in detail in the first volume of the final report. The ensuing chapters discuss the various objects found in these levels, with the exception of the ivories which are the subject of the second final volume.

The inscriptions found by the expedition were fragmentary. Those in Palaeo-Hebrew and Aramaic are discussed with painstaking detail, as are masons' marks and the single cuneiform fragment. These are, with but one exception, illustrated. The five dozen or more bits and pieces of Greek and Latin have been transcribed from field-notes and are reproduced in type; a few complete inscriptions, all short, are illustrated so that the style of lettering may be consulted.

that the style of lettering may be consulted.

In calling the third chapter "The Evidence of the Coins" the emphasis is understandably placed on the analysis of 782 identified coins. Circumstances allowed the final author the satisfaction of examining only a fraction of the total, a difficult situation for a numismatist, no matter how tidy the state of his scholarly inheritance. Two lists are given. By far the largest is that of coins known from other publications; these are cited briefly with reference to such standard works as those by Svoronos, Babelon, and the British Museum. Some two dozen unpublished types are described in greater detail. None of the coins is illustrated. The aggregate ranges from the fourth century B.C. to the 17th century A.D., but more than a quarter of these belongs to the third and second centuries B.C. Samaria rarely minted its own coinage and depended on outside currencies. The possible meanings of the fluctuations in quantity as indicated by the excavation's finds are discussed in historical sequence.

The fourth chapter is a brief one on the few pieces of sculpture from the excavation, among them: a damaged but forceful bronze statuette of the mature Herakles, a type popular in Hellenistic art; a marble statue of Kore and one of Demeter for whom the excavation's finds indicate a flourishing cult; a terracotta statuette of a burly athlete whose musculature recalls the more subtle massiveness of the "Hellenistic Ruler"; and a marble statue of Apollo, bristling with struts, which belongs to the outer circle of ripples stirred by the rise of Praxiteles.

The terracottes.

The terracottes figurines from the Israelite period show a predilection for human female figures and horses. The type of female figurine with a columnar base as body for the mold-made head is the common variety and belongs to the late eighth century B.C. There were a few examples of the earlier plaque type of figure. The horses, evidently hand-made, and with pellets for eyes, are also familiar manifestations of the Iron Age at other sites; at Samaria, where there is occasional evidence that the horses bore riders, these figurines are interpreted as votive objects associated with worship of the sun. Their occurrence at Tarsus,

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for example, in habitation levels suggests that this may not always have been the case. The Greek and Roman figurines are also dated by style, not by circumstances of excavation. In quality they range from a sensitive and charming veiled female head through perfunctory execution of familiar types, such as Herakles, to a vigorous local manner which is deceptively archaic. The chapter on figurines ends with the discussion of an interesting little Roman ivory representing Ganymede and the eagle.

The short sixth chapter deals with scarabs, scaraboids, and seal-impressions. The majority are in the Egypto-Phoenician tradition which persisted over a long period of time. The number of impressions is of unusual interest and suggests the former presence of archives

in the limited area of discovery.

It is no surprise that half of the book is devoted to pottery, the prolific debris of human habitation. The plan of discussion is to present stratified groups, then the general groups which offered no sequence for a study of development; within each of the two categories a summary of the provenience precedes detailed description of the illustrated ceramic specimens. Miss Kenyon and Mrs. Crowfoot have undertaken the greater part of this project, the former dealing with the sequences, the latter with the general deposits, and both analyzing specific categories of pottery, a division which requires a certain amount of jumping back and forth by the reader in search of data pertaining to one

variety of pottery.

The study is distributed through three chapters. Chapter VII includes the small amount of Early Bronze Age pottery found on the summit of the hill, but is really concerned with Israelite pottery of the Early Iron Age through the fifth century B.C. Interrelations with other sites are discussed and the evidence of Samaria used to suggest a revision of chronology at Megiddo and Tell Duweir and a synchronization of

levels at Tell el Far'ah.

A small group of imported sherds described in the eighth chapter represents Argive Geometric, East Greek (Rhodian?) Geometric, Attic red- and blackfigure, an Achaemenid cup, and other wares. The imports from the west were probably received through a seaboard depot rather than by direct trade.

Mrs. Crowfoot and Miss Kenyon resume their antiphonal study in Chapter IX, this time of Hellenistic and Roman pottery. With their more extensive evidence they are able to show, as the earlier excavation hinted, that the ceramic equipment of Hellenistic and Roman Samaria was similar to that in use in other parts of the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean. There were minor variations, of course, but the overall survey is interestingly uniform. Information from various sites dovetails satisfactorily. This is not to say that the aggregate knowledge produces a complete picture. Far from it. We now have a fairly good idea of sequence, but a very defective idea of sources. The products of Athens are pounced upon almost unerringly by workers in the provinces, but these are a pitiful minority in masses of local wares of unspecified origin. Patiently accumulated data and its evaluation,

such as is published by the excavators of Samaria, contributes to the eventual solution of these various problems.

At this point the reviewer must take issue with Miss Kenyon's chronology for Roman pottery which involves a misunderstanding of the evidence from Tarsus. The discussion concerns the date for the appearance and duration of the red-glazed "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware which was in widespread use over the eastern Mediterranean regions in the first century B.C. and, we believe, even earlier. At Tarsus this pottery appeared in quantity in a habitation level which followed, as an immediate successor, upon previous domestic accumulations; datable material showed that these earlier deposits accrued from the late fourth century, through the third century and into the second century B.C. The important point is that the level (the "Hellenistic-Roman Unit") containing the "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware was an accumulation, not a fill poured in at one time, and represents continued and continuous occupation of houses and alleys. The level had, unfortunately, been subjected to disturbances which left a confusion of walls and churned enough of the area to preclude any obvious chronological subdivision of the unit. The disturbances appear to have been contemporary ones. (There were, in addition, signs of later intrusions from above, intrusions such as beset all the levels of the mound of Gözlü Kule; due allowance had to be made for some possible infiltration from these.) To anyone working through the boxes of pottery with all the field records at hand, it was clear that the appearance of "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware marked only the introduction of a new ceramic type and not a physical alteration of the dwelling area. In fact, the appearance of the pottery was used as an arbitrary division between the "Late Hellenistic Unit" and the "Hellenistic-Roman Unit."

Miss Kenyon (p. 287) would date the "Hellenistic-Roman Unit" at Tarsus around 25 B.C. (although content to accept a second-century date where it concerns Hellenistic wares). We are quite agreeable to this as an approximate final date for a deposit which accumulated over a long period of time. The real problem is to decide the point in time at which the "Late Hellenistic Unit" becomes the "Hellenistic-Roman Unit." In the publication of the excavations at Tarsus, the division was tentatively placed around the middle of the second century. There is no strenuous objection to pushing that date into the second half of the century, but it is ignoring and contorting the evidence to extend it beyond the end of the second century B.C.

Does the evidence cited by Miss Kenyon really disagree with a second-century date for the introduction of "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean world? Athens is the periphery, not the center, for the distribution-area; the appearance of only a token quantity of the pottery in debris attributed to the destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C. does not argue against an earlier appearance in the districts where the ware was more popular. At Dura, on the opposite circumference of the circle, the excavators give evidence for the presence of the pottery in the second

century (cf. p. 306). At Antioch, the stratigraphic evidence was unfortunately sparse, although the material itself provided much information; Waage's own evaluation of the circumstances favored a second century date. The revised interpretation of evidence from Samaria (p. 285) suggests that the ware was in fairly common use there by 60 B.C. If the town spent the previous half-century as a destroyed or partially destroyed settlement, it may well have been unreceptive to the use of what could not have been cheap pottery; the amount of material immediately antedating the destruction by Hyrcanus in 107 B.c. is admittedly scant and offers only negative evidence. There is, consequently, nothing at Samaria to disprove the possible earlier existence of the ware, especially elsewhere, and on p. 306 Mrs. Crowfoot clearly favors the early dating which was also proposed by the Harvard expedition and apparently still held by Reisner in the 1930's (cf. p. 285). The evidence of a tomb near Pergamon (cf. Tarsus I, 176, n. 81) supports the affirmative indications at Tarsus that "Hellenistic Pergamene" pottery was in existence in quantity in the late second century B.C.

Perhaps the information which is struggling through these apparent differences is a pattern for the expansion of "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware. With time and investigation, the epicenter probably will be tracked down and on that happy occasion we probably can jettison, in favor of an accurate label, the variety of names we individually cherish for the pottery.

In the matter of typology, a distinction between "Hellenistic Pergamene" and "Roman Pergamene" wares is pronounced at Tarsus and really cannot be ignored or argued down. The "Hellenistic-Roman Unit" contained the former; a few fragments of the latter were in such a minority among the boxes of sherds that there was no question as to their intrusive nature. The deposits which were the richest sources for "Roman Pergamene" ware were also the best for datable first-century A.D. material which did not occur with "Hellenistic Pergamene" alone; these happened to be artificial fills that included secondarily not only "Hellenistic Pergamene," but the common Hellenistic glazed ware and even material from the Iron Age and earlier. It is unfortunate that the stratification at Tarsus gave out just at the point when both wares must have been in concurrent use-for there surely was a period of transition, as shown at Samaria, although a relatively short one-but there is no doubt that the two types represent successive and distinctive phases. Mrs. Crowfoot's account (pp. 306ff) accords with the evolution outlined by Waagé, the reviewer, and others: the introduction of "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware in the second century B.C. with a limited repertory of characteristic shapes; at the beginning of the imperial period, a change both in fabric and shape (the "Roman Pergamene" ware); during the second and third centuries A.D. form and fabric were altered again, but with more sense of evolution than abrupt change.

The discussion of the lamps, which is Chapter X, includes an indication of the quantity found of each type and the areas in which they were found. (One

wishes that a concordance between lamps and pottery had been possible since, chronologically, we are much better informed about the former and we can learn something from the company kept by the pottery.) For illumination, the inhabitants of the Israelite period were content with the pinched saucer lamp, a type which persisted into Greek times. During the Hellenistic period wheel-made and mold-made types, both imported and locally copied, were in use, the variety in general familiar to sites along the eastern Mediterranean. The Roman lamps, in contrast, are more regionally restricted and there is only one example of the very common and widely exported Italian type immortalized as Corinth XXII; except for certain generic similarities to lamps from other regions, they are distinctively Palestinian. The gamut extends into the fourth century and includes types which continue into the Arabic period. In connection with the rather surprising absence of the first-century Italian types, one wonders whether fig. 88, 3, which is tentatively dated second century, might not be a local first century outgrowth of the Italian variety and typologically an immediate predecessor of fig. 88, 4, placed first-second

The roster of stamped amphora handles found by the expedition is an impressive 1,500, about two-thirds of which were legible. Almost all that could be read were from Rhodian containers, indicating lively trade with the island during the third and second centuries B.C. The list of eponyms and "potters" is followed by a list of the Knidian, Thasian, and other types of stamps. At the end of this chapter of potters' stamps there are lists of the few stamps found on "Roman Pergamene" and Arretine ware. The correlation of the amphoras with the rest of the pottery found at the site is given in very general terms in the discussion of the pottery itself rather than in this chapter.

Chapter XII covers miscellaneous objects of faience, amulets, and beads of different periods. Faience is rare, in spite of the proximity of Egypt; besides a few little amulets, there are fragments of relief-decorated bowls of the Hellenistic period and a fish-plate in pale green fabric. The numerous beads are for the most part glass, but some are stone and faience, and belong to various centuries. A few gaming pieces and insects are present. Spindle whorls of stone, glass and bone, as well as clay loom-weights, are also included in this chapter.

the note in the No

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Since glass found outside of tombs is often in a hopeless state of fracture, the material from Samaria is refreshingly informative. Chapter XIII gives a careful account of the occurrence of different types and their contexts. Mold-pressed glass bowls, preserved by their relative thickness, are associated with finds of the late second and first century B.C.; they are made in several colors, including red (presumably the haematinum mentioned by Pliny). Blown glass ranges from the first century A.D. into the fifth century and includes window-glass as well as vessels in a variety of shapes; for the end of this period there is copious evidence of a local factory which should be added to

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Clasina Ising's recent publication, Roman Glass from Dated Finds.

About a dozen Roman rock-cut tombs were investigated; many of them were found to be robbed, but several contained glass vessels, lamps, jewelry and other objects which are listed for each tomb (remains of a linen bag was an item of unusual interest). The tombs were put to continued use and the series represents a span from the second into the fifth century A.D.

The final chapter is on miscellaneous objects of metal, bone, and stone. A list of those for which the find-spot is significant is given, then the pieces are discussed by type. Fibulae, arrowheads, miscellaneous hardware, and the puzzling fragments of objects used in daily life make up the pot-pourri which is conscientiously listed if not fully pursued.

There are four appendices to which several scholars have contributed in one way or another. The ostraka found by the Harvard excavation are reviewed in the light of increased knowledge of Israelite epigraphy and pottery. The second appendix is a comment on the burnishing of pottery. In the third there is a report on spectographic and petrological analysis of selected sherds from Samaria and other sites and of clay obtained from various sources. For the Israelite period, the archaeological evidence for local and imported pottery is substantiated. In the case of the Roman wares, the analyses indicate that the "sigillata" was not made at Samaria; they also rule out the possibility that the samples selected were imported from Samos, but this does not really negate Mrs. Crowfoot's sugges-tion that the island may have had something to do with the initial production of "Hellenistic Pergamene" ware. The concluding appendix describes some raw materials found in the course of excavation.

If much of the above has seemed more summary than review, it is to indicate the scope of the work. A large volume reporting on objects found at an excavation is essentially a reference book, the excavation in microcosm, ordered and interpreted, to which scholars with varied interests come for information. They will find here a conscientious presentation, somewhat affected by adverse circumstances, of interesting and informative material. The finds from Samaria not only increase our knowledge of ancient Palestine, but reinforce the foundations for the study of the eastern Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic and Roman

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FORTETSA. EARLY GREEK TOMBS NEAR KNOSSOS, by J. K. Brock. British School at Athens, Supplementary Paper No. 2. Pp. xvii + 224, pls. 174 + 34 unnumbered. Cambridge University Press, 1957. \$23.50.

Today, with the large number of excavations in progress, nearing completion and facing the problems

of final publication of their finds, each new volume is especially welcome, not only for the new material it makes available for general use, but for any improvements it may suggest to others in arriving at a satisfactory format for the presentation of their own material. Fortetsa is among the most readily and completely usable volumes that has appeared.

Twenty-two tombs, yielding more than 1600 vases and small finds, are presented; these offer an unbroken sequence from the Latest Minoan through the Orientalizing periods (ca. 1020-630 B.c.). The first two tombs, discovered by chance early in 1933, were cleared by the Greek Archaeological Service under the supervision of Dr. Platon; the find circumstances of these richest tombs are not included, but the objects, more than 450, are published in full. The rest of the tombs were opened in a systematic exploration of the area by Payne and Blakeway for the British School at Athens in 1933 and 1935; they were assisted in the field during the last campaign by J. Brock, upon whom, following the deaths of both Payne and Blakeway shortly afterward, the task of publishing the voluminous finds devolved.

The material is thoroughly digested, the plan of the volume carefully thought out and simple. Though primarily a reference work, both the specialist and the general reader may readily extract the data they need for a general picture of the historical and artistic development of the region of Knossos during the 400 years covered by the finds. In brief final pages, Brock summarizes the contributions of this material.

Tiny chamber tombs, all family vaults of the same Late Minoan type, were grouped together in two small cemeteries, each serving one of the small villages around Knossos. The tombs were constructed from the Late Minoan period down to ca. 800 B.C. (end of Protogeometric B), after which no new tombs were cut, but old ones continued to be used until the end of the seventh century when the Knossian villages underwent a still unexplained eclipse. The oldest tombs were cleaned out before Subminoan use, coincident with a change from inhumation to cremation; though this fact suggests new peoples, there are no compelling connections with the Dorians. Crete shows a general affinity with Caria, Rhodes and Thera, but there is no evidence that it was a stepping stone for Dorian penetration of Laconia or the Argolid from the east or vice versa. From the tenth through early eighth centuries, Attic and "Attic type" pottery of Late Protogeometric through Mature Geometric styles, probably coming by way of the Cyclades, exerts the overwhelming formative influence on Knossian Protogeometric and Geometric pottery. In the later Geometric period when "Attic" imports leave off, Cypriote influence becomes dominant, metal and "invisible imports" coming first, pottery appearing in the second half of the eighth century. Corinthian trade takes over only in the seventh century; its products are adapted and copied locally in the Cretan Late Orientalizing period. Though Cretan metalwork and, later, sculpture made considerable impression on the rest of Greece, the influence of Cretan pottery was infinitesimal. Tradition though long resistant in Cretan art did not preserve Mycenaean or Minoan elements into the Orientalizing period; these were reintroduced from the east or copied locally from surviving or rediscovered antiquities. These conclusions are subject to review and check at every point against the wealth of straightforward excavation data in earlier sections of the volume.

The first section (5 pp. with a dozen outdoor photographs) describes the cemeteries, general features of tomb construction and evidence for ritual. Outside comparative material and speculation is kept to a minimum and is pertinent.

The largest single section follows (130 pp.): a meticulous description of each tomb and a catalogue of its contents; 36 plates of line drawings give tomb plans and sections, profiles and detail drawings of objects. The tombs are treated in chronological order; since some were in use for 300 years, the oldest material in each determines its position in the series. The author shows commendable restraint in separating out burial groups. The objects, pottery first, then small finds, are arranged in the several catalogues in the order each chanced to be uncovered, this bearing no necessary implications for date or burial group. The entries are full, but not pedantically consistent; a minimum of well-selected comparative material and discussion of individual objects accompanies some.

The third major section (50 pp.) analyzing the 1300 pottery finds is subdivided into five parts. The first defines briefly in terms of technique, preferred shapes and ornament the ten stylistic phases which the author was able to observe within this vast amount of material; tomb groups are cited as examples. These stylistic phases form the basis for his relative chronological divisions, for which in his final section he proposes approximate dates as follows: Subminoan, 1020-970; Early Protogeometric A, 970-920 (imported Attic Late Protogeometric high-footed skyphos); Middle Protogeometric A, 920-870; Late Protogeometric A, 870-850 (Cycladic amphora of Attic type, early but not the earliest Geometric); Protogeometric B, 850-820 (deep black skyphoi, probably Island but of Attic type); Early Geometric, 820-800; Mature Geometric, 800-770 (oinochoe of Mainland type; Corinthian Geometric aryballos; the dates of Cypriote imports in this and the following periods are too broad to be of assistance in defining these short periods); Late Geometric, 770-735; Early Orientalizing, 735-680; Late Orientalizing, 680-630 (Protocorinthian imports; no Corinthian imports). The divisions of Protogeometric A and Geometric may be overrefined; recently excavated tombs and stratified domestic deposits at Knossos may require fewer and broader chronological periods. Brock finds the same difficulties in spacing out the Geometric development in Crete as on the Mainland: too much happens before 800, too much at the end of the eighth century. The lower dates which he would find helpful for Protogeometric B and Mature Geometric (p. 215) are permitted, almost required, by domestic deposits in the Athenian Agora. The black deep skyphos, Agora Inv. 3784, which he cites as a parallel for 366, is of a type still found in quantity in Mature Geometric deposits extending down into the second quarter of the eighth century. An oinochoe like 441 was found together with an aryballos like 668 in a Corinthian tomb at Athikia (AJA 61 [1957] pl. 65); nearly identical large oinochoai come from Mature Geometric contexts at the Agora, affording further support for Dunbabin's lower dating for the aryballos

(p. 213, n. 5).

The second part of the pottery analysis groups the pottery by generally accepted shapes ("amphorae, hydriae, pithoi"); under most of these are sub-classes, once (oinochoai) as many as thirty, defined sometimes by treatment of accessories, sometimes by ornament, period, etc. Beneath each are exhaustive lists accounting for each piece available to the author. Definitions where necessary, notes on origins and chronological changes and influences appear under some of the major and minor headings; these are brief, simply written, interesting and important. There is no attempt to include material from other excavations and so to expand this section into a general history of pottery from the Knossos region. The inspiration of part III, the Analysis of Patterns, would be apparent even without the author's acknowledgment to Furumark. Twenty-one basic groupings, embracing as many as 68 subdivisions, provide a "pictorial index to the text," a definition of terms used elsewhere; 36 plates of line drawings illustrate these types. Each occurrence is listed by inventory number and context date. Overrefinement has in some cases added only to bulk (e.g. 9, Circles: a-j, Concentric circles, 11-fold to 2-fold). The fourth part, Technique, describes simply the basic Knossian fabric with chronological variations; some more individual fabrics, certainly Cretan but perhaps not Knossian, are noted and a few technical peculiarities. The fifth section lists 52 imported pieces, Attic and "Attic type," Cycladic, Corinthian, East Greek (?), Cypriote, and Unidentified.

Metal Objects and other Small Finds are classified, listed and discussed in the fifth and sixth major sections (8 pp.); the most interesting among these, a bronze girdle with siege scenes and the trinity and a quiver with lion-slayer and sphinx panels are of Cretan manufacture and come from contexts probably of the early eighth century.

Certain features of mechanics and editing which preclude direct reference from many sections of the text to the plates are open to serious criticism. Object numbers. Each object has two: a) boldface serial, 1-1651, prefixed to each item in the catalogue, continuous tomb through tomb. These are used alone on the photographic plates, sections and detail drawings of objects and in parentheses with field excavation numbers in the lists of section three, rarely and haphazardly elsewhere in the text. b) excavators' field numbers, which seem also to serve as Museum numbers. These are clumsy and erratic in form, impossible to remember and difficult to isolate since their font is the same as that of the text (for example: "F, Near I (ii)" = 738; "L, Workmen on road" = 311; "P, Beyond 72 (LXXI)" = 1569; "P, 67/69/70 (iv)"

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= 1416); worst of all, they look as though they ought to mean something, but mostly do not (p. xv). They are introduced inconspicuously in brackets after the boldface of the catalogue, but thereafter are used as the regular, and with rare exceptions the only designation in the discussions and on the tomb plans. In long lists, such as in the Analysis of Patterns, the effect is overwhelming. Since they do not appear on the plates, direct access from discussions is impossible; one must always return to the catalogue for the boldface. This difficulty could have been avoided by a concordance, using boldface consistently and alone throughout the volume, perhaps with the tomb number prefixed (e.g. I-1127). Arrangement of objects in the catalogue. The present listing follows accident of discovery; rearrangement within each tomb so far as possible by burial group or chronologically by shape as on the plates before prefixing the boldface serial numbers might have been preferable. Tomb numbers. These are the excavators' designations: Roman numerals, Greek and Latin letters, abbreviations, bearing no relation to topography or chronology. Since the tombs are presented in chronological order both in the catalogue and in the grouping on the plates ("O, XI, BLT, IV, V, IX, L, OD . . . "), renumbering would have facilitated greatly access from one section to another. The bookmark with key provided is a happy idea and most useful, but will not last long in a library.

Decreased bulk might have added to ease of handling and lowered costs. The excellent drawings of profiles and ornaments would have been legible at a much reduced scale and have profited from more comprehensive groupings on fewer plates.

The generous number of photographic plates (3-116) suffers from many weak prints and a lack of contrast in reproduction. Some indication of scale would have seemed essential to compensate for the wide variation in size of objects often appearing on a single plate.

Though the mechanical difficulties noted are troublesome, *Fortetsa* in its simplicity of plan, brevity of text, selective and well-digested commentary is a pleasure to consult and provides a real challenge to future publications in this field.

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KORINTHIAKA. Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Civilization de Corinthe des Origines aux Guerres Médiques, by *Edouard Will*. Pp. 719. E. de Boccard, Paris, 1955.

This is a long, detailed and learned examination of the rôle of Corinth in Greece of the Archaic Period. These rather heavy qualities, however, do not prevent the book from being stimulating. It is notable as well for the logical clarity and thoroughness of its exposition. In the best French tradition—I should like to

recall the late Jean Bérard—Will holds idea after idea, theory after theory, up to the light of reason and scrutiny while he revolves each slowly like a manyfaceted diamond.

Korinthiaka examines in order the geographical, archaeological, religious and historiographical evidence in the first four chapters. The chronology and achievements of the Kypselids are dealt with in Chapters 5-6. Chapter 7 is a review of what is known of the material civilization of Corinth to the end of the seventh century, and Chapter 8 deals with the history of the city from the fall of the tyrants to the end of the Archaic Period. Since the examination is exhaustive, erudite and well provided with indices and sub-headings, the book becomes an indispensable manual for anyone dealing with early Corinthian affairs. Its greatest value will no doubt prove to lie precisely in this, rather than in the conclusions offered, to a great extent because these emerge from controversial areas where certainty is unattainable and differing points of view are inevitable.

Certain themes are inherent in the respective sections of the book and combine gradually to give a composite picture of the springs of activity and culture in Corinth. Its region was originally dependent on an agricultural economy and developed like any other Greek city-state (rather than under some primordial necessity to be commercial) until the conditions favoring mercantilism came gradually into existence. These were: Greek colonization of Asia Minor, making the Aegean an open Greek sea; Greek colonization of the Italo-Sicilian west; and internal development of cities. These conditions may have been realized also in Late Helladic times but our knowledge in that respect is obscure. This viewpoint plays an important part in the archaeological section where Will is concerned to delineate the manner and the routes by which Oriental influences reached Corinth: thus the conclusion emerges that the Isthmus did not even begin to reveal its value as a crossroad between north and south until the turn of the eighth to the seventh centuries. Even later than this, sea routes to the west, feelers extended from Ithaka, led to colonies which regularized commerce; to the east connections developed still later. In sum, the full compass value of the Isthmus was first realized in the seventh or even sixth century. This viewpoint may do justice to the situation on a quantitative basis but it candidly necessitates minimizing (cf. esp. p. 54) the pre-colonial and early colonial contacts of Corinth with the west and the east (Will thinks of Thera as the farthest point reached by Corinthian ships). Thus it constitutes a rejection in extremely emphatic terms of the "trade before the flag" reasoning (cf. p. 319). Is it possible to detect in this a proleptic influence from the historiographical theme of the book, namely, the late dating of the Kypselids? Will seems inclined to believe that the full economic development of Corinth and its attendant problems in the late seventh and sixth centuries might most naturally have occurred in the mature bloom of this energetic dynasty (cf. esp. the reasoning on pp. 569ff).

When Alan Blakeway expressed his concern over the use of archaeological evidence by historians, he was pointing up a problem made inevitable by the increasing specialization in ancient studies. Far from being solved, the problem becomes more acute as time goes on; only recently Dunbabin found it necessary to devote words of timely advice and caution to historians (The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours 15). Will as an historian has tried valiantly to face up to this difficulty by dealing with the archaeological evidence in great detail at the very outset, while Chapter 7, a convenient manual of Archaic Corinthian archaeology, gives additional evidence that he took the challenge seriously. His interpretation of archaeological data tends to be cautious and a little theoretical. Thus he rejects direct early contacts by Corinth with the Orient because of the small quantities of Corinthian sherds found there; this is a useful ballast to Akurgal's interpretation of these sherds, but the truth might seem to be somewhere in between. He accepts Dunbabin's theory of a loss of chronological primacy for Cretan orientalizing pottery in relation to Protocorinthian, but insists that Crete may still have been the intermediary for Oriental influences upon Corinth and even Sparta through (hypothetical?) metal and ivory and textile articles.

These problems cannot be discussed further here for it is the state of archaeological research itself which fails the historian. It might not be amiss to recall here some of the limitations which confront the historian who intends to reckon seriously with the archaeological evidence from Archaic Corinth. The definitive study of Corinthian relationships with other landscapes has not been written. Valuable pioneer work-still only that—on the Cretan problem has been done by Johansen, Payne, Weinberg and Levi (in Kretika Chronika 1950); much more detailed work on the subject could be done now that Fortetsa has appeared. The even more difficult question of the rôle of Cyprus in Corinthian art needs to be re-examined on the basis of art historical studies of Cypriote Iron Age artifacts. As an aside, it may be mentioned that a misleading impression is given in Dunbabin's catalogue of Corinthian pots found in Cyprus (op.cit. 73): the pots listed as Corinthian Geometric are not Corinthian; they are perhaps an island fabric. Kraiker and R. S. Young have examined early Attic-Corinthian ceramic relations to some extent from the Attic point of view. Comparatively little work has been done on later connections of this sort. The vital evidence from the Kerameikos in Corinth itself is still unpublished as well as much Corinthian Geometric at Delphi. The subject of what I would term export-import statistics, adumbrated by the work of Blakeway and Bailey for various fabrics, could be more exhaustively explored as regards Corinth.

In the section on religion Will's results are rather striking and comprise perhaps the most interesting part of the book. I cannot judge this as a historian of religion but there seems an *a priori* probability that the author is right when he sees such figures of myth and legend as Medea, Hellotis and Bellerophon, usually

thought of as having been brought to Corinth from elsewhere, as "en réalité profondément enracinés dans un passé local prédorien, et, dans la mesure où des traits orientaux doivent être retenus . . . ils sont les fruits d'une évolution assez tardive" (p. 292). It is true that Will's arguments here as elsewhere are characterized by the most ingenious kinds of intellectual combinations; for example, he postulates Medea as a prehistoric deity in both Corinth and Thessaly. In the latter region she lives on; in Corinth she is absorbed by Hera but not quite forgotten. Therefore, Medea was not introduced to Corinth as a Thessalian deity (Wilamowitz) nor introduced to the Thessalian myth as a Corinthian deity (Robert). Rather, Jason was brought to the Corinthian myth because Medea was already there. Although highly theoretical, suggestions like this are attractive for they reckon seriously, and one might almost say organically, with the very real problem of the survival and transmutation of Bronze Age religious concepts in historical times.

Turning to the strictly historical sections of the book, I do not intend to review in any detail Will's discussion of the Kypselid chronology. We are given an exhaustive study of this complicated subject which it is useful to have chiefly for its negative results. Will is fair enough to admit (p. 436) that no certitude emerges from his treatment-in spite, one might add, of the most persuasive and learned attempts so far to amass, albeit in a discriminating way (pp. 438-40), all evidence which can make the lower chronology look probable (he operates with the general terminus 550 in place of Beloch's 537). But each individual point still remains ambiguous, for Herodotos never gave a system of chronology. And in the end, a sum of ambiguities is no more convincing than a single one. Will's special contribution to this subject, the "Conjoncture de 550," which emerges from quite clever interpretation of several archaeological data, has in the end only a possible, I cannot bring myself to say probable, validity. It remains a tidy but unconfirmed hypothesis. The intellectual rapprochement of archaeological and political events in a "protohistoric" period is intriguing (cf. R. M. Cook, JHS 66, 97). The greatest caution is required when the results contradict a chronological tradition, even an arbitrary one, from the same general epoch of world history. The imponderables are admittedly equally great if one tries to reconcile archaeological data with the tradition. I believe, for instance, that I could produce a "conjoncture de 660" (beginning of Middle Protocorinthian) and connect it with the accession of Kypselos to power, thus supporting the high chronology (cf. also A. Andrews, The Greek Tyrants 49). This would not convince Dr. Will, and rightly so. Weinberg has actually proposed a conjuncture connected with the rise of the Bacchiad power still a century earlier (ca. 750) in the hazy early dawn of the historical period (AJA 45 [1941] 35). What becomes of this if one accepts the lower chronology? Still, perhaps it is just as well that one or another of us is always willing to challenge the imponderables.

The final chapters bring together the scanty factual

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evidence on the rule of the Kypselids and the history of the city after their fall. The obscurity surrounding these subjects is not reduced by Will's treatment, although problems are sometimes posed in a thoughtprovoking way against the background of his thesis (p. 567) of an economic and political crisis around 550 (e.g. Corinthian-Spartan relations, pp. 628ff). Thus, for Will, the isthmus gained its full strategic importance only after the Spartans began to push their influence northward. The second half of the sixth century by the same token sees the beginning of the political alignments of the classical period (p. 668).

Will has made an earnest attempt to understand the course of affairs in Archaic Corinth in terms of the geography, prehistory and history of the region in which they took place. If no really binding external results were obtained, a fact of which he is well aware (p. 664), it was still worth while to attempt a synthesis on this basis. Monographs of similar scope on other Greek city-states (for Rhodes, see preface to Will's Doriens et Ioniens) would be useful additions to our fund of interpretations of this ever-fascinating period.

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Zum Epheben Westmacoff, by German Hafner (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1955. 1 Abhandlung). Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag. Heidelberg.

Archaeologists generally agree that the Westmacott boy in the British Museum and its numerous replicas are Graeco-Roman copies of an original bronze statue by the great Argive sculptor Polykleitos. They disagree, however, about two problems raised by this well-known and rather attractive copy. The first is connected with the identification of the lost original with one specific Polykleitan work among those mentioned in literature, the second with the reconstruction of the right arm and hand and of the object held in it.

After the Germans dug out at Olympia the marble base of a statue bearing the inscription

πύ [κτας τόν] δ'ἀνέ [θ] ηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο [Κ] υνίσ [κ] ο [ς] Μαν [τ] ινέας νικῶν πατρὸς ἔχων ὅνομ [α]

it was suggested that this Kyniskos might be the boy mentioned by Pausanias, in whose honor Polykleitos produced a statue to commemorate his victory in a boxing contest during the Olympic games. The Westmacott boy is very probably a copy of the statue of a victorious young athlete. Its many replicas indicate that the original was famous in antiquity. These two considerations, combined with the observation that the stance of the Westmacott boy corresponds to that of the statue of Kyniskos as indicated by the footmarks on the Olympia base, led some scholars to express the opinion that the former may be a copy of the latter. Against this second identification three main objective.

tions have been expressed, which Dr. Hafner rejects in the beginning of his article:

(a) The Westmacott boy cannot be a copy of the statue of Kyniskos since there is a discrepancy between the style of the former, which points to an original of the middle of the fifth century or a little later, and the date of Kyniskos' victory which, according to Robert, must have occurred at the Olympic games of 464 or 460. The chronology of Kyniskos' victory suggested by Robert is based on the evidence of the Olympia inscription, which he dated around 460, and on the fact that the name of the boy is not mentioned in the known lists of Olympic victors for the years 480-468 and 456-448. Against Robert's suggestion Hafner points out that the dating of monuments on epigraphical and stylistic grounds is relative and that Robert may have tended to date the Olympia base a little too early and the Westmacott boy a little too late. In connection with this problem Miss Lilian H. Jeffery tells me that she would put the Kyniskos base "not later than c. 450, perhaps a few years earlier."

(b) The identification of the Westmacott boy as a copy of the statue of Kyniskos is not justified, since among the replicas that have reached us not one can be proved to be a copy of a statue that stood at Olympia. Against this objection Hafner suggests the possibility of the existence of a contemporary replica made by the artist in the victor's birthplace, Mantinea, which may have been used by copyists of the Roman period

either locally or in Rome.

(c) The theory that the Westmacott boy is a copy of the statue of Kyniskos is not well founded since neither the British Museum statue nor any of the other replicas have any attribute characteristic of a boxer. To this argument Hafner rightly opposes the view that Polykleitos no doubt considered the addition of such an attribute superfluous, since the inscription on the base gave the visitor of the Altis all the information he needed about the athletic event.

This last point is connected with the second problem which the Westmacott boy raises, namely that of the reconstruction of the right arm and hand and of the object held in it. Although most archaeologists have adopted the view that the Westmacott boy and its replicas represent a youth crowning himself, Hafner prefers the old but never popular opinion that the boy held a strigil. Furthermore he suggests that the original, which he accepts as the statue of Kyniskos, is identical with Polykleitos' Apoxyomenos mentioned by Pliny.

In defence of the first reconstruction one could mention a number of extant representations of youths crowning themselves in later sculpture and on later coins. In most cases the wreath is already placed around the head and the youth holds it with his right hand above the right eye. In vase-painting the wreath is usually replaced by a fillet. On coins of Herakleia, however, Herakles is represented in this attitude holding the wreath at a small distance above his head, reminding us of one of the modern reconstructions of the

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Westmacott boy (pl. 1, fig. 1; see also Furtwängler, Meisterwerke 453, fig. 72).

In attempting to refute this reconstruction Hafner advances a number of theories, most of which seem to me not very convincing. He argues, for example, that the representation of the motif on two reliefs, one in Berlin, the other in Athens, and the so-called "Agon" in Tunis (pl. 2, figs. 3-5; see also Blümel, Sport der Hellenen no. 72, fig. 135, BCH 5, pl. 3 and MonPiot 17, pl. 2) should not be used as a basis for the reconstruction of the Westmacott boy because they are considerably later. In spite of the scarcity of extant contemporary examples I find it difficult to agree with him that the subject of the youth crowning himself was not used in classical sculpture and was introduced only in later times. In connection with the motif of Herakles crowning himself, Dr. C. C. Vermeule has recently shown that at least one sculptural type must go back to the fourth century B.C. and may well have originated in the circle of Polykleitos (JHS [1957] 290, 298).

The author also rejects the use of the well-known Sounion relief (pl. 3, fig. 6; see also Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors 2nd ed. fig. 494) as a basis for the reconstruction of the Westmacott boy. He discusses its subject in connection with a series of vases representing youths holding the tongue of their fillets. Many scholars have interpreted the subject of this relief as a youth crowning himself, believing that the bore-holes below the fillet served to hold pins supporting an added metal wreath which is now lost. Hafner advances the interesting theory that the bore-hole on the Sounion relief between the thumb and index finger of the youth held a pin supporting a tongue like that of the Marathon boy in the National Museum in Athens, while the others, which form a line below the fillet, held pins supporting added metal locks. He considers the Sounion relief and the vases representing a youth holding a fillet placed around the head as a group of objects depicting motifs different from those on the Berlin and Athens reliefs. This distinction does not seem to me to be justified. Fillets were offered in Ancient Greece to victors and, at least from the representational point of view, I see little difference between a youth placing a wreath around his head and a youth adjusting a fillet. Therefore I see no reason why the Sounion relief and vases such as the alabastron in Berlin (pl. 3, fig. 8; see also Blümel, Sport der Hellenen no. 129, fig. 76) should be ignored by anybody con-cerned with the reconstruction of the Westmacott boy. On the contrary, on grounds of a comparison with the well-known statue of a youth in the Museo Barracco in Rome (pl. 7, fig. 16; see also ArtB 18 (1936) 143, fig. 8) which has the right forearm preserved down to the wrist, one would conjecture that the right hand of the Westmacott boy was raised toward the head and that the original most probably represented a youth crowning himself.

After rejecting, for lack of extant classical parallels, the reconstruction of the Westmacott boy as a youth about to place a wreath around his head Hafner also

rejects the slightly different reconstruction in which the boy is represented already wearing the wreath and lightly holding it with his right hand above the forehead (pl. 5, fig. 11; see also Charbonneaux, La Sculpture Grecque Classique I, fig. 24). His rejection is based on the observation that all examples of the subject with a wreath are later works, that in the Classical period fillets are more popular, and that none of the replicas of the Westmacott boy preserves any traces of a wreath on the head. With this last statement I have to disagree. Dr. Vermeule and I independently have examined the replica in Sir John Soane's Museum and agree that the head preserves traces of a metal wreath that is now lost (see A New Description of Sir John Soane's Museum fig. 18B). The Westmacott boy itself has a horizontal depression at the back of the head above the nape, which is perhaps too pronounced to be explained solely as the fashionable depression of the hair on heads of the Classical period (for this deep depression see Furtwängler, op.cit. 457, fig. 75). I should like to suggest, not without hesitation however, that this depression, which is also characteristic of several other replicas of the Westmacott boy, may have been used in some cases to keep in position a metal wreath added by copyists to their marble statues.

In comparing the Westmacott boy with the youth represented inside the cup by Onesimos in Heidelberg (pl. 4, fig. 10; see Beazley, ARV 220,9), Hafner excludes the possibility that the gesture of the right hand in the former could be similar to the gesture of the right hand in the latter, because none of the extant replicas preserves any traces of fingers on the hair. Hafner seems to think that the gesture of the youth inside the Heidelberg cup is different from that of athletes holding a wreath or a fillet around their heads. His reason for considering the Heidelberg cup separately is no doubt the observation that the fingers of the youth inside it do not touch the fillet but are drawn higher. This detail, however, is to be explained not by a difference in the subject matter, but by a small error on the part of the artist, who miscalculated the position of the right hand while drawing his preliminary sketch and placed it a little too high up. Because of this error, when he painted the fillet at the end of his work, he found that he had to place it lower than the finger tips.

The absence of any traces of fingers on the head in Sir John Soane's Museum and on others that may have had a bronze wreath around them does not present the difficulty that Hafner thinks. It might be explained by the natural inability of the artist to carve head and hand in one piece and at the same time insert a bronze object between them. He could easily convey the impression of a youth holding his wreath by just carving the fingers close to the wreath and to the head. On the other hand the absence of finger-tip traces or any other kind of traces on most replicas could easily be explained by the existence of a variant representing not a stephanephoros but a stephanoumenos, in other words a youth about to place a wreath on his head rather than holding it there.

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Whether the copyist chose to produce a statue of the first or the second variant, we may be sure that, when working with one large block of marble, for reasons of safety he would postpone detaching the hand from the head until the very last stage of his work. In some cases he could even leave a little strut connecting the two, which would not be evident because of the position of the hand. The remains of such a strut are to be seen on the head of the replica in Castelgandolfo. The unfinished little section in "the Branteghem head" (better known as "the Edgar Vincent head") could easily be explained by the reluctance of the artist to work on the hair behind the fingers of the raised right hand for fear of breaking them. This replica is not in London as the author states, but in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where I was able to examine it during a recent trip to Cambridge. Hafner speaks of the remains of a strut on this head, which, he thinks, supported the right hand held in a rather low position excluding the crowning gesture. I was unable to discover this strut. All I can safely say is that the hair is left unfinished near the forehead above the right eye. On this support, then, which as far as I can see does not exist, and on some views about the statue in the Museo Barracco, which seem to me arbitrary, Hafner bases his reconstruction of the Westmacott boy as a youth holding a strigil.

About the statue in the Museo Barracco which, as Sir John Beazley points out to me, is not strictly speaking a replica although the motif may have been similar to that of the Westmacott boy, Hafner categorically states that the object held by the hand had a horizontal position and was nearly parallel to the surface of the statue at this point. He describes this hypothetical object as a "kurzes stabartiges Gerät . . . das auf beiden Seiten die es umspannende Hand nur wenig überragt." To support his theory of the strigil Hafner mentions the observation made long ago by Furtwängler that the right hand must have been bent as shown by the wrinkles of the skin at its root, a small part of which is preserved with the forearm. I was able to examine the statue in the Museo Barracco closely and have come to the conclusion that although a small part of the root of the hand is preserved, what remains is by no means enough for us to tell how deep the bend was. There is no reason why the hand could not be reaching toward the head holding a wreath. On the contrary, this would seem to me, as it seemed to Furtwängler, to be the most probable gesture.

Hafner's last argument in support of his reconstruction of the Westmacott boy as a youth holding a strigil is based on the replica of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (pl. 7, fig. 17; see also ArtB 18 (1936) 135-36, figs. 1,3 and 4). This statue has the remains of a strut on the right deltoid which, according to Hafner, supported the tip of a strigil held by the raised hand and touching the youth's body at this point (for a drawing of this reconstruction see p. 20, fig. 19). Hafner considers the presence of this strut to be a proof that the hand was not raised toward the head but was bent downward. I have examined the

statue in Baltimore and have formed the opinion that if the strut grew out of the surface of the statue more or less horizontally to the ground it would be too low to support the forearm or the hand raised in the crowning gesture. However, the direction in which the strut grew cannot be made out from the small portion of its root that is preserved. Dr. Dorothy Kent Hill kindly informs me that the strut does not project at any point more than 5 mm. In fact the projection at most points is nothing whatever, and there is no way of determining that the strut did not project obliquely like that on the Discobolos from Castelporziano (Arias, Mirone pl. 111, fig. 6; Aurigemma, Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano pl. xLIV), or those on the so-called Protesilaos in New York (Richter, Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art pls. xxv-xxvi). If it did, it could very well support the forearm or hand raised in the crowning gesture. In addition, the measurements of the strut (Ht. 27 mm., W. 23 mm.) seem to me a little too large for a piece supporting the tip of a strigil. In the light of these observations Hafner's reconstruction seems to me difficult to support.

The author ends his study with some rather subjective remarks. His reconstruction of the Westmacott boy as it appears in the drawing referred to above seems to him not only simpler and severer but also earlier in style than the reconstruction as a stephanoumenos. The author hopes in this way to minimize the discrepancy between Robert's dating of the base of Kyniskos' statue and that of the original of the Westmacott boy. My impressions are different. The gesture of the youth's right hand in his drawing seems to me awkward and the style scarcely earlier.

In conclusion, I think that the identification of the Westmacott boy as a copy of the statue of Kyniskos although possible is highly disputable, since all that remains of the latter is the footmarks in the base showing that the position of the feet was more or less similar to that of the feet of the Westmacott boy. Such a similarity in the case of an itst like Polykleitos, who worked according to a m well defined rules, can be by no means decisive in the solution of the problem. Hafner's identification of the Westmacott boy as a youth holding a strigil, presumably Polykleitos' Apoxyomenos, seems to me most unlikely.

ALEXANDER CAMBITOGLOU

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Great Britain fasc. 12, Reading fasc. 1, by Percy Neville Ure and Annie Dunman Ure. Pp. x + 61, figs. 2, pls. 40. Oxford University Press, London, 1954. £2.15.0.

The late P. N. Ure started the collection of vases at the University of Reading for teaching purposes in 1911. Together with his wife, Mrs. A. D. Ure, he completed this fascicule in 1949. Mrs. Ure explains in a second preface that in the interval between the completion of the text and the publication no fewer than 200 vases have been acquired, of which only a very few could be included in this fascicule. The collection is growing steadily and it is to be hoped that a second fascicule will follow soon to demonstrate not only the wealth of new vases but also the broadened outlook of the creators of the collection.

The Reading vases bear the very special stamp of the authors and their particular interests. The forty plates of this fascicule show an abundance of lesser known styles and classes of Greek pottery, seldom encountered in the plates of other fascicules. In the Reading publication no pains have been spared to do justice to material which has often been excluded from the Corpus or has been treated in a rather niggardly manner. Ignorance has played its part in this neglect, but after the appearance of the Reading fascicule ignorance will no longer serve as an excuse for exclusion or misrepresentation, and the task of many a contributor to the Corpus has been made a good deal easier by the clear and well-defined distinctions between the more provincial styles of Corinth, Boeotia, and Attica.

As in the fascicules of other English university collections, and as in the last fascicule of the British Museum, the text is stapled. The plates, printed on both sides, are numbered consecutively. The table of contents gives the range of the material, from Late Minoan to Hellenistic. That almost every known fabric of Greek, Etruscan, and Italiote vases is represented in Reading is a lasting tribute to the zeal of the authors. Black-glazed vases are kept together near the end, regardless of fabric, and the student of Attic black-figure should remember that some fragments of that ware appear also, in another context, on pl. 23. No doubt there were special reasons for this arrangement, but a more rigid separation of the wares in the plates would have made for greater clarity. Clarity is also lacking in the reproduction of the photographs: many vases look unnecessarily murky or fuzzy. This is not always the fault of the photographer: compare pl. 7, 3 a and d with Hesperia 25 (1956) pl. 29 a-b, which reproduces the same photographs better.

Unlike most recent fascicules this publication does not give the accession numbers on the plates. On the other hand, it gives the height or diameter for the complete vases. This is a novel feature for the Corpus. It evidently left no room for the accession numbers, yet if the reader were asked for his choice between dimension or numbers to be put on the plates, he would, I believe, opt for the numbers. It is also to be regretted that so many of the Attic fragments are improperly poised (e.g. pl. 23, 40 and 45; pl. 24, 4 and 29; pl. 25, 8).

The careful text calls for few comments. Some of the fragments on pl. 23 (viz. nos. 32, 35, 37, and 38) looked Attic to me when I looked at them in 1947. The black-figured hydria pl. 14, 5 was first mentioned in Cat. Sotheby, 19 December 1927 no. 194: the name of the collector was Sir Wilfred Peek, not Peck. Pl. 13, 10: for Hoppin and Gallatin read Gallatin. The vase

is now New York 41.162.25; two other Gallatin vases (CVA pl. 62, 11-12, New York 41.162. 124 and 194) are actually closer to the Reading vase than the example cited. Pl. 14, 4: Amyx informs me of an oinochoe in Chaeronea which is a replica. Pl. 20, 7: another decorated karchesion was seen in the Athens market in 1955 (ivy on the middle band); to the list of black karchesia add six in the Athens market and others in Alexandria (Benachi, Berytos 11 [1955] pl. 31, 11), Poitiers (Musée des Antiquités 4173/22), Buffalo (Museum of Science C 15078), New Haven (Baur, 234, fig. 104, no. 493), and New York (51.179).

It is perhaps not without interest to state here that the Reading fascicule, as one of the most recent, was much discussed at the Lyons Colloquy in 1956 and won wide acclaim.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Attische Grabschriften II: Unedierte Grabinschriften aus Athen und Attika, by Werner Peek (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1956, Nr. 3.) Pp. 67, pls. 4. Berlin, 1957.

This small collection of Greek inscriptions owes its content in the main to the posthumous papers of Johannes Kirchner, who died in 1940, and its publication to Werner Peek with the assistance of others. Its purpose approximates that of Peek's earlier Attische Grabschriften I: Eine Nachlese zum letzten Band der Inscriptiones Graecae II/III*, Jahrgang 1953, Nr. 4 of the same series, wherein he offered improved readings of 129 epigraphs published previously in the IG. Such is not the case with the collection under review.

Kirchner's papers included notebooks, squeezes and sketches, sometimes without complete designation of the present situation of the stone or further identification of the inscription. Peek's collection also contains the transcripts of others besides Kirchner (p. 5). Some inscriptions are yet to be "re-discovered" (for example, nos. 20, 23, 27, 37, 39, 44, 48, 52, 54, 57, 60, 65, and 81), although it is accepted that Kirchner himself saw those which he transcribed. In establishing the present location and identity of such stones Peek received help from Markellos Mitsos in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens and Prof. Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

The value of the 219 collected inscriptions consists chiefly of prosopographical matter divided as follows: I. Attische Demoten, nos. 1-56; II. Fremde, nos. 57-97; III. Tote unbestimmter Herkunft, nos. 98-170; IV. Christliche und byzantinische Grabschriften, nos. 171-173; V. Epigramme, nos. 174-201; Anhang 1. Nichtattische Grabschriften im Epigraphischen Museum von Athen, nos. 202-204, and 2. Fluchinschriften, nos. 205-207; and Nachträge (Korrekturzusatz), nos. 208-

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219. It is this prosopographical content, as well as the physical description of the stones which constitutes Prof. Peek's contribution in bringing the IG up-to-date.

Of these 219 "unedierte Grabinschriften" no fewer than 29 have been published prior to this collection (nos. 4, 6, 8, 13-15, 41, 49, 55, 56, 64, 66-68, 87, 92, 93, 101, 134, 162, 174-177, 179, 180, 187, 188) and some nine have been presented at least twice previously (nos. 38, 110, 116, 121, 152, 157, 186, 193, 218). Three (nos. 68, 179, and 218) of these 37 inscriptions have been published before by Peek himself. If he does not wish to mislead by calling this body of inscriptions "unedited," he must mean to establish an authoritative edition of them. In doing this he has left something to be desired. The following are some suggested modifications that properly belong to the kind of definitive work which we have come to expect from this eminent

No. 4. The restoration of lines 2 and 5 were made by B. D. Meritt, who also suggested the supplement of line 1 which Peek includes in his text.

No. 14. The supplement of line 3 was offered by

Köhler in IG II5.

No. 56. Peek's sketch of the inscription was made from a photograph in the cited volume of Hesperia. Peek quotes this article, but does not cite the author (B. D. Meritt).

No. 92. The entire text, including the certain restoration of line 3, is that of Meritt's, again not cited. Neither the Meritt-Peek text nor the photograph of the actual stone in Hesperia conforms with Peek's sketch wherein a shaded eta and omicron, seemingly not visible from the photograph nor read by Meritt, are supplied.

No. 110. This one of two bilingual inscriptions (cf. no. 90), as published in the CIL III suppl. 7295, has a slightly different reading DIONYSI • SALVE, where Kirchner transcribed DIONYSIS SALVE; this discrepancy is not noted by Peek. The unusual form of the theophoric name likewise goes unexplained, whereas the form DIONYSI is the proper Latin vocative (cf. CIL VI 1056, I 19 and II 50).

No. 176. Again Peek's sketch is drawn from the

uncited photograph in Hesperia.

No. 187. This inscription (IG II/III2 13143) was treated by both Kaibel and Peek. The supplements of line 4 and the end of line 7 appear to belong to Kaibel according to the apparatus of the Inscriptiones Graecae, whereas Peek opens his discussion, "Die 13143 mit meinen Ergänzungen abgedruckten Fragmente. . .

No. 191. Peek supports his restoration εἰ θέμ[ις ἦν by comparing no. 1697 in his Griechische Vers-In-schriften I (Berlin 1955) (= GVI), [εἰ θέμις ἡν]. Such an unqualified parallel, originating with Kaibel according to the apparatus of GVI, hardly lends weight to what might be an otherwise probable restoration.

No. 199. Here Peek's only comment, "Pittakis hat offenbar zwei Abschriften kontaminiert," wants further explanation beyond calling attention to IG II/III2

No. 203. Peek classifies this inscription, presented in

Anhang 1, as non-Attic merely with the words "nicht attisch" given as a notation on the squeeze. Do we presume it is Kirchner's comment?

A more complete consistency in citing previous publications of some texts seems called for. Advised that references abbreviated simply to the inscription's number belong to IG II/III2 (p. 8), we find citations such as III 3345 (no. 157) and III 1392 (no. 186) rather perplexing. These do, in fact, refer to IG, that is CIA

Peek relies upon his vast knowledge of metrical inscriptions and in general supplies the missing part of a verse with great freedom. (This fact has already been pointed out by Chas. Edson in a recent review of Peek's Griechische Vers-Inschriften in Class. Phil. LIII [1958] 114 et passim.) Such interpretive restorations are to be found in nos. 181, 182, and 188, for example.

The peril in handling the transcriptions and sketched copies of another epigraphist and the question of the reliability of the resulting, usually partly restored, text may be illustrated by three versions of the same epigram (no. 179) all published by Peek.

Version A (GVI 1781):

[σω]μα μὲν ἐν κόλποις [χ]άδε γαι Ία [τρ]οκλείας, την δ[ε] ἀρετην ὁ [πόσις] | Κηφισόδωρος ὑδ[εῖ]. Version B (no. 179, p. 49):

[σω] μα μεν εν κόλποις [χ]άδε γαι Ία [τρ] οκλείας, την δ[ε] άρετην ο[ίδεν] | Κηφισόδωρος άν[ήρ].

Version C (no. 179, pp. 62-63):

[σ]ώμα μεν εν κόλποισι κατά χθών ήδε καλ[ύπτει] [Τι] μοκλείας · την σην δὲ άρετην οὐθεὶς [φθ]ίσει α[ἰών] · [άθά]νατος μνήμη σωφρ[ο]σύνης ένε[κ]α.

Version A was edited according to Kirchner's copy ("Stein verschollen?"). The ib[a was discarded from A because of its late appearance in Greek usage. The greater certainty of the reading yai' (no. 179, p. 49, where Kirchner's sketch is reproduced) is not explained by Peek in the note to Version B. Version C among the addenda et corrigenda, which make available the results of Peek's visit to Greece after his manuscript had gone to the printers, is accompanied by Peek's sketch. The prosopographical evidence has been modified in the process of finding the original reading. Peek's remark, "Meine Zweifel an iôse waren also nur zu berechtigt," rather understates the extent of such threefold disparity.

Inevitably such drastic changes will impair our confidence in the restorations and, in some cases, even the readings printed by Peek without autopsy. Although his work must be used with a proper amount of circumspection, Peek, by collecting in one place the more recent epigraphical evidence and by publishing inscriptions not hitherto available in print, has made a distinct advance in Attic prosopography.

ROBERT E. A. PALMER

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DIE WÄNDE POMPEJIS, TOPOGRAPHISCHES VERZEICH-NIS DER BILDMOTIVE, by Karl Schefold. Pp. xv + 378. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1957.

Professor Schefold has rendered an invaluable service to students of Roman painting in compiling this useful volume. Well printed and light in the hand, it will greatly facilitate the studies of professional visitors both to Pompeii and to the National Museum in Naples in addition to providing them with a conveni-

ent tool in the library.

His list of the houses and public buildings in Pompeii, pp. 8-297, follows the now standard grouping into regions and insulae. The pictorial motifs once present in individual rooms are itemized and include not only those still discernible in situ but also the themes of paintings wrenched from their original context and transported to Naples or no longer visible but documented in the primary older publications of Pompeii. The author's desire to record the extant motifs and his conviction that much that is difficult to photograph could and should be drawn are eminently praiseworthy. So, too, are his inclusion of the more important mosaics and stucco decorations in his lists, the selective bibliographies attached to single rooms as well as entire houses and the admirable indices, pp. 298-378. The latter include two concordances, one with Helbig's basic Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens (Leipzig 1868) in which the present location or Naples inventory number of each painting is indicated, so far as it is known, the other repeating these inventory numbers and coordinating them with Olga Elia's and Ruesch's guides as well as with Helbig's numbers and indicating both present location within the museum and occasional comment or bibliographical reference. A short list of the paintings on exhibition that lack inventory numbers is succeeded by a list giving the location of Pompeian houses and public buildings and by an index to the subject matter, if not the lesser motifs, of Pompeian paintings.

Professor Schefold's book will complement but not entirely replace Helbig's volume and the supplement to it provided by Sogliano, a decade later. Its descriptions are intentionally less extensive, omitting reference to color or indication of dimensions. A further primary difference between the two volumes lies in the greater objectivity of the elder. The informed reader will encounter many unexpected dates and an equal number of highly personal interpretations in these deceptively objective-looking pages. Given the character of the book, it is regrettable that the author has not indicated orthodox or alternative interpretations of debatable subjects but simply replaced them by his own: for example, the fragment from the House of the Tragic Poet long accepted as Chryseis Embarking has become the Abduction of Helen; Curtius' interesting suggestion that a scene from the tablinum of the House of the Dioscures may represent the wandering of Demeter is discarded without being cited, as is Maiuri's priestess, now become bride, in the cubiculum adjacent to the Hall of the Mysteries in the Villa Item; the round temple in the Corinthian oecus of the House of the Labyrinth has become a temple to Isis as many a hitherto secular grove or still life has become sacred. And, again, given his laudable inclusion of non-figural motifs, it is a pity that he has often omitted from his descriptions conceivably meaningful but, in any case, decoratively significant architectural features (for example, the vaulted colonnade conspicuously flanking the central panel and the folding doors in the upper register of a wall from the tablinum of the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto). With the exception of the elimination from consideration of occasional lesser or less well preserved decorated rooms in the major houses (the peristyle in the Villa of the Mysteries, several lesser rooms in the House of the Dioscures and the adjoining Domus Caetroni) and the far more enigmatic elimination of the paintings from the Villa of Cicero, these are the sole omissions in an otherwise admirably complete volume that strike the present reviewer.

The foreword, pp. v-xiv, and the chronological list of the more important Pompeian paintings, pp. 1-7, provide the reader with a key to the author's personal interpretation of the development of Roman painting and, in particular, to his highly unorthodox concept of the Fourth Style. Since these brief introductory pages are themselves concise recapitulations of views that Professor Schefold has expressed in his Pompejanische Malerei (Basel 1952) and his "Pompeji unter Vespasian" (RM 60-61 [1953-54] 107-25), it is needless to summarize them here. But it may be well to warn the reader that his classification of Fourth Style paintings as Neronian, sub-Neronian or Vespasianic has not, as yet, been substantiated by objective chronological facts or observations and that his radical view that: "Der echte flavische Stil sucht ein neues klassizistisches Ideal. das sich unter Traian und Hadrian am reinsten ausprägen wird" (p. viii) remains, in the most extreme sense, subjective. (His still more recent contribution, "Zur Chronologie der Dekorationen im Haus der Vettier," RM 64 [1957] 149ff, in which he is forced to predicate an undocumented earthquake after 64 but before 79, is not persuasive.) Hence the chronological classifications found in this volume are more than usu-

ally arbitrary.

Once the highly personal views underlying the impersonal format of Die Wände Pompejis are recognized -and it is to the author's credit that his opening pages immediately bring them to the attention of the professional reader-it may be taken from the bookshelf or carried in the hand with the utmost appreciation as an invaluable reference work, the product of

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sharp observation and infinite, painstaking, meticulous assembling and correlating of facts.

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN

SMITH COLLEGE

Museo del Prado. Catalogo de la escultura. I. Esculturas clasicas. II. Esculturas, copias e imitaciones de las antiguas (siglos xvi-xviii), by A. Blanco. Pp. 185, pls. 84. Madrid, 1957.

This is an excellent catalogue, with a scientific text and good photographs, although in some instances reproductions could have been a bit better. The collections in the Museo del Prado have been published in Hübner's corpus of 1862, in Arndt-Bruckmann's Griechische und römische Porträts, in the Einzelaufnahmen series, and elsewhere. The new volume brings everything together in concise format and makes noteworthy additions.

The collection of statues and reliefs of several descriptions is basically the old Spanish royal gallery, most of the marbles coming from Italy in the fashion in which rulers in France, Germany and Russia enriched palaces and parks from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Philip II's marbles at the Alcázar in Madrid included the standard "Twelve Caesars" of the Renaissance (busts genuine and otherwise; attributions as often amazingly accurate as romantic by modern standards). Velázquez acquired copies for Philip IV, who also secured a Roman imperial group of an eagle on arms and armor, support for a bust (no. 225-E), from Cardinal Ascanio Colonna. The big additions were the collections of Livio Odescalchi (including items once belonging to Christina of Sweden), purchased in 1725 by Philip V and Isabella Farnese, and marbles collected in Rome and surrounding areas by D. José Nicolás de Azara, Spanish ambassador from 1765. Azara conducted a fruitful dig in the "Villa of the Pisones" at Tivoli in 1779. The French authorities of the time handed over the "Lady of Elche" in 1941, and in 1944 D. Mario de Zayas presented a curious assortment of five sculptures. One of these is a head of Gudea, and another is an Egyptian hawk, probably work of the Saitic period; the "kouros" and the horse's head in the manner of those from the Acropolis speak for themselves.

With these last and a few other exceptions, the collection is not one which will excite archaeologists of the present. Problems of the various Roman copies have been solved long since by Amelung, Arndt, Lippold and other great critics of the earlier part of the century. A few portraits, such as the man of about A.D. 240 (10-E), offer evidence for various subjects, in this particular case the study of Greek and Western Asiatic influences in the development of Roman portraiture in its transition to Late Antiquity. One can add a replica to lists here and there: e.g. the Flavian copy of the head of Myron's cow, in front of the Hammond Mu-

seum at Gloucester, Mass. (under no. 111-E). Republication of the bronze head of a young divinity or athlete from the workshop of Lysippos (99-E) alone justifies the whole volume.

The bibliographies of each piece are thorough, but this is by no means the final reason why the new catalogue should be added to every archaeological and art historical library. One remembers the importance of many of these sculptures, when they were in Italy and later in Spain, to the Renaissance and Neo-Classic study of classical antiquity. The Odescalchi puteal with Dionysiac scenes (no. 173-E) is the shining example in this respect.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

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ALBUM OF DATED LATIN INSCRIPTIONS, I: ROME AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD, AUGUSTUS TO NERVA, by Arthur E. Gordon in collaboration with Joyce S. Gordon. Vols. 1, Text (pp. 160), and 2, Plates (pls. 58). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958. Cloth, \$15.00.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF LATIN IN-SCRIPTIONS, by *Joyce S. and Arthur E. Gordon* (University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. 3, No. 3). Text, pp. 168, pls. 8, figs. 36. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957. \$4.50.

In comparison with the classic works of Ritschl and Hübner, a much more accurate and scientific basis for the dating of Roman inscriptions on stone is given in these books of the Gordons. Even though for a very limited area and period (Rome during the first century of the empire), a new method has been offered and undoubtedly it will be followed in future studies.

The Album contains 161 inscriptions of the period 83 B.C.-A.D. 98; actually only a few pre-Augustan inscriptions are given for comparison, but the authors are preparing a new volume (II) for the Republican inscriptions, not only of Rome and its neighborhood but of the provinces also. Some of the inscriptions (no. 25, an epitaph of A.D. 6; 26, an Aqua Marcia boundarystone of 11-4 B.C.; 51, a post-Augustan epitaph; 113, a dedication of A.D. 60), all of them in the Museo Nazionale, apparently were unpublished. The Plates show photographs, mainly of the squeezes, and these illustrations are always clearer and surer than the old-fashioned drawings. The volume of Text contains a very thorough description (with complete bibliography) of each stone. Many interesting epigraphical contributions can be found here; the most important of them are listed on p. 7. We cannot enter now into a discussion of the datings and new readings but it can be said that the conclusions are always extremely cautious and safe.

The Contributions comprises a systematic exposition of the palaeographical observations made by the authors upon the epigraphical evidence of the Album. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with certain aspects of lettering (common script, angle and shading, module, ductus and letter forms, horizontal strokes and serifs, matching hands) and the second with other miscellaneous physical features (apices, arrangement, the abbreviation COS., guidelines, ligatures, line heights, numerals, punctuation, small or short letters apart from the O and S of COS., tall I, tall letters apart from tall I and COS., words divided at line ends). Ten pages of conclusions have been written by A. E. Gordon, whose part in these Contributions is not as large as that of his wife.

Epigraphy and palaeography supplement each other in this work, and this is the first result of the great impact of the ideas of Jean Mallon (mainly in his book Paléographie romaine [Madrid 1952]) and his collaborators, Marichal and Perrat, Although sceptical criticism of Mallon's ideas has been made in the province of Greek epigraphy, it now seems as if we were in a state of general acceptance of those ideas, and the Contributions of A. E. and J. S. Gordon are based entirely on them, especially in the main division into "common" and "capital" letters. A new subdivision, it is true, has been usefully introduced by the authors into the second term: "capital" letters are here further subdivided into "guided" and "freehand" capitals. For, even when he accepts the theory of the stonecutter's preliminary ordinatio on the stone with brush, charcoal or something else, the student must always keep in mind that the actual cutting may have followed strictly a fixed pattern on the stone or may have represented a rather free interpretation of the preliminary drawing. It is capital letters and not the common script which the inscriptions of the Album present; only two of the latter show some peculiar forms of the common

Secondly, Mallon's theory of the constant right angle between the instrument and the general line of the letters, with alteration of the angle made with the line of writing, is also accepted by the authors. Of course, the consequences of the change of angle observed about the second century, from very acute angle to almost right angle, was not of interest for the period under consideration, but the study of angle is connected with the study of variations in shading, that is, the voluntary and artistic variation of breadth and depth of cutting which appears in Latin lapidary inscriptions about 44 B.C. At the same time there seems to have been introduced the development of serifs stronger on one side than on the other and a new type of serifs that are purely curves. A new kind of elegantia founded on the well proportioned inequality of letters seems to have arisen about the time of Caesar's death.

Previously the criteria for the dating of undated inscriptions solely on the basis of the lettering were almost subjective and impressionistic because of the lack of reliable material for comparison. We have now,

for that limited area and period, a very good basis. Yet certainty is never absolute; statistics afford only a relative basis for security. For instance, no sure chronological criterion exists for the guidelines (against Hübner's belief) nor for the module (that is, the proportion of height to width of the same letter in different inscriptions); equally strong strokes in every direction, prominent interpuncts, round and short O's, M with three equal angles, are frequent in pre-Augustan stones, but nothing forbids the appearance of the same features in a later inscription; squat letters are typical of the Claudian Period but in their case we can never exclude another date. Only predominant peculiarities and general trends can be deduced from this statistical research. For instance, a progression from subtractive (e.g. IX) to additive forms (e.g. VIIII) can be observed for the numerals. It may be observed, by the way, that the authors are very doubtful whether within the whole Roman period the sign M was ever truly a numeral, because it seems more likely that it continued to be felt as an abbreviation of the word mille

However, certainty in epigraphical dating continues to be relative, and no one could be more cautious than the authors; in this study, however, an important step has been taken. The method can now be extended, not only for the Republican inscriptions, as the authors are doing, but also for the following centuries and all over the different regions of the Roman Empire. Of course, for many less Romanized regions palaeographical criteria are almost impossible, and so it is necessary to supplement consideration of lettering with that of the formula used in each region and, when identifiable, in each shop.

Latin epigraphy now possesses a new, very useful tool, and many detailed contributions in this study will be definitively incorporated into the knowledge of Roman history.

ALVARO D'ORS

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VICHY GALLO-ROMAIN, by A. Morlet. Pp. viii + 303, figs. 197. Buguet-Comptour, Macon, 1957. Fr. 1200.

Morlet's research is intended to present with full and precise documentation a complete panorama of human activities in a definite place within a limited period. His work is a précis, complete in all details, of the connection of one segment of mankind with his external environment, a connection that he views as a dynamic phenomenon. The opportunity of studying an organism in changing environments depends upon such research. In the light of C. G. Jung's theory of "archetypal connections" this study is directed toward the archetypal elements in human behavior and attempts to penetrate the psycho-analytical pattern of each ethnic group. On these bases a new history of civilization is now being proposed. Though it requires

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in some part a psycho-analytical interpretation of finds, this interpretation depends upon material collected and chosen for the light it can shed upon archetypal elements in human culture.

It is to this basic kind of work that Morlet's book belongs, devoted as it is to achieving a complete panorama of human activities in Vichy (ancient Aquis Calidis) during the period of Roman domination. In its tone it differs from older manuals on the same subject, such as Dechelette's, for the author aims at presenting the finds complete, so as to offer a synthetic, unified picture of changing cultural phenomena.

The historical period examined is peculiarly interesting for archetypal investigation because in the finds of this age there appear peculiar archetypal connections between the various groups that lived together continuously in varying proportions in Aquis Calidis. The succession of civilizations permits study of the decline and transformation of social institutions and cultural traditions at all stages. The relations of "archetypal connections" and "ambient rhythmo-biological conditions" underwent constant variation, observable at almost every stage, and so, at least in part, there emerge in focus the psychological motivations of behavior and the different syndromes in which unconscious manifestations appear without subjection to any apparent external mechanism.

The presentation and interpretation of the archaeological material, highly original, are designed to permit such a theoretical approach, and this is the major value of the book to the historian of the "new history" of civilization. Additional virtues are Morlet's many original observations on various artistic techniques, especially the pottery of Vichy which is examined in detail. Morlet takes the opportunity to develop his thesis about the relations between lead-glazed pottery and red pottery of the usual Roman type. In fact, the former must now be called Celto-Greek pottery; the technique of lead glaze was introduced to Vichy by potters from Greece, where it had developed about the third century B.c. under Syro-Egyptian influences. Morlet's important contribution is to prove connection between Celtic pottery and the red vessels by discovering prototypes for technical details and decorative motifs of red ware in the pottery "à glaçure plombifère."

FURIO JESI

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ROMAN HISTORY FROM COINS, by Michael Grant. Pp. 96, pls. 32. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1958. \$2.75.

Mr. Grant's latest contribution to numismatic scholarship is intended for the general reader but will be of value also to the classical student. His object is to show the significance of coins for the elucidation of many features of the Roman world. Grant writes well

and has managed to compress within the limited space at his disposal a wealth of information about political figures, economic policy, imperial propaganda, social customs, religion and art.

The job of a historian is never to be satisfied with the judgment of history. The author meets his obligation to advantage. One of the more interesting sections of the book cites the evidence of coins to temper the popular condemnation of the activities and character of Nero. Roman coins were issued under the control, direct or indirect, of the Emperor himself and, while Nero had other vices, self-abasement was not one of them. If, however, we refuse to accept the numismatic verdict for Nero, why have we accepted it for Augustus, to whom the coins were equally a vehicle of propaganda? In the case of Augustus, much of posterity has welcomed the interpretation of his reign which his coins support; in the case of Nero the reverse is true. Grant pleads for fuller admission of numismatics into the battery of tools with which the historian works, through the recognition of its importance in elucidating many areas of Roman history. It is well to be reminded, for example, that the third Christian century would be much darker than it even now is were it not for the light which coins throw upon it. One can safely say, too, that most future contributions in this period must wait upon the numismatist as he learns more and more of the subtle secrets of his art. The impressive record which the discipline has already built up appears throughout the text as Grant defines major areas of Roman experience, in some cases solely through the citation of coins, in others through the use of coins as supporting evidence. There is even a section for the ladies which sketches the various coiffures of the Roman empresses.

The plates are of a high order and give a good impression of the artistic achievements in metal of which the ancients were capable. Probably in the interests of drawing up a well-proportioned plate the numerical sequence of the coins is sacrificed and one has often to hunt before locating the specimen described in the text. Also, something could have been said not only about the imperial, but the Republican coinage as well, for this, with its greater variety and generally closer definition of events and personalities, has frequently more to say to us than even its imperial counterpart. Aside from these possible improvements, this is an attractive little volume and serves the purposes for which it is intended.

GEORGE L. KUSTAS

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ROMAN COLCHESTER, by M. R. Hull (Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. xx), with an introduction by I. A. Richmond. Pp. xxxii + 301, frontispiece, pls. 44, text-figures 123. Oxford, 1958.

The Roman colonia just to the east of the site of Belgic Camulodunum, from which it takes its name,

was founded in A.D. 49-50; surviving as it does today as the modern and medieval Colchester, it can claim to rank as the earliest city, in the full and proper meaning of that term, to be established in the British Isles. Moreover, among all British towns that were Roman foundations, none has preserved so completely, so obviously, and so impressively as has Colchester its Roman form and character. For by far the greater part of their 13/4 miles' circumference the city-walls are conspicuous and standing, sometimes, as at the western main gate (the so-called Balkerne Gate), to a height of 15 feet; and their line can be clearly traced all the way round the roughly rectangular area of 108 acres that they girdle. Until comparatively recent times these ancient walls held the busy post-Roman town in check; and even today, when the modern suburbs spill themselves on all sides down the slopes of the low hill that the colonia crowned, the outline of the Roman city still remains sharply defined amid these accretions, while on the east side, north of the site of the east gate, the modern streets and houses stop abruptly at the Roman wall, beyond which there extends a green and empty meadow. No contrast could be greater than that between the Essex landscape and the Val d'Aosta. Yct the experience of following the Roman walls of Augusta Praetoria is precisely the same as that of making the circuit of Roman Camulodunum, where most probably (pp. 80, 106), as in the Alpine city certainly, both theater and amphitheater lay within the shelter of the defences. (Mr. Hull implies, on p. 106, note 1, that this was also true of Roman Turin. But a plan of that city drawn in 1416 shows an amphitheater well outside the walls.)

No archaeologist could boast a knowledge of a Roman town more complete and intimate than Mr. Hull's of Roman Colchester. For many years he has been Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, which now occupies the picturesque eleventh-century Norman castle, and he is joint-author, with Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, of Camulodunum (1947), the Research Report on the 1930-39 excavations on the site of the Belgic capital. The present monumental volume represents the fruits of his intensive study of the relics of the Roman colonia and of the accounts of his predecessors' investigations, of his own excavations both within and without the walled Roman area, and of his critical appraisement of the conclusions drawn from the field-work of other present-day "diggers" at Col-chester. Large portions of the book do, in fact, consist of excavation reports of a very detailed and technical character and of lists of pottery-finds and pottery-types, of coin-finds, and of discoveries of structural and other relics-all alike invaluable to the archaeologist and to the historian. We are given an exhaustive survey of the approaches to the Roman town (and there we would have welcomed one more map, of the coastal and inland districts relevant to Colchester), of the citywalls and gates, now assigned to the late second century, of the Roman streets, of the 40 insulae in the 'grid" that those streets fashioned, and of the temples, houses, kilns, cemeteries and earthworks that lay

without the walls. But the wealth of detail here provided never obscures the general picture, of which the significant and salient features are made to stand out boldly. These are the great classical temple of the imperial cult (its substructures can be visited beneath the castle), built under Claudius, re-erected after the Boudiccan sack in A.D. 61, and standing in a temenos, of which the southern, highly ornamental, marble-clad façade encroached upon the main east-west street of the Roman town; the great Balkerne Gate on the west, of which substantial portions still survive, and the minor northeast gate, with its windowed superstructure; the much-disputed semi-subterranean building east of the temple, with its long adjacent drain; the extra-mural temples and, in particular, that at the Gosbecks site, with its associated theater and bronze statuette of Mercury, the latter being perhaps the finest object of its kind that has yet come to light in Roman Britain; the kilns for making local red-gloss pottery on the Gaulish model; the bronze head of Claudius (frontispiece), almost certainly looted from the colonia and now in private hands near its find-spot in Suffolk; the walled cemetery to the west of the city; and last, but by no means least, the three fine stone sculptures now in the Museum, also found in the western sepulchral area-the Facilis and Longinus stelai and the Sphinx. (Professor Richmond points out, p. xxx, note 5 that the fragmentary veiled stone head in the Colchester Museum, again from the same sepulchral region, has been published, despite Mr. Hull's assertion to the contrary on p. 254, note 2.)

As Professor Richmond shows at the opening of his brilliant introductory essay on the history, culture and religious life of Roman Colchester, of this trio of sculptures the stelai certainly antedate Boudicca's rebellion and are therefore among our earliest examples, worked locally in British stone, of carving in Roman Britain. The Facilis stele and Sphinx are clearly from the hands of Italian artists attached to the invading legions, while the Longinus grave-relief represents the effort of a less gifted, but still competent and classically trained, provincial craftsman. The Sphinx and the snake-devouring lions that top the latter stone are not, pace Mr. Hull, Mithraic symbols (p. 112, note 4), but common funerary motifs; and they occur, moreover, on the tombstone from Murrell Hill, now in the Carlisle Museum, of a member of the female sex which was, as we know, excluded from the cult of Mithras. And talking of Mithras, I must confess to sharing to the full Professor Richmond's disbelief (p. xxviii) in Mr. Hull's theory that the above-mentioned partly subterranean building could have been a Mithraeum (pp. 112-13). That the Persian mystery-god had his votaries in Roman Colchester we need not doubt, but his shrine here has not yet come to light.

It is hardly possible, within the limitations imposed by a review, to do proper justice to the value and importance of Mr. Hull's work. But I have at least tried to indicate how convincingly it demonstrates that, as the senior *colonia* of the British province and as the city that most probably remained its capital, culturally and religiously if not also politically, throughout the Roman period, Colchester is the place that students of the Roman Empire visiting England from abroad should make for first.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

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FOUILLES DE GLANUM, 1947-1956, by Henri Rolland (Gallia, Supplement XI). Pp. 135, pls. 47, figs. 13, plans 9. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1958.

This is M. Rolland's third report on Glanum, his site between St. Rémy-de-Provence and the Alpilles which continues to produce rich archaeological harvests (see "Fouilles de Glanum," *Gallia* Supplement I, 1946, dealing with the excavations from 1921-1945, and "Les Fouilles de Glanum de 1945 à 1947," *Gallia* VI, 1948, fasc. I). A series of Roman monumental buildings, probably begun during Agrippa's governorship of Gaul in 20-19 B.c., stood in the narrowing and rising valley to the south of those previously described. To obtain the level area required artificial terraces were built up 2 m. and 3.50 m. above the level of the quarter to the north.

The first building is a large court with porticoes and, at its northern end, a colonnaded hall. Only fragments of the superstructure remain and the function of this complex, whether religious or civil, has not yet been determined. Next comes an open space with the bases of structures, one of them a fountain, which, to judge by the debris, were monuments decorated with sculptured trophies. East of them is a pair of small temples which M. Rolland suggests were dedicated to the two young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar; a headless marble statue of a young boy in a toga, wearing round his neck the bulla aurea, which was found in the passage between the two temples, may represent Lucius. At the bottom of a well in front of the temples were two portrait heads, identified as being of Octavia and of Julia. The ancient street leads up the hill past porticoes perhaps built to accommodate pilgrims, and passes through a gateway in a fortified temenos wall of the pre-Roman period, towards the sacred spring which lies 5.40 m. below the old ground level. A handsome nymphaeum was built round the spring and beside it is the temple of Valetudo where was found an inscription reading (VAL)ETVDINI M. AGRIPPA. Beyond is a shrine of Hercules, with inscriptions, and opposite the nymphaeum a flight of steps leads up in the direction of a native sanctuary on the hillside above.

As might be expected, the "fill" of the terraces, which extends nearly to the temenos wall, contains many finds and covers a number of earlier buildings. These include a Hellenistic temple (Glanum I) with a wall of very fine masonry with tooling identical with that of the Greek town wall of St. Blaise ascribed by M. Rolland to the 4th century B.C. Similar masonry occurs in the temenos wall. A neighbouring building

of Glanum I had, built into its foundations, three stone posts containing the niches designed to hold skull-trophies, familiar from Roquepertuse and Entremont (F. Benoît, L'art primitif mediterranéen de la vallée du Rhône, 2nd ed. 1955) and also found at St. Blaise. These, and part of a cross-legged statue, are presumed to have come from the native shrine above the spring. Another stone, a lintel, with more niches for têtes-coupées, was found lying, with its sculpture turned out of sight, seemingly re-used as a bench, along the foot of the wall by the temenos gate. It has a classical cornice, with leaves above a row of bead-and-reel, but cut into it by a later, less skilled hand, are the five niches.

The religious and cultural history of Glanum is obviously of great interest, but much remains to be elucidated, especially the Celto-Ligurian background. The têtes-coupées stone at St. Blaise antedates the Greek wall (H. Rolland, "Fouilles de St. Blaise, 1951-1956," Gallia Supplement VII, 1956, p. 41), but the same cult flourished at Entremont right up to 125 B.c. Whereabouts in the picture do the stones at Glanum come? Some are earlier than the Hellenistic temple; but what are the niches doing on the lintel with its classical decoration? M. Rolland's dating for Glanum is as follows: native sanctuary above the spring, 6th-5th century B.C.; Glanum I, the Greek, or Gallo-Greek, town, and century, coming to an end about 100 B.C.; Glanum II, under Roman republican influence, c.100 to 49; Glanum III, 49 B.C.-A.D. 270. The beginnings of Glanum I are not yet very clear; it is surprising that there should be up to 150 years' difference between the masonry of St. Blaise and that of the Glanum I temple; the masonry of the temenos wall shows St. Blaise influence, but with modifications. In an appendix the discovery of a wall under a building of Glanum I is noted and in soil against this wall sherds of the 6th-5th centuries, as in the native sanctuary, were found. It may therefore be hoped that the work still going on at Glanum will fill the gap between the 5th and 2nd centuries B.C.

Readers of the earlier reports will be interested to know that M. Rolland now reads the graffito on the wall plaster in the "House of Sulla" as belonging to the consulship of Gaius Sossius, 32 B.C., and not, as previously, Caius Cassius, 96 B.C.

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ÉTUDES D'ÉPIGRAPHIE, D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE AFRICAINE, by Louis Leschi. Pp. 442, figs. 54, maps and plans 18. Arts et Métiers graphiques, Paris, 1957.

For some twenty-two years, from 1932 until his death in 1954, Louis Leschi was Director of Antiquities for Algeria while also, in the Faculté des Lettres, in charge of instruction in the antiquities of North Africa and in Ancient History generally. The resulting fragmentation of his time and effort probably prevented him from accomplishing any larger works, but this made it all the more necessary to assemble a selection of the more important and the relatively less accessible among the many short and scattered papers and reports that represent his achievement. Such a selection composes the stout volume here noticed, due to the initiative of Marcel Leglay and the support of the Gouvernement Général de L'Algérie. Prefixed is a bibliography of M. Leschi's papers from 1923 to the posthumous publications of 1955. Those selected for this volume range in date from 1924 to 1954 and, after a number of articles of general interest for the whole of the territory of Algeria, are divided according as they refer to Africa Proconsularis, to Numidia, or to Mauretania. Most of them, as one would expect, deal with inscriptional finds, but the material treated includes archaeology from Punic to Christian, aerial surveys of the Limes and excavations of the forts, economic questions, military organization, and remains of early Christianity.

The usefulness of the collection is immediately evident. Many articles of considerable value which have lain hidden in relatively inaccessible journals such as the Revue Africaine, L'Algérie Catholique, or the Receuil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société archéologique du département de Constantine are here made available. For example, an article about Macrobius entitled "Le dernier proconsul païen de la province d'Afrique (410 ap. J.-c.)," which originally appeared in the report of the IIe Congrès national des Sciences Historiques (Alger 1930) is not noted in either of two such excellent works as Frend's Donatist Church or Warmington's North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest. Moreover, an important study of the camp of the Legio III Augusta at Lambaesis which was published only in brief summary in the report of the sixth archaeological congress in Berlin in 1939 could here be presented in full. Necessarily, a selection of articles from over thirty years will include results that have been used in later work. Thus the account of the hoard of Punic coins that established Icosium (Alger) to be a Punic trading post has passed into Mazard's Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque, and inscriptions of the Cirtensian region, which throw fresh light on the nature of the Cirtensian federation and such localities within it as the Castellum Tidditanorum, have been reported in the Année épigraphique and incorporated into Pflaum's recent edition of Volume II of the Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie. Other studies form part of the basis of Salama's work on Les Voies romaines de L'Afrique du Nord, and others again of Baradez on the Fossatum Africae. With Leschi's studies now available we can see in the original publication the original setting of many finds, and learn the extent of his inspiration and contribution.

Points of detail cumulatively exemplify the progress of the study of Roman North Africa in this generation: a new proconsul of Africa (111f), a new governor of Numidia (143), the correct name of Colonia Sarnia (not Sarnensis) Mileu (149), a Roman camp at Lam-

baesis in A.D. 81 which has made necessary a new view of the occupation of the region (16), new evidence for the boundaries of the tribal territory of the Nicives (315), new names of municipia such as Uneniensis at Henchir el Abiod (296ff), previously unknown assignments of land by the Severi near the Chott el Hodna (75ff), and the late foundation of Castellum Centenarium on the Limes (47ff). Nor should we miss the excellent article on "Rome et les nomades du Sahara central," the archaeological expedition into the Guergour (333ff), or the essay on the traces of early Christianity in the Département of Alger (411ff). Human interest is served by the record of P. Aelius Cattus who at 104 years (297ff) rode a horse about the quarries, and the Christian stone-cutter who suffered for his faith in the quarries of Julius Felix (298f).

This varied fare is supplemented by a considerable number of maps, plans, and plates, and extensive epigraphical indexes. Further care in proof-reading would have been desirable (see, for example, the title on p. 132). The whole is a worthy memorial to M. Leschi and a valuable service to all students of the antiquities, archaeology, and history of the Algerian portion of Roman North Africa.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SOUTH ARABIA, by Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., and Frank P. Albright with contributions by Berta Segall, Joseph Ternbach, Albert Jamme, Howard Comfort, and Gus W. Van Beek. Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, edited by William F. Albright. Volume II. Pp. 315, pls. 214. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., 1958. \$10.

In 1950-52 the American Foundation for the Study of Man, under the leadership of its founder, Wendell Phillips, conducted a series of excavations in Wadi Beihân in the West Aden Protectorate, at Mârib in the Yemen, and at Khôr Rôri in Dhofâr. Since there have been only two previous excavations in South Arabia, and these on a rather small scale, the information acquired by the American expedition promises to do much to fill out our picture of the cultural history of this little known part of the Semitic world. A popular account of the expedition has already appeared from the pen of Mr. Phillips under the title Qataban and Sheba (New York and London 1955). The publication of the scholarly reports, requiring a whole series of volumes, is being made possible by the generosity of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust and the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation of Pittsburgh.

The present volume is handsomely produced, abundantly illustrated and provided with the first reliable map of the Qataban area (the Wadis Beihân and Harîb), based on the surveys of Messrs. F. Heybroek

and Nigel Groom. Part I is devoted to the Beihân area and to some of the finds from Hajar Kohlân (ancient Timna', the Qatabanian capital). Bowen's study of the irrigation system of Qataban constitutes a major contribution to our understanding of the economy of ancient South Arabia. He maintains that the earthen dams thrown across the wadis were not designed to store up water for future controlled irrigation—not even the famous Mârib dam served that purpose; their sole function was to disperse immediately the waters of the periodic torrents (seils), with their load of fertilizing silt, over the fields as rapidly and uniformly as possible.

The art of seil-irrigation was developed by the Oatabanians to such a high degree of efficiency that tremendous deposits of silt were built up in the Wadi Beihan. Bowen calls this silt "one of the most extraordinary sedimentary deposits in the world." By the time the irrigation system was abandoned ca. A.D. 200, the silt had reached an elevation of from 15 to 18 m. above the wadi bed. Excavation at Hajar bin Humeid disclosed traces of human occupation as far down as level 7.5 m., a level which the archaeologists of the expedition date to ca. 1000 B.C. Thus in the 1200-year period between 1000 B.C. and A.D. 200 some eight meters of silt had accumulated at an average rate of 1 m. every 150 years. Bowen estimates that there are 4 m. of silt, plus a natural elevation, beneath the lowest occupational level at Hajar bin Humeid, and these 4 m. would require 600 years to accumulate at the above rate. Since he contends that all the silt in the Wadi Beihan is the result of irrigation and not due to natural geological processes, he dates the beginnings of irrigation in the Wadi Beihan to the middle of the second millennium B.c. or even earlier. But such an early date is not supported by any archaeological evidence. Furthermore, if in the Wadi Hadramaut dozens of feet of silt were built up by geological action, as he himself admits, why may not the silt below the earliest traces of human occupation in the Wadi Beihân have been built up in similar fashion?

Discolored circular patches still visible on the ancient fields are interpreted by Bowen as marking the site of ancient myrrh plantations. If Qataban were a myrrh-producing centre, the identification of Strabo's Marsiaba (the farthest point reached by Aelius Gallus' expedition in 24 B.c. and said to be "two days' journey from the country that produced aromatics") with Mârib receives strong support, for Mârib is just a little over 40 miles (i.e. two days' journey) from the Wadi Beihân.

Bowen also contributes a chapter on "Ancient Trade Routes in South Arabia," a chapter which is supplemented in some respects by Van Beek's discussion of "Ancient Frankincense-Producing Areas." Bowen attacks the common assumption that there was only one incense route in South Arabia, maintaining that several were in use, with two of outstanding importance, one leading from Cana (mod. Bîr 'Ali) to Shabwa and thence across the Ramlet Sabatein to Nejran, the other leading from Eudaemon Arabia (Aden) to the Wadi

Beihan and thence to Marib, the Jauf and Nejran. From Nejran north there may have been but one road. A map of Southwest Arabia (pl. 33) compiled by Heybroek on the basis of his own and von Wissmann's unpublished work illustrates his discussion.

There are three articles dealing with some of the finds made at Timna'. Of particular interest is Berta Segall's discussion of two bronze lionesses with infant riders found beside a house called Yafash opposite the main gate of the city. The cleaning and restoration of the objects carried out by Mr. Joseph Ternbach (whose report is appended) has made necessary some modification of the views which she expressed in AIA 59 (1955) 210ff. The motif of infants mounted on animals is traced back to Hellenistic and more specifically Alexandrian prototypes where it symbolized the supremacy of the sun over the moon. Miss Segall is inclined to believe that the motif must have had a similar significance at Timna' and that it points to the existence of a struggle between the cults of the Sun and Moon in South Arabia. But of such a struggle our sources know nothing. The other parallel to which Miss Segall draws attention, that between the twin riders of Timna' and the Greek Dioskouroi, is more convincing since the Dioskouroi sometimes appear as protectors of houses and the Timna' group is associated with the building, or rebuilding, of the House Yafash beside which it was found. At Palmyra twin gods resembling the Dioskouroi served sometimes as protectors of caravans. Admittedly the above interpretation ignores the indications of struggle and subjugation which appear in the Timna' group, namely the chain about the neck of each lion and the dart or javelin in the hand of the riders, but this part of the symbolism may well have been lost on the Arab owners.

The inscriptions found on the base of the lionesses are dealt with by Albert Jamme, as are some other inscriptions relating to the House Yafash. No. 119 is of especial importance for Qatabanian chronology in that it shows that Hawh'amm Yuhan'im, the father of Sahr Yagil Yuhargib, was the brother of Fari'karib, father of Yadi' 'ab Ghaylân.

The discussion of the fragments of Roman pottery and glass from Timna' by Howard Comfort has a direct bearing on the date assigned to the destruction of Timna'. After the initial campaign W. F. Albright suggested a date of ca. 50 B.C. for the fall of the city (BASOR, No. 119, p. 10), a date which he subsequently lowered to 25 B.C. (BASOR, No. 127, p. 35). However, Comfort states that while there is nothing in the finds which could not have reached Timna' by A.D. 9, "there is a good deal that could fit without strain into a Tiberian context, or even later." Thus it seems evident that Albright's date must be lowered still further.

Part II deals with the excavations conducted by Frank P. Albright at Mârib. A sounding was made outside the oval or kidney-shaped wall which surrounds the Mahram Bilqîs, the famous temple of the Sabaean moon-god, Ilumquh. The wall, of casemate construction, is of good limestone ashlar and built without the

use of mortar or clamps. Its original height was 9 or 9.5 m. above ground level. An inscription on the wall attributes its construction to the *mukarrib* Yadi''il Dhirrih b. Sumuhu'alay (mid-seventh century B.C.). Other inscriptions attest several phases of restoration or new construction, particularly in the late fifth century B.C.

Inserted in the oval wall on the northeast side is an entrance hall which measures 23.97 m. x 19.15 m. on the inside. It consists of an open court surrounded by a portico whose roof was carried by 32 rectangular monoliths. The inner faces of the walls and of at least one outside face are ornamented with false windows. The peculiar orientation of the hall suggests that it did not belong to the original plan, while the dressing of the masonry shows that it comes from the same period as the 14 upper courses of the oval wall, i.e. from the second half of the 5th century B.C. A great quantity of votive inscriptions found in the hall are to be published by Jamme in another volume of the series.

A large 5th century B.C. mausoleum, containing some 60 burial chambers, was cleared, as were some 8th century B.C. tombs found to the south of the mausoleum. A Catalogue of the objects found in the tombs and temple area lists 161 pieces, among which the presence of 17 bronze statues or statuettes is particularly noteworthy.

The volume concludes with a discussion of the origin and development of marginally drafted, pecked masonry by Gus W. Van Beek. His discernment of six stages in the development of this style of dressing in South Arabia will aid materially in the future dating of Arabian architectural remains.

With the present volume South Arabian archaeology is placed for the first time on a sure footing. The remaining volumes in the series will be awaited with keen anticipation.

F. V. WINNETT

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LE STOFFE COPTE DEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO DI FIRENZE (ANTICA COLLEZIONE), by *Lucia Guerrini*. Pp. 6 bibliography + 102, pls. 40. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rome, 1957.

This is a well arranged catalogue with good illustrations and copious references to publications of other collections. The specimens, most of which seem to have come from Achmîm, are discussed under three main headings: Hellenistic Period, Period of Transition, and Coptic Period. The "Premessa" gives the reasons for using these terms and also expounds definitions of them. At the end is a short chapter on tunics and their decoration, followed by an excellent bibliography. Within the Hellenistic Period bi-colored fabrics are listed first, polychrome second, and under each of these subdivisions as under the two other main head-

ings, stuffs with human and/or animal representations or religious symbols appear in group I, stuffs with vegetal or geometric patterns form group II.

The individual notes on each specimen begin with registration number, plate number, dimensions (warp dimension not necessarily given first), material (warp material not specified), provenience and date. There follows a description indicating color as well as design, and finally pertinent references to other collections or publications. The argument, however, is entirely based on design and color without taking advantage of the complementary, and basic, data furnished by a study of the crafts used in each piece. If Miss Guerrini would add a technical supplement to this good art historical study she would find most of her points strengthened. A few points would be changed.

For instance, if the warp dimension was stressed a radical difference between Nos. 86 and 89 would be more apparent. In both cases she has given the longer dimension first which obscures the fact that No. 86 is a narrow band of decoration woven into a wide fabric. whereas No. 89 is a long tape woven on a narrow warp. Murals in the tomb of a noble at Beni-hasan show such narrow tapes used as bindings on the costumes of Asiatics of the time of Abraham. Actual specimens found by Petrie at Hawara dating from the Early Christian centuries seem to be part of a Syrian costume. It is possible, therefore, that this example came to Achmîm in trade. The materials for both Nos. 20 and 30 are simply given as "lana e lino." However, the warp of No. 29 is probably wool, that of No. 30 linen. As both wool and linen are used together in the weft patterns of many early textiles, art historians tend to forget that fabrics woven on linen warp were not woven by the same "guild" of weavers as those on wool warp. They also ignore the fact that S-spinning—the yarn turns in the direction of the center section of the letter S-is the traditional spinning of Egypt, whereas Z-spinning was practiced in many other localities. Foreign workmen often used Egyptian linen yarn which was noted for being soft and pliable, but they usually spun their own wool. So the spinning of the wool, and even the type of wool used, may give a useful hint as to where the fabric was made or by whom. Since Miss Guerrini already realizes that the stylistic character is related to the production these data would help her distinguish between foreign workmanship and the Egyptian adaptations of imported pattern elements. For instance, can the spinning of No. 1 be of help? Under the discussion there is a reference to Kendrick I, t.xv, 76. From personal analysis I know Kendrick 76 to have a warp composed of S-spun single linen yarns. The linen weft is S-spun also, but the wool weft is Z-spun. To an analyst this means foreign influence of some sort, either an imported fabric or a foreign workman weaving in Egypt. If the spinning of No. 1 is the same, Miss Guerrini would have sure grounds for calling this piece Hellenistic. It might even be one of those d

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responsible for bringing this system of decoration to Egypt. Numbers 63 and 64, pl. xx, are good examples of two different weaving traditions. No. 64 is plain slit tapestry weaving, current in many places, but No. 63 has outlines done in a raised sumac technique the west yarn wraps successive warps-which suggests Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Was the piece imported or had a foreign workman come to Egypt? Two different traditions are even more clearly shown if we compare No. 45, pl. x and No. 62, pl. xix. The warp of No. 45 is composed of single linen yarns which are used in pairs. The warp of No. 62 consists of plied linen yarns used one by one. To make this latter warp a whole extra process was required before the loom could be set up-the process of plying two yarns already spun. The grouping of single warp yarns in order to weave a tapestry ornament in a linen fabric is common practice in Egypt. The plying of yarns before setting up the loom is habitual in Persia and Mesopotamia. Both methods seem to have travelled over the trade routes. Wherever this piece was made the craft tradition still governed the stylistic character of the drawing, for it will be found that this type of pattern sticks very closely to a plied linen warp, whereas the cheery little horseman on No. 45 only appears on linen warp made of single yarns. It would be interesting to study the fabrics with plied linen warp as a group in order to evaluate the foreign influences as against those in fabrics with single linen warp. And as Achmîm was a center of linen weaving, the relatively few specimens with wool warp might also be studied as possible imports. The linen manufactured at Achmîm must have travelled far and wide and may have been bartered for other fabrics.

Nos. 95 and 96 are a very interesting pair showing how much more clearly detail could be worked at that period by the tapestry method rather than with the aid of a simple drawloom harness. No. 103 demonstrates the difficulty of managing the drawloom harness also, for the pattern in the roundels may have been a leaf like those on No. 17 rather than a winged monster.

Turning back to pieces of undoubted Egyptian origin, No. 70 may be dated too early. The top and bottom borders are the pseudo-Arabic which continued to be used for decoration after the historical tiraz formulas went out of fashion in the 12th century. Eleventh century examples with comparable confronted animals, but still with historical texts, may be seen on pl. xxix of the Textile Museum's Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics, Kühnel-Bellinger (Washington, D.C., 1952). Judging from our own collection, Miss Guerrini may find the colored weft of No. 70 is actually silk as she says it looks to be. The linen weavers in Egypt began using silk for a colored tapestry weft in the middle of the 10th century. Before that time Egyptians embroidered with silk but had used wool for colored tapestry work. Dyed wefts at this period are more likely to be animal fibers than vegetable fibers, although in the 12th century trade with the Yaman

seems to have started a fashion of striped linen warp —usually blue and white.

Altogether the collection of fabrics presented in this catalogue is so interesting and the historical study is so carefully done that it would be of great use to students in the field if a technical study could be added as an appendix or companion article.

LOUISA BELLINGER

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THE ARTS AND CIVILIZATION OF ANGKOR, by Bernard-Philippe Groslier and Jacques Arthaud. Pp. 230, pls. 194 (5 in color), figs. 26, maps 3. Translated by Eric Earnshaw Smith. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957. \$15.00.

This superb volume is not merely a sumptuous and arresting picture book. Its brief, but very comprehensive, text combines with the carefully selected photographs to provide a thought-provoking account of the rise and fall of an almost-forgotten civilization, as mirrored in the development and decline of its chief city with its temple-mountains. Angkor, the capital of ancient Cambodia in Indo-China was, until 1927, still described as a mysterious city built by a lost people. However, careful archaeological research has since succeeded in determining a rather detailed chronology, as well as defining the economic and cultural development of the remarkable civilization that was established by the ancestors of the modern Cambodians.

One of the great names in this chapter of archaeological research was that of Georges Groslier, so it seems very fitting that this book by his son should sum up that work, providing a semi-popular, but very thorough, synthesis of the knowledge assembled through recovery and reconstruction of the remaining stone temples, translations of the inscriptions, and the results of further excavations in the area of the former Khmer Empire.

The main theme of the book is a remarkably clear and beautifully illustrated account of the once great city which the French archaeologists and their Cambodian helpers so laboriously recovered from the jungle in the forty years between 1907 and 1947. It tells how the city rose, as a cultural focus in a rich agricultural area, further blessed with fish-filled lakes and access by river to sea-borne trade; how it was maintained economically—by a hydraulic system that must have been even more remarkable than the stupendous temple structures-with some vivid descriptions of the life and activities in the living city; and finally how it collapsed after a long decline, and was swallowed by the jungle. Much of this material is quite new, and the author assures us that it is based on the latest researches, for which he was unable to give precise

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references because of the nature of this book. From a scholarly point of view that is most regrettable.

In a beautifully written conclusion, the author thoughtfully appraises the Khmer civilization. Although it was the most important, the most brilliant and original culture in Indo-China, in fact in all Indianized Asia, its great achievements were based primarily on the country's wealth of natural resources. Meanwhile, the centralizing conception of the godking, that at first held the nation together, gradually led to an excessive emphasis on the royal person, which, after the brilliant but frenetically active reign of Jayavarman VII, produced a kind of hypertrophy that exhausted the nation. It was the great weakness of the ancient Cambodians, Mr. Groslier tells us, that they were unable to evolve a philosophy of man and his destiny, or any theory of power that considered human welfare, therefore their civilization was incapable of spreading very widely and carried within it the seeds of its own doom.

The rich and powerful, even poetic, language of the text sometimes sinks to awkward clichés, passages of purple prose, and occasional unwarranted exaggerations. For example, Angkor was not "razed to the ground" after its capture by the Chams in 1177; many of the buildings, including the great palace itself, survived, as we read in the succeeding paragraphs. Some of the awkwardness in style and wording are clearly the fault of the translator. This is obvious when the French historical present is carried over into English in places where it is inappropriate. A far more serious cause for complaint is the very inaccurate chronology in the "Synoptic Table," which is particularly erroneous and misleading in the column on China. In fact an ignorance of Chinese civilization and its probable contributions to Khmer civilization is one of the few weaknesses in this fine book. The name Indo-China is not without historical significance, and if the great temples and their decoration are mostly ascribed to Indian influence, surely the wood and tile architecture, as reproduced on some of the reliefs, and the elaborate official organization and hydraulic methods behind the vast irrigation projects, which made the civilization and its temples possible, must have stemmed originally from China.

On the whole, faults and errors are remarkably few, and this beautiful book is in itself a monument to a remarkable civilization, and to the archaeologists and research scholars who have been working to revive its memory.

SCHUYLER V. R. CAMMANN

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARABIC METROLOGY. I. EARLY ARABIC GLASS WEIGHTS AND MEASURE STAMPS ACQUIRED BY THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1951-1956, by George C. Miles, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 141. Pp. x + 124, pls. 13.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1958.

This monograph is worth the attention of students of Byzantine and Coptic as well as Islamic cultural history, since the making of glass weights was a trait borrowed by early Islam from the Byzantines along with the units of weight themselves. The production of such Islamic weights, as well as measure stamps, was confined almost entirely to Egypt, where the Byzantine tradition was carried on by Copts in the service of the Muslim rulers. Islamic glass weights and measure stamps first make their appearance in Egypt shortly after A.H. 90 (A.D. 709), not long after Coptic was replaced by Arabic as the language of the state accounting system in the reign of the caliph al-Walid (A.D. 705-715). It appears, however, that even after the shift to Arabic, Copts continued to be in charge of the production of these weights. A number of them bear Coptic names as the designation of the maker and grammatical and orthographic errors in the Arabic inscriptions may be due to the fact that the makers were not overly familiar with the finer points of the conquerors' language.

Dr. Miles, as in his previous monographs on this subject, has produced much more than a simple catalogue. He has contributed much not only in a historical way, but also along the lines of metrology and pharmacology, since the measures involved appear to have been used to measure vegetable substances for pharmacological purposes. The principal problems that continue to be unresolved are those concerned with the identity of certain officials mentioned on these weights and measures. The establishment of many of these identities may have to await the appearance of new historical sources. In the meantime, however, this monograph will take its place along with Dr. Miles' other works as standard reference material for those working on Islamic numismatics and metrology.

As is inevitable with material that presents the difficulties and uncertainties that this does, there are points, most of them minor, where there is room for a difference of opinion in the matter of readings, translations and transcriptions. The inscriptions are often fragmentary owing to breaks in the glass material and the script frequently is crabbed and crudely written. All this is in addition to the normal hazards presented by Kufic script, in which any word not part of a stereotyped formula or phrase presents difficult problems of interpretation. The emendations suggested herewith are addressed both to the above considerations and to certain inconsistencies in rendering or translating terms. The numbers used below refer to those given to the appropriate objects in the work under review.

I (see also nos. 108-110). The word duhn had probably better be translated as "fat" instead of "grease"; "oil," used by Dr. Miles as a translation of

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this word on p. 70 of his Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps, is not correct.

17. The third line of this inscription, which is badly

written, would appear to be bi-rub' qist.

32. The word that Dr. Miles in this and numerous other places transliterates bi-san'ihi and (elsewhere) bi-tab'ihi probably should be rendered as bi-san'ati ("the making of," instead of "its making" or "its stamping"). Dr. Miles has interpreted it as bi-san'ati in the case of no. 53, where the syntax permits of no other interpretation (as in the case of nos. 56-57 also). There is no syntactical reason why the same rendition should not be used in all other cases where the word occurs.

48. In line 4, the word mīzān should be preceded by the preposition bi-. The verb amara (ordered) instead of the noun amr (order) should be supplied in line two and the translation "order of" changed to "ordered."

51. The writing al-'Āf for al-'Ārrāf would seem to be merely an error, of which a number occur in these inscriptions. For this reading see Jungfleisch, "Les ratls discoïdes en verre," BIE 10 (1927-28) 67.

80. In line 4, *nisf* probably should be *bi-nisf*, since the verb *amara* takes the preposition *bi-* (with).

84. Dr. Miles in numerous instances has translated the word *al-wafā'* as "honesty." The term "full measure" would be more appropriate, particularly in the context of weights and measures.

85. The present reviewer shares Dr. Miles' reservations regarding the reading of the word in the last line of this inscription as *al-mishsh* (whey). *Mishsh*, a common substance that still forms a staple part of the diet of lower-class Egyptians, does not seem to be a likely

candidate for the pharmacopoeia.

to4-105. The reconstruction of this inscription cannot be correct, but since the stamp in question is not illustrated it is difficult to judge what the correct reading should be. The verb amara (ordered) in the first line cannot have as its object both bihi (it) in the first line and bi-san'ati (the making of) in the third line unless the writer of the inscription badly botched it.

125. In the second line, amara should be amr, since the preposition bi- necessary to the verbal form is lack-

ing before mithaal.

on this piece is Nawfal ibn al-Furāt (as in al-Maqrīzi, ed. Wiet, V, 108), not Nawfal ibn Furāt. The form in the inscription is an error of carelessness.

165-166. It might be suggested that the final character following the word wāfin on both of these weights is a sīn, possibly the initial of the Salamah whose stamp appears on no. 166.

172-173. The meaning of the phrase amta'a Allāh bihi in line 4 of the obverse is more accurately rendered

"may God give him enjoyment [of life]."

209. A propos of the unidentified Hilāl mentioned on this weight, al-Maqrīzi (ed. Wiet, III, 156) (all references to al-Maqrīzi in this review are to his *Khiṭaṭ*) mentions that Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn asked the caliph's

permission to dismiss ibn al-Mudabbir as controller of the *kharāj* and to give the post to a certain Hilāl, which request was granted. This Hilāl, however, is otherwise unidentified, but in any case the weight would then be Tūlūnid.

214. An examination of the illustration of this piece reveals that while the first and possibly the third line of the inscription is retrograde, the second line apparently is not. If one reads it as if normally written, it would seem to represent the name Mubārak.

222-223. The last word on the second line should be rendered 'ashar, not 'Is. The word is written in a normal fashion except for the lengthened first vertical

stroke of the letter shīn.

254. The word 'ayār should be vocalized 'iyār, and it seems likely that this was the word used for these weights themselves after the term sanjah fell out of use. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in al-Maqrīzi, ed. Wiet, II, 107 we are informed that the Dār al-'Iyār ("Bureau of Standards") in Cairo was a place in which standard weights (mawāzīn) and measures (makāyīl) were kept and where weights and measures belonging to the public were adjusted and corrected. The revenues derived from its operation were devoted by Saladin to the maintenance of the walls of Cairo.

260-261. One cannot but agree with Dr. Miles in rejecting Dr. Paul Balog's belief that this weight's date is to be taken at its face value, i.e. a.h. 88. In addition to the excellent arguments adduced by Dr. Miles, there might be added the fact that dates in MSS were frequently written without the centuries when the latter were clear from the context. A number of examples of this can be found in al-Maqrīzi, ed. Wiet (e.g. III, 89, where the year 107 is written simply as "seven").

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

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THE CULTIVATION AND WEAVING OF COTTON IN THE PREHISTORIC SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES, by Kate Peck Kent. Pp. 276, figs. 143, tables 14, maps 13, charts 23. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 47, Part 3, Philadelphia, 1957. \$4.00.

This important addition to the literature of archaeological textiles is the first attempt to consider the fabric development of the prehistoric American Southwest as a whole and to correlate data, theory, and opinion from many sources. Mrs. Kent has correlated the fabric descriptions scattered through archaeological reports of Southwestern sites with the results of her own meticulous investigations of the cotton fabric remains of the area. By including in her own analysis of hundreds of fabrics currently housed in 17 American museums those previously recorded and reported by others, she was able to correlate many originally disparate descriptions;

and the result is a far more comprehensive and comprehensible picture of the fabric development of the entire area than has hitherto been available.

While it is Chapter V, with its 116 pages of illustrated descriptions of the cotton fabrics and their techniques, that forms the nucleus of the work, Mrs. Kent has, in addition, assembled and coordinated much welldocumented information and opinion on such pertinent subjects as: the cotton plant, its origin, diffusion, and cultivation; spinning, methods and implements as related to various fibers; looms, presumable types and varieties of archaeological evidence; as well as something of the range of color and possible methods of application. Considerable attention is given in later chapters to the presumed uses of the fabrics (the classification of techniques is sometimes qualified by the conjectured use as, for example, cradle bands, p. 523) and to the regional occurrence of various types and techniques of design. The fabric development in different areas of the Southwest is traced through the prehistoric periods and the fabrics are compared with those of the historic period. The fourteen tables included in the text offer convenient summaries of certain aspects of the data.

Some of the background for references to bast fiber fabrics in the text is presented briefly in Appendix A; Appendices B and C comprise a total of 23 charts. Chart 1, which makes up Appendix B, lists by site name the "age and general contents" of 140 "sites mentioned in the text" (with the location of 92 indicated on the accompanying map). Although lacking the correlation with the text found in the other charts, it fully documents Mrs. Kent's museum and bibliographic sources and is a valuable compilation of information. Appendix C, "a catalogue of specimens discussed in the text," consists of 54 pages of charts listing the fabric specimens by museum catalogue number, with figure and page references for those which are illustrated or discussed in the text. The specimens catalogued in these charts are grouped according to technique and/or use under headings which to a large extent correspond to those in the text. A list of the headings of these 22 charts would have made their con-

Obviously there are few if any aspects of the subject under investigation to which Mrs. Kent has not given careful attention. But it is in the analysis of the fabrics, the meticulously illustrated and carefully documented presentation of the facts compiled in an exhaustive study of these archaeological fabrics that this reviewer finds the greatest strength and value of the monograph. Although harassed, as is any investigator of fabric techniques, by inadequate terminology (which she effectively describes as "a confusing welter of terms") and the lack of any standard system of classification, Mrs. Kent has provided a large measure of compensation in the detailed clarity of her extensive and precise diagramming (which lacks only a proper regard for the significance of the reverse aspects of fabric structures).

tents more immediately available for reference.

It should be especially noted that one of Mrs. Kent's primary aims was "to understand and describe the various processes used in manufacturing cotton fabrics" (p. 463) because "detailed description of the processes used in weaving" (p. 461) entails, in a study of archaeological fabrics, using such facts as can be ascertained from a study of the fabrics themselves as a basis for speculation about construction methods (for which there is little, if indeed any, reliable archaeological evidence-particularly in the Southwest). It is true that the speculative reconstruction of method is in all cases based on an analysis of the original fabric structure and that each analysis was verified by duplication of the structure "on a model loom having the essential features of the contemporary Pueblo vertical loom" (p. 464). It is also true that the author is aware and takes care to inform the reader of the conjectural nature of her "reconstructions" of process and implementation. Nevertheless, the form in which the descriptive material is presented is such that it is often difficult to ascertain whether it is the prehistoric fabric that is being described or the method by which the author reproduced it. For example, it is stated on p. 555 that: "There is one excellent example (ASM 2983) of double-west twill, the front section of a breech cloth. in near perfect condition, from Gourd Cave (fig. 75; 115 B). Two heddles and a shed rod, rigged for overtwo under-one plain twill were used in weaving this cloth. . . . " The statement in a subsequent paragraph that "the insertion of double wefts was probably done after the manner shown in Fig. 115, B, 4, as follows . . ." is the only indication that it is the procedure followed in duplicating the breech cloth that is being described in this particular instance. Such descriptions of procedure, illustrated as they usually are by diagrams not only of the author's analysis of the structure of the original fabric, but also of the "heddlerig" she used to duplicate it, give persuasive (if occasionally misleading) authority to the postulated weaving process. This is not to question the value of the speculation, which is both admirably imaginative and technically sound in the light of modern Pueblo methods; it is rather to suggest that the interests of the reader would have been better served if fact and conjecture had been more clearly distinguished.

A major premise of the work, basic to both its scope (see p. 461) and its methodology (and perhaps in part responsible for the pervasive emphasis on means of construction) is the concept of a "loom-and-cotton complex"—the theory that the loom was introduced into the Southwest in association with cotton. The concept is repeatedly suggested by phrases like "cotton (and its associate the loom)" (p. 467); "a knowledge of cotton and loom-weaving" (p. 462); "before the introduction of cotton and the loom" (p. 654); and by undifferentiated listing of "evidences of cotton and loom weaving" in a number of the tables. It necessarily influences the author's interpretation of her own and others' findings and leads, among other things to a somewhat arbitrary differential classification of plain weave fabrics as "loom-woven" or "non-loom."

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It also leads to a seemingly paradoxical assumption that while pre-cotton plain weave apocynum (or bast fiber) cloth is probably "non-loom," plain weave cotton cloth can be considered evidence of loom weaving. In her discussion of "the distribution and history of plain weaves," after an enumeration of the "earliest dated plain weave cotton cloths," Mrs. Kent says:

"These finds establish the presence of loom-woven [my italics] plain weave cotton cloth in the Southwest generally by at least 700. Cloth-impressed sherds from the Georgetown Phase (500-700) in Tularosa Cave indicate that loom weaving may have been practiced there somewhat earlier than Pueblo I. The cloth represented may, of course, have been bast rather than cotton. Plain weave fiber cloths have been found in Basketmaker II sites in the Kayenta region and in Chihuahua. These are technically unlike the cotton or fiber plain weaves of 700 and after, and may have been woven by different methods. (See Appendix A, p. 658, for a discussion of bast fiber fabrics.)" (p. 491)

This reviewer was unable to find that there was any evidence of loom weaving noted in connection with the plain weave cottons; and a careful perusal of Appendix A did not disclose any consistently dissimilar technical features from which "different methods" of construction could be inferred. On the contrary, in Appendix A the possibility of a pre-cotton loom is conceded:

"These cloths [Basketmaker II plain weave apocynum] must have been woven on a fixed-warp frame. If the frame was equipped with a string loop heddle, as may well have been true, it means that the loom was present in the Anasazi area perhaps 400 years before our first good evidence of cotton in 700." (p. 658)

Elsewhere the possibility is less firmly stated and an apparently two-way correlation between loom and cotton is frequently suggested:

"If we consider that the plain weave apocynum cloth of B M II was loom woven, and that the loom was acquired with the cotton plant, we can say that the Anasazi had at least a nodding acquaintance with cotton around 300 or 400, although they did not yet have enough of the new fiber to weave with it. This however is pure speculation." (p. 467)

"Although there are isolated finds of cotton and related forms of evidence by means of which the record for loom weaving may be pushed back in the Southwest to A.D. 700 or earlier. . . ." (pp. 461-62)

All in all it seems to this reviewer that the monograph provides ample evidence that weaving techniques in the Southwest developed and were considerably elaborated after the introduction of cotton, but literally none from which to infer a specific correlation between introduction of the use of heddles and that of cotton—and according to Mrs. Kent, "It is the heddle which distinguishes a true loom from a fixed-warp

frame" (p. 483). Evidence for a heddled loom is entirely inferential. Such evidence as "loom-anchors" suggests the use of a wide vertical frame and it is not unreasonable to infer the use of some device for heddling in association with it. Deducing the type of a prehistoric loom on the basis of the type known to have been used in the same area in historic periods is a valid use of ethnographic data; but postulating a prehistoric loom type on the basis of a comparison of prehistoric with historic fabrics involves interpretation that is far more subjective. Loom products from the Southwest as well as from other parts of the world generally fail to bear out implications of any causal relationship between loom type and fabric characteristics, such as: "there is no evidence of the wide vertical loom in Anasazi territory before 1100 except for the fact that plain weave cloth is west-face" (pp. 638-40). Nor is the implication borne out that Pueblo weaving of the historic period has been predominantly weftfaced (p. 486, for example). On the contrary the woven kilts and "brocaded sashes" in ethnographic collections consistently show a predominance of warp over west count; and cotton and wool "mantas" alike, in plain weave or twill, plaid or striped, tend to either a balanced use of warp and weft ("square count") or pre-dominant warps. Of course Navajo weaving (on a vertical loom much like the Pueblo loom) is quite consistently weft-faced.

It is inevitable that there should be in a textile study of the extent and detail of this many terms, definitions, descriptions and theoretical conclusions which will trouble textile specialists and non-specialists who are familiar with a wider or a different range of fabrics. As Mrs. Kent remarks of her own experience in classifying and describing all Southwestern textiles according to a single scheme: "Certain factors which could not be clear to students of one or another particular village on the basis of what they found locally were clarified by the study of related material from other sites" (p. 453). It is to be hoped, of course, that in time a single scheme according to which all archaeological fabric material can be classified and described will be worked out. But that is a goal to be worked toward. Here and now we are fortunate in having, in the graphically presented information in this monograph, an invaluable record of the essential characteristics of pre-Spanish fabrics from the Southwest. The expert delineation of fabric structures in itself provides a much-needed basis for comparison of these fabrics with others from different times and places.

IRENE EMERY

TEXTILE MUSEUM WASHINGTON, D.C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE NORTHERN SIERRA MADRE OCCIDENTAL, CHIHUAHUA AND SONORA, MEXICO, by Robert H. Lister, with reports by Paul C. Mangelsdorf and Kate P. Kent. Pp. vii + 121, figs. 21, pls. 33, charts 13. Univer-

sity of Colorado Studies, Series in Anthropology, No. 7. Boulder, Colorado, 1958. \$3.50.

This small volume is the result of Lister's field work in Mexico between 1951 and 1955. The excavations here described took place in eight caves, although twelve in all were surveyed. These caves divide into three geographical groups: Cave Valley and the Río Garabato in northwestern Chihuahua, and Arroyo del Concho across the Sonoran border. Although Las Ventanas in the Río Garabato is a far more impressive cliff-dwelling and later materials were found more abundantly elsewhere, by far the most important site here described lies in Cave Valley. It is Swallow Cave, the only one containing remains of a pre-pottery but maize-using people.

As a result of his study of the corn cobs collected in the caves, Mangelsdorf contributed a chapter (pp. 96-109) on the evolution of maize in northwestern Mexico. He concludes that there "is not [yet] proof that the maize of the American Southwest originated in northwestern Mexico, but there is a strong presumption that this is the case." After a very careful study of the archaeological materials collected in the pottery levels, Lister shows that the earliest one has a strong Mogollon Three influence (following Wheat's subdivisions). In other words, the pre-pottery agriculturalists of this area seem to have taken their plants and techniques from the south, whilst the immediately succeeding pottery-makers are in the Mogollon tradition of the north. We hope that further study will shed more light on this most interesting situation.

The last ten pages of the report summarize Lister's findings. He shows the existence of four cultural levels:

1) The preceramic, only found at Swallow Cave; its beginning is totally in the dark but it seems to end towards A.D. 900.

2) The first pottery level, corresponding to a late Mogollon Three period, datable around 900.

3) The architectural remains of a cliff-dwelling population, assigned to a Mogollon Four or early Five date, between 900 and 1000.

4) Sherds of the Casas Grandes culture, found on the surface, and following the abandonment of the caves; these should date between A.D. 1000 and 1100.

The four periods come out quite clearly from Lister's accurate and detailed study, but the dating of them seems, to the reviewer, to be rather tight, leaving little time for the various levels in the caves to develop. Still, this is mainly a problem of Mogollon dating, too complex to go into here.

The author concludes, "Therefore, it is postulated that the Mogollon people who had already come under some Pueblo influence, i.e. in architectural forms, began moving out of the mountains into the open country, perhaps seeking better agricultural lands, and came under even greater Pueblo influence. Soon the culture lost its Mogollon identity and became predominantly Pueblo. This is the complex that has become known as the Casas Grandes culture, it is be-

lieved that it will become apparent that certain culture elements from central Mexico also influenced the Casas Grandes people" (p. 115).

This is exactly what is occurring as the Amerind Foundation excavations proceed in Casas Grandes itself. More and more elements obviously of Mesoamerican origin are coming to light and all of them so far seem to be related to the Toltec culture. Not only does this agree rather neatly with Lister's dating for the end of the "Chihuahua Mogollon," but it also sheds new light on the nature of the Toltec empire and its tremendous power of diffusion. From entirely different sources, Paul Kirchhoff is reaching similar conclusions that also show that the northern frontiers of Mesoamerica, at this period, extended further north than heretofore postulated.

Fortunately Lister is continuing his excellent work, now in the Durango area. This means that the very good report here reviewed will be followed by similar ones on other parts of northwestern Mexico.

IGNACIO BERNAL

DEPARTAMENTO DE MONUMENTOS PREHISPÁNICOS, MEXICO

The Aztecs: People of the Sun, by Alfonso Caso. Translation and notes by Lowell Dunham. Pp. xvii + 97, frontis. (color), figs. 42 (color), pls. 16. University of Oklahoma Press, The Civilization of the American Indian Series, No. 50, Norman, 1958. \$7.95.

This is a popular introduction to the religion of the Aztecs and to the interpretation of central Mexican pictorial manuscripts by one of the foremost scholars of the peoples of ancient Mexico. It is an English translation of Caso's El Pueblo del Sol published in Mexico in 1953. It represents a revised and expanded version of an earlier work of Caso, La religión de los aztecas, published in 1936 and translated into English in 1937. The text is beautifully illustrated by numerous drawings in color by the late Miguel Covarrubias based on ancient codices from the region of central Mexico.

In general the book serves its purpose well. Caso begins with an exposition of the cosmogony and cosmology of the Aztecs, in the course of which he makes clear the debt which they owed to the people who preceded them and this debt is emphasized throughout the book. The Aztecs, whom we know best, are simply the last of a long line of peoples who produced the civilizations we now know under the generic term Mesoamerican.

There follows a series of discussions of the most important of the Aztec deities, beginning with Quetzal-coatl and Tezcatlipoca. This forms the body of the book. In the section on the Sun God, Tonatiuh, Caso presents an explication of the Stone of the Sun, known popularly and incorrectly as the Aztec Calendar Stone. As he says, the stone "is simply a very elaborate representation of the sun." Unfortunately, the caption

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accompanying the photograph of this carving unnecessarily helps to perpetuate this confusion—which it did not in the Spanish edition.

Caso's discussion of the gods closes with a description of the paradises and hells of the Aztecs. This is followed by a chapter on the two calendars of the Aztecs, the 260-day ritual calendar and the 365-day annual calendar, in the course of which he presents brief accounts of some of their ceremonies. A chapter on priestly organization stresses the importance of the priesthood in Aztec political organization and the role of the priests in the education of Aztec youth. The book closes with a brief chapter in which Caso presents his interpretation of the role played by religion in the life of the Aztecs in both its positive and negative aspects.

Unfortunately, particularly in view of the audience to which this book is directed, Caso makes no systematic attempt to place Aztec religion in the context of Aztec social structure. This is the more to be regretted in view of his eminent qualifications for such a task. (He is now engaged, for example, in an exhaustive analysis of Aztec social organization.) It is also to be regretted that he does not explore the extent to which the complexities and nuances of Aztec religion as he presents them were shared or even appreciated by all the members of Aztec society.

Dunham's translation, like most translations, is not free of significant changes in meaning but it is on the whole excellent and renders the spirit of the text faithfully. Aside from this I noted only one anomaly: the great archaeological site of Cerro de las Mesas is rendered as "the hill of Las Mesas." There is also a misprint in one of the notes in which Pomar is identified as the grandson of the "King of Nezahualpitzintli" (King Nezahualpitzintli of Texcoco).

The accompanying plates, while generally smaller than those in the Spanish edition, are reproduced in most cases more clearly.

In sum, a thoughtful, richly illustrated introduction to Aztec religion and the *codices*.

R. F. MILLON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

MIXTEC ETHNOHISTORY. A Method of Analysis of the Codical Art, by *Philip Dark*. Pp. 61, figs. 7, tables 2. London, Oxford University Press, 1958. \$4.80.

The various picture-written books of ancient Mexico, known as codices, are of the greatest importance to our view of the cultures and history of Mesoamerica, but they are still far from being completely understood and interpreted. They divide into two major classes, pre-Conquest and post-Conquest, with some on the borderline and not readily classified in either group. In all there are about twenty-two pre-Conquest purely native documents attributable to several of the culture centers of late pre-Spanish times. Three are of Maya

origin, four Nahua or Aztec, six known as the Borgia group are thought to have come from the Puebla-Tlaxcala area, and the largest group of nine or ten are classified as Mixtec, a people of the western portion of the State of Oaxaca.

These pre-Conquest codices appear to be concerned largely with religious or ritualistic matters, but some are historical in content. Notable in the latter category are the Mixtec codices known as Zouche-Nuttall, Vindobonensis, Bodley, and Selden that appear to contain genealogical records of the Mixtec rulers. Alfonso Caso, who is the outstanding student of the codices at the present time, has recently made some very exciting studies of these, claiming to be able to trace in them a genealogical record extending from A.D. 692 to the 16th century. It is the longest really ethnohistoric account we have for anywhere in the New World.

The study under review is the presentation of a method to be used in the interpretation of these confusing and not easily understood pictographic genealogical records in the Mixtec codices. It is meant to apply to all such records, but is directed primarily to Codex Selden and Codex Bodley. Its author feels that Caso's "reading" of the codices is in large part subjective and not capable of proof, as it is in his so-called ideographic-iconographical method.

The book is an explanation of this method and cannot be described in any detail here. The operation of the method consists in supplying standardized symbols for the male-female pairs of figures that indicate marriage in the codices and others to represent male or female children and several other indicated relationships, so that one comes up with a large chart of symbols in place of the original drawings. These are then reduced to still simpler symbols so that relationships and the patterned regularities that occur can be more clearly seen. Finally a method is described whereby various kinds of data from the codices can be put onto punch cards,-the author's "aspect-sheet system" in order that the various pictorial elements from the different codices can be readily found for comparison or for any desired analysis.

Without going through and testing the entire operation oneself, it is difficult to judge the usefulness and effectiveness of the suggested methods. My impression is that the methods will probably be useful to some workers and not to others depending on their attitudes toward such systematizations of complex data. It would be a mistake, however, if any student of the Mixtec codices did not study the methods suggested by Dark, who has obviously given long and careful thought to the problems of their interpretation.

This is a highly specialized treatise that will be of interest primarily to students of the codices and of Mexican archaeology and history. It is possible, however, that the methods described would be applicable to similar kinds of complex materials in other fields.

GORDON F. EKHOLM

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

RIVER BASIN SURVEYS PAPERS, NUMBERS 9-14, edited by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. Pp. ix + 392, figs. 13, maps 9, pls. 73. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 169, Washington, 1958. \$3.25.

The River Basin Surveys Papers series is a vehicle for publication of reports on salvage archaeology (and occasionally history and palaeontology) in Federal reservoirs in the United States. The present volume contains six independent reports, Papers Nos. 9 through 14, the first three on work in the Great Plains and the rest on studies in Georgia and Florida.

The first paper, No. 9, is "Archeological Investigations in the Heart Butte Reservoir Area, North Dakota," by Paul L. Cooper. This is a report on emergency salvage work in 1948 at the Koehler site on the Heart River, a western tributary of the Missouri. The site is identified by Cooper as an 18th-century bison hunting station of the horticultural Mandan tribe, whose earth-lodge villages were a hundred miles distant in the Missouri valley.

Paper No. 10, "Archeological Investigations at the Tuttle Creek Dam, Kansas," by Robert B. Cumming, Jr., reports work in 1953 on the lower reaches of the Big Blue River in northeastern Kansas. Cumming made brief investigations at sites of Early, Middle, and Late Ceramic times, including two protohistoric villages, one of them probably attributable to the Kansas tribe.

Paper No. 11, "The Spain site (39LM301), a winter village in Fort Randall Reservoir, South Dakota," by Carlyle S. Smith and Roger T. Grange, Jr., describes work done in 1953 in south-central South Dakota, in the Missouri valley. The small Spain site is interpreted

by the authors as a winter village occupied about A.D. 1500-1700 by Pawnee or Arikara.

Paper No. 12, "The Wilbanks Site (19CK-5), Georgia," by William H. Sears, reports salvage operations in 1948 in an interesting ceremonial structure at a site in the Alatoona Reservoir in northern Georgia. The main occupation of the Wilbanks site was in the Etowah period, at the climax of the Mississippian culture, a few centuries before the coming of the Europeans.

Paper No. 13, "Historic sites in and adjacent to the Jim Woodruff Reservoir, Florida-Georgia," by Mark F. Boyd, is an historical study of the documentary evidence on a series of Indian and European sites of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries along the lower Chatahoochee and Flint Rivers. This paper sheds light on the social, economic, military, and at times personal, aspects of the painful transition from Indian to White occupation.

Paper No. 14, "Six Sites near the Chattahoochee River in the Jim Woodruff Reservoir Area, Florida," by Ripley P. Bullen, is a report of archaeological excavations in the area discussed by Boyd in the preceding paper. The sites studied provide a good sample of the prehistory of the area, from pre-ceramic to historic times.

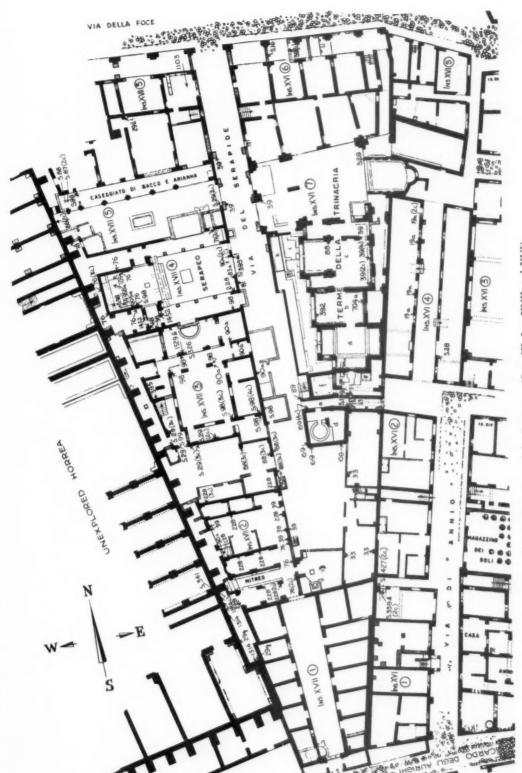
The papers in this volume are directed specifically at students of the areas discussed, and are competently written, with good illustrations of representative artifacts. They are not without interest to the general archaeological reader, however, especially in the case of the last three papers, which contain frequent discussions of general historical problems.

E. MOTT DAVIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Erratum, Volume 63, No. 2:

In "Excavations at Serra Orlando, Preliminary Report III," pp. 167-73, the name of Mr. James Jarrett as architect of the expedition should be added.



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Fig. 1. Ostia, area of the Scrapeum (Reg. III, Ins. XVII and XVI) with indications of brick-stamps found in situ

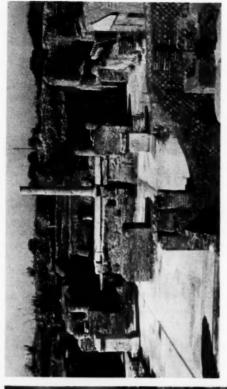


Fig. 2. Serapeum of Ostia from east (courtesy Soprintendenza alle Antichità Roma III)

REG. 11

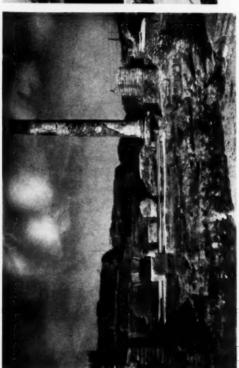


Fig. 3. Serapeum of Ostia, detail (courtesy Soprintendenza alle Antichità Roma III)



Fig. 4. Serapeum of Ostia, detail (courtesy Fototeca Unione Roma)

Fig. 5. Plan of Quarter of Vigiles, Ostia (Reg. II, Ins. III-V, XII)

Fig. 1. Amazonomachy. Terracotta mold for Calenian guttus. Paestum Museum



Fig. 3. Amazonomachy. Relief from Calenian guttus. Louvre



Fig. 8. Coin of Tarentum. British Museum. Enlarged



Fig. 2. Modern impression from mold, fig. 1



Fig. 4. Amazonomachy. Relief from Calenian guttus. Museum für antike Kleinkunst, Munich



Fig. 9. Glass engraved gem, once in Marlborough Collection. Enlarged



Fig. 5. Stele of Dexileos, Kerameikos Museum, Athens



Fig. 10. Female head. Relief from Calenian guttus. Louvre



Fig. 12. Relief from Calenian guttus. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



Fig. 6. Relief from base. National Museum, Athens



Fig. 7. Relief from same base as fig. 6. National Museum, Athens



Fig. 11. Coin of Syracuse, signed by Kimon. British Museum

Reli



Fig. 13. Coin of Katane. British Museum



Fig. 14. Coin of Syracuse, signed by Eumenes. British Museum



Fig. 15. Head of Herakles, Relief from Calenian guttus. British Museum



Fig. 16. Coin of Kamarina, signed by Euainetos. British Museum



Fig. 17. Helmeted head of Amazon (or Athena). Relief from Calenian guttus. British Museum



Fig. 18. Coin of Syracuse, signed by Eukleidas. British Museum

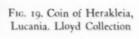




Fig. 20. Bull. Relief from Calenian guttus. Louvre



Fig. 23. Coin of Messana, British Museum



Fig. 21. Coin of Thourioi. British Museum



Fig. 24. Panther, Relief from Calenian guttus. Louvre



Fig. 22. Hare. Relief from Calenian guttus. Berlin Museum



420-400 B.C.

Fig. 26. Nereid. Relief from Calenian guttus. Louvre



Fig. 27. Coin of Terina. British Museum



Fig. 28. Nereid. Relief from Calenian guttus. British Museum



Fig. 29. Nereid. Impression from gold ring



Fig. 30. Aphrodite. Coin of Aphrodisias. British Museum



Fig. 39. Death of Pentheus. Relief from Calenian guttus. Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 40. Hera and Phoitos, on kylix by Aristophanes. Berlin Museum



Fig. 41. From gigantomachy on amphora by Suessula Painter. Louvre



Fig. 33. Coin of Syracuse, signed by Kimon



Fig. 31. Quadriga. Relief from Calenian guttus. Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 32. Quadriga from Calenian phiale. Metropolitan Museum



Fig. 34. Quadriga from silver phiale. Metropolitan Museum



Fig. 35. Hermes, infant Dionysos and maenad. Relief from guttus or askos. British Museum



Fig. 36. Hermes carrying Arkas. Coin of Pheneus. British Museum



Fig. 37. Hermes, from marble relief. National Museum, Athens



Fig. 38. Echelos and Basile, from same relief as fig. 37

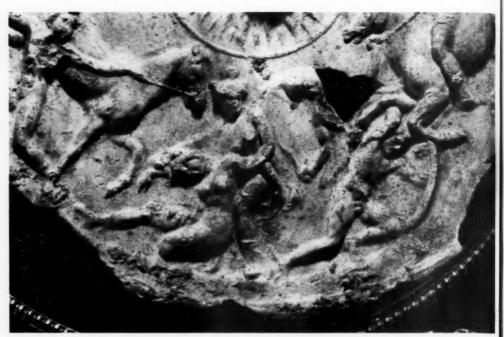


Fig. 42. Amazonomachy. From plaster tondo in Vatican



Fig. 43. Two Amazons from Calenian guttus. Amsterdam



Fig. 44. Two Amazons. Fragment of Campana relief. Louve



Louis



Fig. 47. Fragment of Locrian relief. Amsterdam



Fig. 46. Silver phiale from Ithaka. British Museum



Fig. 48. Calenian phiale. Louvre



Fig. 49. Fragment of Calenian mold British Museum



Fig. 50. Bottom of phiale in fig. 45



Fig. 51. Two terracotta phialai. Paestum Museum



Fig. 1. Aerial view of Straits of Salamis

n mold

useum

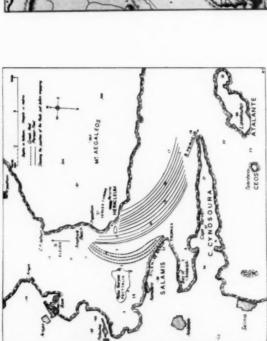


Fig. 2. Hammond's map of the Salamis channel

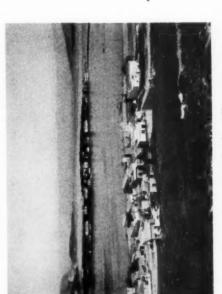


Fig. 4. Agios Georgios from Kamatero

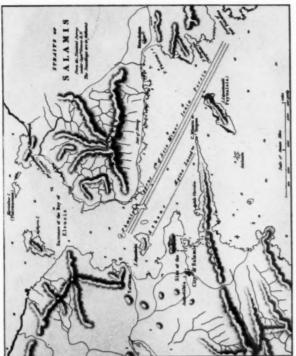


Fig. 3. Leake's map (1841) showing ruins of Salamis town



Fig. 5. Lipsokoutali and Talantonisi from Cape Varvara

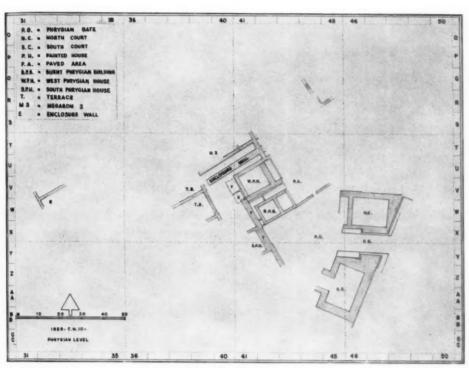


Fig. 2. Plan of the Phrygian Level

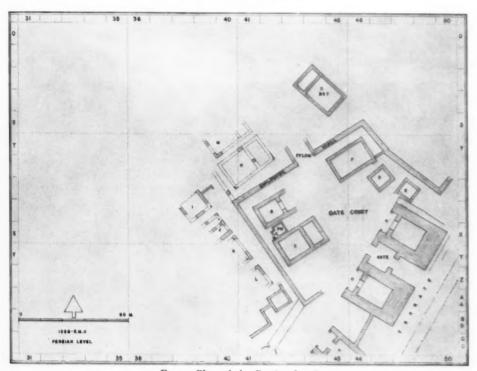


Fig. 3. Plan of the Persian Level



Fig. 4. Fortification wall of the Küçük Hüyük in relation to the City Mound and the Phrygian Gate



Fig. 5. Area of excavations, 1958, on the City Mound. From southeast



Fig. 1. Imported sherds of the post-Kimmerian "Lacuna Period"

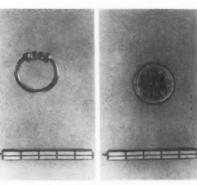


Fig. 6. Gold ring with terminal lions' heads Fig. 12. Gold rosette



Fig. 7. Building M, southeast corner



Fig. 8. Attic black-figured amphora fragments



Fig. 9. A pot hoard from Building M



Fig. 10. Pithos with Phrygian graffito from pot hoard

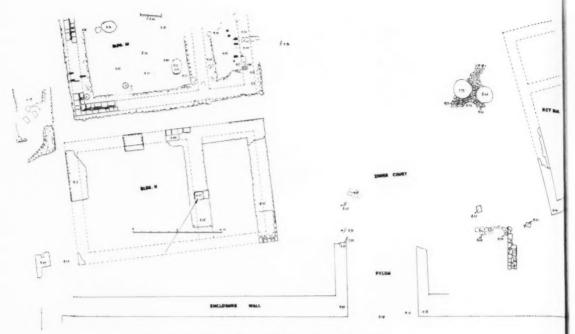


Fig. 11. Plan of Level VI

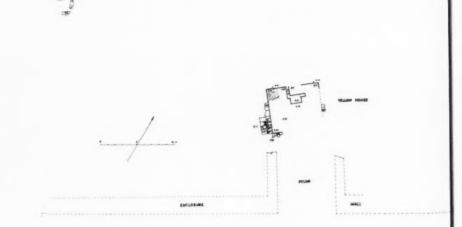


Fig. 13. Plan of Level V

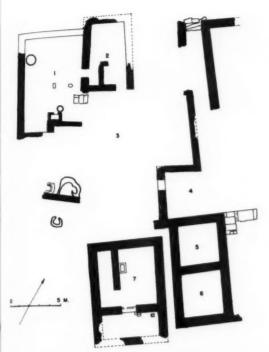


Fig. 14. Plan of Potters' Establishment

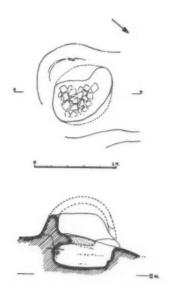


Fig. 18. Plan and section of the later kiln



Fig. 15. The earlier kiln



Fig. 20. Unfired mold for terracotta female mask from later kiln



Fig. 17. The later kiln

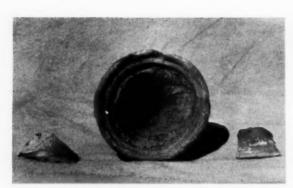


Fig. 19. Unfired mold for a conical finial(?)
from later kiln

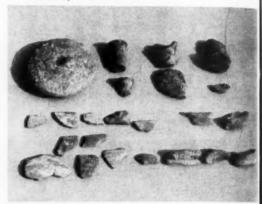


Fig. 16. Unfired pottery fragments from the earlier kit

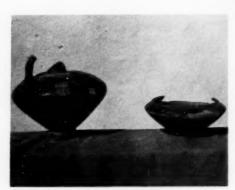


Fig. 22. Black burnished pots from latest Hellenistic level



Fig. 21. Fired unguentaria from level of later kiln



Fig. 2. Reliefs on blocks at Marib (after Fakhry)

Fig. 1. The "house model" relief from Yemen (after Grohmann)

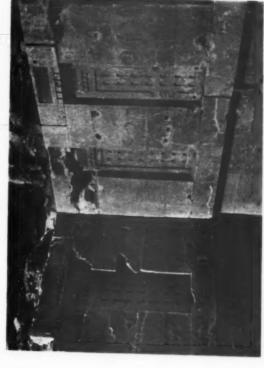
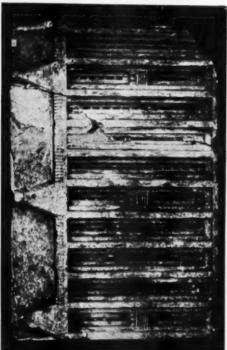


Fig. 5. False windows in entrance hall of Temple Awwam at Marib (American Foundation for the Study of Man photograph)



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Frg. 6. Inscribed plaque from Hajar Bin Humeid (American Foundation for the Study of Man photograph)

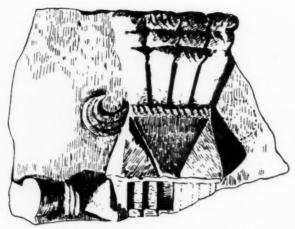


Fig. 3. Fragment of relief in San'a Museum (after Rathjens)

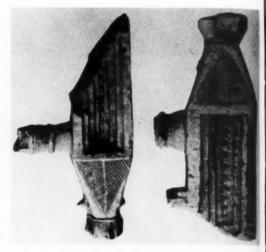


Fig. 4. Furniture legs in limestone from Yemen (after Rathjens)

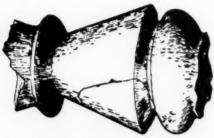


Fig. 8. Marble stretcher with turnings from Ḥuqqa, Yemen (after Rathjens and von Wissmann)

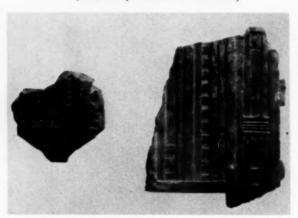


Fig. 9. Recessed panels in limestone (left) and marble (right) from Timna'



Fig. 7. South Arabian incense burner in Marseille Museum (after Grohmann)



Fig. 1

FIG. 2

Inv. no. 58-536

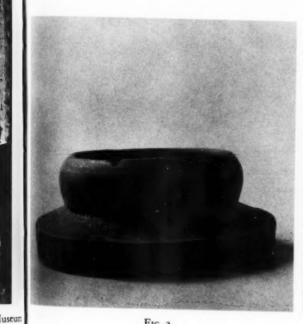




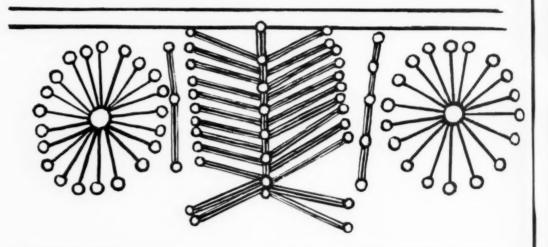


Fig. 4

Inv. no. 58-547



Fig. 1



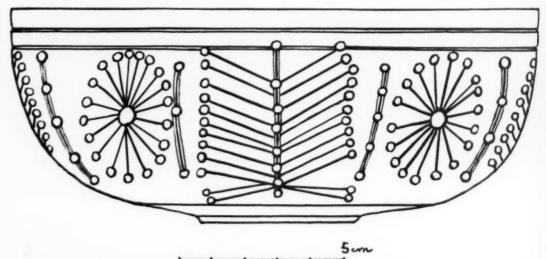


Fig. 2



Fig. 1. Brauron. Votive relief. Artemis with stag, and family of suppliants



Fig. 2. Brauron. Votive relief. Four deities



Fig. 3. Larissa. Anthropomorphic stele from Souphli



Fig. 4. Athens, Temple of Artemis, General view from SW



Fig. 5. Athens. Temple of Artemis.

Porch from west

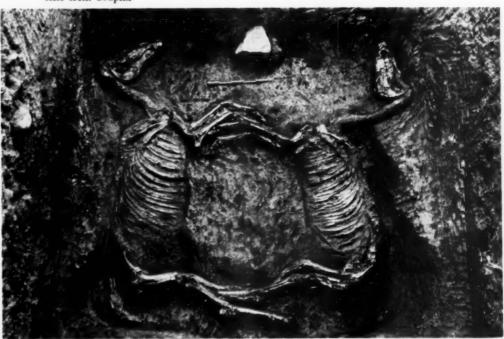


Fig. 6. Marathon. Horses in Mycenaean tomb

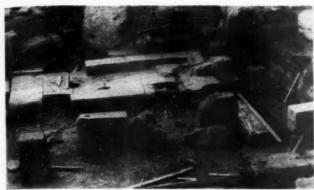


Fig. 7. Delphi. Archaic Castalian fountain from east

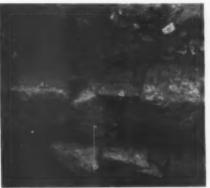


Fig. 8. Athens. Long walls



Fig. 9. Olympia. Pheidias' drinking cup



Fig. 10. Olympia. Pheidias' signature



Fig. 11. Athens. Schoolboy's slate



Fig. 12. Pheneos. Base and colossal feet

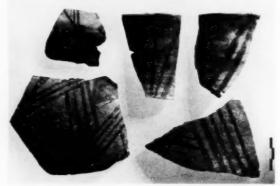


Fig. 14. Eutresis. Late Neolithic patterned ware



Fig. 13. Pheneos. Colossal head



Fig. 15. Stryme, Silver tetradrachm of Maroneia, Obverse and reverse (2:1)



Fig. 16. Stryme. Silver tetradrachm of Maroneia. Obverse and reverse (2:1)



Fig. 17. Stryme. Grave relief

Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain

Part Three: 2

C. VERMEULE AND D. VON BOTHMER

PLATES 77-86

THE first half of this section, Part Three: 1, covering Alnwick Castle through Liverpool, appeared in AIA 63 (1959) 139-166. The introductory remarks and thanks expressed at the beginning of the first half also apply to the second half and are not repeated here.

London, All Hallows Church, Barking (near the Tower of London).

An inscribed grave relief with two busts (the man's preserved) is displayed in the crypt, on loan from the Port of London Authority (H.:0.37m.; W.:0.075m.) (pl. 83, fig. 22). The relief was in Lancaster House until 1946 (photograph from Mr. B. Stewart, Port Authority Librarian). The Times for 13 March 1933 reports that it may have been excavated in 1884 on the new dock site at Tilbury. It was perhaps included in the material taken from the Barking area about 1882 (when the Underground Railway was driven from Tower Hill to Aldgate) and dumped in Tilbury marshes, although it also may have reached Tilbury in fill or refuse from the Somerset House—Adelphi area.

The marble is Greek island, probably so-called Thasian. The man Demetrios has features of the Julio-Claudian period (ca. A.D. 60). The relief is an importation, probably from the northern Greek islands, the adjacent mainland, or western Asia Minor; it is very likely that it is a stray from the Arundel Collection. Prof. Ashmole has noted confirmation of these suggestions in two reliefs in Istanbul (Mendel, Cat. III, 171, nos. 957f, esp. no. 958, second cent. A.D. from near Salonika, with ίδία συνβίω μνείας χάριν), and in a relief in the British Museum, with similar inscription and found in the Thames (Hirschfeld-Marshall, Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum 228, no.1126; Smith, B.M. Sculpture III, 287f, no.2272, "thought to have come from the Earl of Arundel's coll. of marbles").

LONDON, Henry Atkinson (Ancient Marbles 431; JHS 6 [1885] 42ff).

Michaelis visited the collection in 1884, shortly before it was sold at auction. The collection was formed by William Atkinson, a friend of Lord Elgin. Of the seven Greek marbles seen by Michaelis, nos. 1 and 3 are now in Copenhagen, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (194: Billedtavler pl. 15; 222: Billedtavler pl. 16; IG II-III², p. 772, no. 11723). Nos. 2, 6, and 7 are now in the British Museum. Nos. 4 and 5 have not been traced.

London, Guildhall Museum (Part II, 333f)

Guildhall Museum also possesses a grave relief of a gladiator, which although extensively published in the past deserves fresh notice as an ancient marble probably imported from Smyrna via the Arundel collection (pl. 83, fig. 23). The photograph was furnished by Mr. R. Merrifield, Assistant-Keeper.

The inset relief of this Parian marble block (H.:1'10"; W.:1'31/2"; Th.:31/4") shows a retiarius facing, wearing loincloth and double-banded belt. He holds a trident in his right hand, a dagger in the left. His galerus appears on his left shoulder. The hairdress suggests Martialis lived ca. A.D. 50, and his profession groups the relief with a number of similar monuments (L. Robert, Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec 213, no. 250 and older bibl.; idem, Hellenica III, 146). Comparison with Robert's no. 242, from Smyrna, supports his conjecture of a similar provenance for the Guildhall Museum stele. The suggested restoration ('A) via where the damage occurs at the beginning of the epitaph seems too short (CIG no. 6959); a name with three additional letters seems necessary. In the Cat. of the Coll, of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum (London 1908) Roman Period, 105, XIII, no. 4, the provenance appears merely as "Tottenham Court Road."

London, Kenwoop (the Iveagh Bequest. Hampstead Heath, N.W. 3, Open).

A herm bust of Zeus Ammon, known traditionally as "Homer with Horns," appears to have been in the original Earl of Mansfield collection and was repurchased recently for the collection at Kenwood. Mr. G.L. Conran, the Curator, supplied the photograph.

Pentelic marble. H.(max):0.48m. H.(beard to top of head):0.34m. W.(base of herm):0.32m. (pl. 80, fig. 7). The ends of the horns have been restored too high; they now cover the spots where the ram's ears should appear, thus creating a Pythagoras-like turban "headdress." Other restorations comprise a piece of the hair, the back of the head, the nose, a piece of the left fillet, pieces of the side and back of the herm, and the bottom 0.06m. of the herm.

The bust is a fine replica of the Munich (Type 3) herm, especially of the example at INCE BLUNDELL HALL (Part I, 137; Ashmole, *Ince* p. 54, no. 126, pl. 9; Lippold, *Handbuch* 145, n. 1). The original has been classed among the works of Pheidias.

London, Lansdowne House (Part I, 139f; Part II, 334f).

Two Lansdowne marbles are on the Hearst Estate at San Simeon (Calif.): Michaelis no. 16 (Christie Sale no. 81, with plate) is on the West Terrace. The design (eagle above garland suspended from rams' horns, birds and lizard below, seated griffins, etc.) and the inscription (T. FLA-VIO. AUG[USTI]. L[IBERTO]. SEDATO. AN-TONIANO P. CORNELIUS IASO. PATRI PIIS-SIMO) date this rectangular cinerarium in the late Flavian or Trajanic period. Michaelis no. 22 (Christie no. 74, with plate; EA no. 3052) is on the north wall of the Casa Grande. The deep relief, dated in the period of Tiberius or Caligula, shows two male busts flanking that of a lady whose hair is arranged in the style of the elder Agrippina; the younger man, on the right, is probably a brother. The San Simeon Warehouse no. is 4852 (P[acific] C[oast] 9241). Another Lansdowne marble, Michaelis no. 35 (Christie no. 104, with plate) has been given by the Hearst Foundation to the Metropolitan Museum (56.234.15; BMMA 16 [1957-58] 19). This statue, a Polyclitan Hermes, was first published by Clarac and has been discussed by Furtwängler Meisterwerke 503, fig. 91; Masterpieces 288f, fig. 124; on the type see Aurigemma,

BdA Series II, 1 (1921-22) 315ff; Marconi, MonAnt 29 (1923) 193, no. 83; Adriani, BullComm 61 (1933) 59ff; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Vat. Mag. 44, under no. 69, 80f, under no. 157. (pl. 77, figs. 3-5)

The colossal female head, Michaelis no. 37 (102) is in the collection of Consul Bergsten in Stockholm, and the "Egyptian Terminal Bust" (Michaelis no. 76 B [Christie no. 71]), now Brooklyn 56.85, has been recognized as the head of a female sphinx of the Twelfth Dynasty (ca. 1920-1880 B.C.) (Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956 3, no. 2, pls. 7-10). An illustration in J. Swarbrick, Robert Adam and his Brothers (London and New York 1915) 190, fig. 139 shows the bust on the chimney piece in the Gallery of Lansdowne House. The restorations (nose, end of wig lappets) had been removed before the head reached Brooklyn.

The removal of an eighteenth century addition has also changed the appearance of another Lansdowne sculpture, the Herakles (Michaelis no. 61 [Christie no. 34]). Dr. Paul Wescher of the Getty Museum in Malibu (Calif.) supplied the print reproduced on pl. 77, fig. 10.

LONDON, 17 Cheyne Walk, the late A. Paul Oppé, Esq., C.B., now collection of Miss A. Oppé.

Mr. Oppé, the historian of art, who died on 20 March 1957, possessed a few classical antiquities. A flat relief in Parian marble (H.:0.52m.) shows a maenad with tympanum dancing to r. (pl. 78, fig. 6). The central section and r. edge have been restored in Italian marble; the ancient surfaces are worn and yellowed. The relief, acquired in 1913 without further history from a local dealer, was originally mounted in an early nineteenth century frame. The maenad is a sensitively carved version of Hauser Type 27 (Die neu-attischen Reliefs pl. 11), superior in quality to comparable versions of the same fifth-century figure (e.g. Cook Coll., Michaelis, RICHMOND no. 11, Strong, JHS 28 [1908] no. 4; or on the base, London, Lansdowne, no. 58, Rizzo, Thiasos 30, figs. 6f, 19). It was shown at the Royal Academy in 1958 (The Paul Oppé Collection, London 1958, 40, no. 256).

LONDON, Lord Revelstoke.

The very large collection of vases was formed by the third baron, mostly with purchases at the Hope, Weber, St. Audries, and Parrish sales. After his death in 1934 it was sold at auction by Puttick and Simpson on 5 April 1935. Almost half the n

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vases were bought by William Randolph Hearst (nos. 1, 4-9, 12-16, 18, 21, 31, 33-36, 40, 42, 45, 49-50, 54-55, 60-61, 68-70, 77-79, 81-92, 100, 111-113, 115, and 121). Five of these fifty-four vases are now in New York. No. 4 is 56.171.33 (BMMA 15 [1956/57] 172, top); no. 5 is 56.171.26; no. 42 turned out to be a forgery and was not accessioned; no. 68 is 56.171.18 (BMMA 15 [1956/57] 169, top right); no. 70 is 56.171.31 (BMMA 15 [1956/57] 173, top left). Another Hearst vase, no. 85 (ABV 478, Edinburgh Painter iv, no. 2) has also left San Simeon: it was bought from the estate by Randolph Hearst and given to his late father's physician, Dr. M. Princemetal at Beverly Hills. The sale catalogue mentions the Simeon collection of vases found on Rhodes which is otherwise unknown. The Etruscan bf. neck-amphora, no. 43, had been published by Disney (Museum Disneianum pls. 109-10). Nos. 42, 54, and 121 are forgeries, the last being a Persian jar on which black-figured battle-scenes have been painted.

London, Sir John Soane's Museum (Part I, 140f). Revisions of the marbles described by Michaelis are listed here. Following the Michaelis numbers appear the 1837 Inventory notations, inserted by Michaelis in brackets after his own enumeration and still stencilled on the pieces themselves; the third numbering is that of the new typescript catalogue. Michaelis' titles of individual items have been corrected where further information is available (e.g. no. 10 is no longer "Pretty head of a youth" but Replica of a Polyclitan head, the Westmacott Athlete or Statue of Kyniskos). The Catalogue covers about 500 antiquities of all sorts (including about 40 Egyptian objects) and the 300 gems of the Buckingham-Soane collection. Graeco-Roman architectural and decorative fragments, cineraria, trapezophoroi and the like comprise the bulk of the entries. Photographs of all sculptures are available.

No. 1 (603M; 380) is a small statue of Asklepios (pl. 78, fig. 9) (see Amelung, *Vat. Cat.* II, 226f, under Belvedere no. 84A), the only known replica being the statue recently discovered in excavations at Salamis, Cyprus. No. 2 (220M; 375) is the remains of a terminal figure of Herakles (cf. Stuart Jones, *Cap. Cat.* 321, no. 15, pl. 80), and no. 3 (613M; 376) is the statue of the Ephesian Artemis, much restored and with a long Renaissance history (H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia* 5ff, pl. XIII,

2 etc.; W. Deonna, [Warb 17 [1954] 47ff, pl. 4e). No. 4 (1025; 178) is a statue of Cupid, seated asleep, as a figure for a fountain (cf. the small bronze, British Museum no. 1509). No. 5 (18MC; 336) turns out to be a fragmentary replica of the Niobid sinking to the ground, other copies of which are in the Uffizi (Amelung, Führer nos. 178, 179) and Rome (Stuart Jones, Cap. Cat. 121f, no. 48). No. 6 (20MC; 369) is a torso of a replica of the satyr with the footclappers (cf. Oxford, Ash-MOLEAN MUSEUM, no. 122, which was Cook, Richmond, no. 9). No. 7 (1015M; 384) is a torso probably from a small statue of Antinous (cf. the statuette in Berlin: Blümel, Römische Bildnisse 24, R56, pl. 35), and no. 8 (322M; 367) is a torso of a small statue of an apoxyomenos, of the Vienna-Uffizi type (pl. 82, fig. 12) (C. Morgan, Hesperia Suppl. VII [1949] 228ff). Several of the torsi not enumerated by Michaelis are treated at length in the Catalogue, including a statuette of the Doryphorus of Polykleitos, a small replica of the Cnidian Aphrodite, and a new replica in miniature of the Melpomene of Miletos.

Among the busts, no. 9 (968M; 389), a Hellenistic type head of a sleeping Pan, is comparable to a head at Woburn Abbey (Smith, no. 105) and a terracotta bust in Athens (Herbig, Pan note 165a, pl. 27 1). No. 10 (947M; 386) is the Westmacott Athlete head (D.M. Robinson, ArtB 18 [1936] 149, no. 28), and no. 11 (1174M; 288) turns out to be a fragment of a relief from the Forum of Trajan, other fragments of which are known (pl. 82, fig. 34) (cf. Rome, Antiquario no. 2341-119, and Auktion Helbing 22.vi.1914 no. 519, pl. 10). No. 12 (1175M; 289) may be from the same series of reliefs as the previous, perhaps part of a Dodekatheon. In nos. 13-16 (Cat. 416, 417, 415) only the busts and bases are antique; no. 14 (779M; 409) is an important portrait bust of a lady of the Julio-Claudian house, passed over, without reason, by F. Poulsen as a forgery (Portraits 26; Ashmole, JRS 12 [1922] 303ff). No. 17. For these see Poulsen, Portraits 94ff, nos. 80-84 (Cat. nos. 414, 410, 411, 413, 412); no. 81 is the Polydeukes bust (H. Weber, V. Bericht.... Olympia [1956] 144f). Poulsen overlooked a small head of the Emperor Augustus in his later years (pl. 82, fig. 29) (302M; 408; cf. Oxford, Ashmolean, no. 142, and a green basalt head, H.:0.29m., in a European private collection).

Only those reliefs are mentioned about which there is correction or new bibliography. No. 18

(755M; 279), the relief of a woman, comes from Greece, probably from an architectural monument of the period 420-360 B.C. (pl. 78, fig. 8). No. 26 (471M; 301), the front of a sarcophagus with the rape of Persephone, is Robert, Sark-rel. III, 3, 479ff, pl. 126; no. 30 (1123M; 302) is listed by Clairmont, Parisurteil 80, as no. K 247, but the scene may show merely an Eastern captive seated beneath a trophy (pl. 82, fig. 39). The Niobid sarcophagus lid fragment, no. 31 (472M; 315), appears with bibliography under EA no. 4376a. Finally, the Cawdor Vase (no. 38; 101L; 538), an Apulian mascaroon krater of the late fourth century B.C., is A. B. Cook, Zeus I, 39, pl. v; the sarcophagus of Seti I (no. 39; 33) was the subject of Soane Museum Monograph no. 2 (1908), Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, An Account of the Sarcophagus of Seti I.

London, Society of Antiquaries (Burlington House) (Part I, 138).

In 1763 E. M. da Costa presented the Society an inscribed plaque said to have been found "in forming the new military road from Newcastle to Carlisle" (CIL VII, no. 799; Bruce, Lapidarium Septentrionale [1875] 165, no. 324). E. Birley (Ant] 32 [1952] 198f, fig. 1) shows that this sepulchral inscription of C. MANILIVS/HILARVS was found in the same columbarium as inscriptions at Eshton House (Yorkshire) and was likewise in the possession of Ficoroni from 1731 to 1733 (CIL VI, no. 21918).

The Society Library possesses a Folio Volume of drawings collected by Don Gasparo d'Haroeguzman, Marchese del Carpio e Helicce, Spanish ambassador in Rome 1676-1682. This volume was the property of (Sir) A. W. Franks (Michaelis, Anc. Marbles 424), who presented it in 1882 (no. 294G).

London, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (The Wellcome Building, Euston Road, N.W.I. Open).

The collections of this museum illustrate the history of medicine and allied sciences from the earliest times to the present century (Museums and Galleries in Great Britain [1955] 27). Many Greek and Roman items were acquired by Sir Henry Wellcome (1853-1936) in England, during travels on the Continent, and in other parts of the world. On Sir Henry Wellcome see Die Weltkunst 27 (1957) no. 21, p. 6. The Director, Dr. E. Ashworth Underwood, has facilitated study of the antiquities

and has furnished information, forty photographs of the sculptures, and lists of the museum numbers. Among the varied items of all ancient periods, the following Greek and Roman sculptures interest: 1. (22/1935) Seventeenth century or later version of the puteal with Bacchic scenes in the Prado, Madrid, from the Odescalchi Collection in Rome (EA nos. 1690-93; García y Bellido, ArchEspArq 24 [1951] 117ff; Ch. Picard, BCH 79 [1955] 509f). There is a copy (with alterations and the addition of a figure of Pan) in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, from the Giustiniani Collection (no. 134a; Helbig, Führer 360; Spon, Miscellanea [1685] pl. p. 28). Although the Wellcome Puteal looks eighteenth century, this could be the third version, which Cassiano dal Pozzo saw in the Sacristy of S. Maria d'Aracoeli (Diario, no. 54, ed. Schreiber, SBSachs [1885]; García y Bellido, op.cit. 122f). The Pan with flutes and pedum is also present here (cf. García y Bellido, figs. 34f). Drawings, presumably of the Madrid Puteal, exist in the Dal Pozzo-Albani volumes at WINDSOR, (nos. 8008f; 8355f, 8642ff in the later volumes) and in the Franks albums in the British Museum (nos. 142, 185). See also Hülsen, Dosio 5, fol. 7, no. 18; Cod. Cob., Fol. 49, no. 88; and the seventeenth cent. drawing in the Uffizi (17673-75). Purchased by Sir Henry Wellcome in 1931, from the collection of C.W. Mencke. H.:o.83m.; Diam.:1.01m.

2. (R. 4517/1936) Statuette of Nike on large orb (pl. 78, fig. 2), marble. The statuette, characterized by its excellent preservation and with head unbroken, is late Hellenistic work rather than a Roman copy. The forearms and hands, now missing, were made separately and inserted with iron dowels, parts of which still survive in the sockets. The back of the base of the statuette is carved out, as if the figure had been mounted on a base (or perhaps as the image in the hand of a larger statue?). This statuette is one of the group in various sizes which have been thought to copy the Nike on the hand of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia (Part I, 130, the Bignor Park statue, now Oxford, Ash-MOLEAN MUSEUM no. 6). The head is more simple and severe than copies of the type established by Schrader (IdI 56 [1941] 32ff); the stephane is not evident. There has always been some question about the head of Berlin K182 (see ArtB 38 [1956] 42), and perhaps the Wellcome statuette indicates a different type for the Pheidian original. Purchased at Sotheby's, 29-30 June 1931; Lot 311; from

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the collection of Prof. John Ruskin at Brantwood, Coniston.

3. (7451/1936) Votive relief in memory of a deceased person. Attic, ca. 350 B.c., of the type from the shrine of Asklepios on the slope of the Acropolis in Athens. H.:0.33m.; W.:0.38m.; Th.:0.06m.; Pentelic marble. The hero, modius on his head, banquets with his wife; three smaller and three tiny votaries approach from the left. The lower r. corner with the servant boy beside the krater is now missing. For similar reliefs and the interpretive problems connected with same, see London, Soane Museum, Cat. no. 297, Michaelis no. 20; Ashmole, Ince no. 261; and Furtwängler, Coll. Sabouroff, Introd. p. 34. The Wellcome relief is closest to an example in the Louvre (Reinach, Rép. rel. II, 293, 1).

4. (R2999/1936) Statuette of Asklepios, type of the fifth or early fourth cent. B.C. H.: 0.20m.; Parian marble. Excavated at Homs; bought from Michel Terzis, Beirut 1930. Work of the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 50 (cf. EA nos. 3844, 295; also Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 34, 2-5, IV, 22, 5).

5. (182/1935) Statuette of Asklepios, with staff in r. hand, l. behind hip. Crystalline island marble; H.:0.34m. The carving of the head indicates late second to third cent. work. Acquired from Maison Bessard, Montreux. Cf. Reinach, Rép. stat. V, 18, 3 (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) and Bieber, ProcPhilSoc 101 (1957) 70ff (Cincinnati Art Museum).

6. (R1482/1936) Statuette of Asklepios, headless. H.:0.25m., Italian marble. Purchased in Rome. A good replica of the Attic-Pergamon type, preserving the crisp style of the latter (see above Совнам HALL no. 21; Cambridge, TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY no. 114, and esp. Reinach, Rép. stat. III, 12, 2, a statuette in the Hermitage: Waldhauer I, no. 5). 7. (R588/1936) Small statue of Asklepios, with new nose, neck and arms. H.:1.03m.; "Thasian" marble. The staff is held vertically in the extended l. hand. Work of the second or third cent. A.D., going back to a type popular at Epidaurus (cf. Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 31, 2 and 8; EA no. 2570; Bieber, ProcPhilSoc 101 [1957] 77f; etc.).

8. (195/1956) Statuette of Sylvanus, with branch in l. hand, cloak of fruits about neck, and pine-cone crown on his head. H.:o.34m.; Italian (Luna) marble. This is the heroic Greek type, perhaps going back to a Roman Republican cult statue; there are a number of minor variations in marble and bronze (cf. Ny Carlsberg no. 492: F. Poulsen, Cat.

351f; also Reinach, Rép. stat. II, 43, 8, IV, 29, 1; and the reliefs from Rome: Rép. rel. III, 246, 3). 9. Several small heads of Sarapis, of the usual cult type (e.g. no. R219/1946, a bust in "Thasian" marble; H.:0.18m., Roman second or third cent. work with restorations in Italian marble; no. 221-1936, a more Alexandrine head, H.:o.11m., in alabasterlike island marble, with kalathos preserved).

10. (R18/1936) Marble relief showing a mother nursing her young child. H.:0.255, W.:335. First cent. A.D.; said to have been discovered during excavations at Ostia; acquired in Rome, 1932.

11. (R6665/1936) Marble votive tablet to Sarapis, his bust facing, flanked by two large votive ears. H.:0.31m.; W.:0.38m. "Thasian" marble. Second or third cent. A.D. Bought in Rome; from the Stroganoff collection (EA no. 3508; L. Curtius, Festschrift Loeb 62, fig. 12; cf. Bieber, Cassel 37, no. 76).

12. (R27169) Fragment of a colossal statue: a porphyry foot from the Hope Coll, DEEPDENE (Part I, 141; also Spink and Son, Greek and Roman Antiquities [1923], 14, no. 18, said to be also from Lord Bessborough's Collection).

13. (192/1956) Double herm of Herakles and Alexander the Great, the former with a lion's skin over his head, the latter perhaps wearing the elephantskin cap. H.:o.16m. Roman imperial work in island marble after prototypes of the early Hellenistic period. The Herakles is a version of the Wilton Pergamene type (Part II, 347); for herms of Alexander, see Gebauer, AM 63-64 (1938-39) 96f. The notion of combination as a herm, however, may be no earlier than decorative herms of Herakles and Hermes, such as Ny Carlsberg no. 267 (F. Poulsen, Cat. 199). The ensemble was mounted as a decorative support in the sixteenth or seventeenth cen-

14. (R1934/1936) Copy of an early transitional head of a goddess, perhaps Artemis (?), resembling work of ca. 50 B.C.-A.D. 50. In heroic size, H.:0.36m.; Parian marble. The tip of the nose is restored. The eyes are hollowed, indicating the original was in bronze. The prototype lies somewhere between two heads studied by Miss Richter (Sculpture and Sculptors 185, figs. 533f) and the Chatsworth Apollo (Part II, 325f). Purchased from Fosters. 15. There are more sculptures worthy of mention. These include four Graeco-Roman heads from

statuettes or small busts of Asklepios (6091/1936 being 0.20m. high, with neck worked for joining to a statue). A life-size green basalt bust of Artemis or Aphrodite (R3287/1936) is a much-restored early imperial work after an original of ca. 350 B.C. (cf. Waldhauer, Ermitage III, 30f, no. 265). An important fragment probably of a Greek votive relief (R3130/1936; H.:o.15m.) shows a divinity looking like Alkamenes' cult-statue of the kalathoscrowned, bearded, fully draped Dionysos seated to r. on a high-backed throne, altar in front (cf. Waldhauer, Ermitage I, 23ff, no. 9, for a statuette after Alkamenes; Richter, Sculpture and Sculptors 238, fig. 631, for the coins; and for comparable reliefs, Reinach, Rép. rel. II, 13, 4 [Asklepios], 15, 1 [Cybele], 362f [Zeus]). A small, island marble votive relief fragment is identified as part of a scene of childbirth—the mother, the midwife with the child, and Eileithyia with torch at the r. (R4516/1936; H.:0.12m., W.:0.25m.). The relief was carved ca. A.D. 50-150.

The museum also has a small but interesting collection of vases. Italo-Corinthian is represented by a spindle-shaped alabastron with animals and monsters in three zones (461/1936). There are four Attic black-figured lekythoi: R4526/1957 (Cock-Group, satyrs and maenads); R1329/1936 (Haemonian, chariot scene, white ground); 84/1957 (Haemonian, chariot race); 83/1957 (Emporion Painter, men and women). The strength lies in Attic red-figure. R330/1936 is a kalpis from the Berens collection (Cat. Sotheby 18-19 June 1923); it has been attributed by Beazley to the Hephaistos Painter (ARV 392, no. 33): add a kalpis in a private collection in Montpellier with a woman seated on a chest, Eros, flanked by two youths; another kalpis by the same hand is in the Lagunillas collection in Havana with women and youths. The writer of this note had originally attributed it to an undetermined mannerist, but Beazley has now given it to the Hephaistos Painter himself. The kalpides by the Hephaistos Painter can be easily distinguished from those by other mannerists by the characteristic ornaments and the very small scale of the figures. There are also two oinochoai by the Fat Boy Painter, R327/1936 and 224/1946, of which the former is in ARV (888, no. 1); add to the large number of oinochoai by this artist one in the Vanderlip collection in Scarborough, N.Y. A small lekythos with a running Nike is by the Seireniske Painter (220/1946); a squat lekythos (R 1328/1936) is decorated with a crouching hare. A cup was formerly in the Howard collection (Cat.

Sotheby, 14 March 1929, no. 81) and has been attributed by Beazley to the Aberdeen Painter (ARV 604, no. 8); the new museum number is R 569/1936. Another cup is stemless and has been given by Beazley to the Meleager Painter (ARV 873, no. 46). Next comes a group of South Italian vases. The squat lekythos 2150/1938 comes from the Butler collection and was published in Spink's Greek and Roman Antiquities (1932) 26, no. 52; a skyphos (R 394/1936) has been attributed by Cambitoglou to the Soane Painter; an Apulian hydria, R 481/ 1936, goes in shape, style, and subject with New York 56.171.65 (Cat. Galerie Fischer 1-2 September 1936, pl. 17, no. 32). Another hydria, R 323/1936, has been attributed by Cambitoglou to the Roccanova Painter (youth with situla between two women with kalathoi). Also Lucanian is perhaps a small squat lekythos with a fat bird (R 762/1936). The Lucanian hydria R 323/1936 was once in the Plas Newydd Museum at Glynllivon Park, Llanwnda (Carnarvonshire) in the private museum of The Hon. F. S. Wynn. Lastly an interesting Etruscan vase: an oinochoe shape VII of Beazley's Phantom Group (R 396/1936). The vase is unusual in that there is also a draped figure on the neck, instead of the floral. The same scheme of decoration occurs on the oinochoe in Avallon (no.

LOWTHER CASTLE (Part I, 142)

New locations of a number of sculptures are known: Michaelis no. 1, the Cnidian Aphrodite, is at Liverpool, Sudley Art Museum (no. 5, AJA 63 [1959] 161f). No. 13, cuirassed statue restored as Lucius Verus (EA no. 3076; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 181, 233), is at Sledmere, Driffield, Yorkshire, collection Sir Richard Sykes. No. 14, statue of a togate Roman (EA no. 3077; Goethert, RM 54 [1939] 214), has been stripped of restorations to reveal an ancient, headless togatus of excellent quality. The body is with K. J. Hewett, London; the head, of the Severan period, is at Spink, London. No. 68, a well-preserved statue of a lady of the Julio-Claudian period as Cybele (not the "Livia" of EA 3088-3090, a much inferior statue), is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, and has been published in the first issue of the Getty Museum Bulletin (1 [1957] 22-25 fig. 10). No. 96, Italo-Etruscan urn, is now in New York (57.11.10; without the cover seen in EA no. 3095) (pl. 84, fig. 25). No. 108, a sarcophagus not

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seen by Michaelis, and no. 107(?) are at Ashby Folville Hall, Leicestershire (information from D.T-D. Clarke).

Manchester, Manchester City Art Galleries, Mosley Street.

A fragment of an Attic sarcophagus of ca. A.D. 150 shows a combat between Greeks and Amazons (Pentelic marble, H.:0.44m.; W.:1.24m.) (pl. 84, fig. 35). The enriched moldings, plus a strongly classical style of carving, identifies this fragment as part of a Greek sarcophagus of C. Robert's Class II (Sark.-rel. II, nos. 110-121), a group characterized by Rodenwaldt as Attic work exported elsewhere in Greece, to Asia Minor, and to Syria (IHS 53 [1933] 192). The closest parallel is the fragment British Museum no. 2329 (Robert no. 115; Rodenwaldt 189, fig. 5; perhaps from B. M. no. 957: Smith, Cat. I, 60). Cf. the sarcophagus B. M. no. 2303, an Attic export from Sidon (Robert no. 110), the fragment no. 2304 from Bryseae in Laconia (Robert no. 113), and the other fragments illustrated by Robert (e.g. nos. 116, 121).

The Manchester fragment was presented by the National Art Collections Fund to the Manchester Corporation in 1931. Mr. Robert Rowe, Deputy Director, states that it was brought back from Bengazi, Tripoli, by the late Admiral Sir George Neville, K.C.B., when he was in command of a gunboat belonging to the Mediterranean Fleet.

Manchester, Manchester City Art Galleries (Annexe), Mosley Street.

In the Basement is a small collection of classical antiquities brought from the Horsefall Museum in 1953. These include a marble votive hand from Greece or the islands (1919.107; L.:0.55m.; Parian marble), six "Tanagra" figurines (by F. Gurlett), minor terracotta fragments, a choice terracotta lamp with the cult-statue of Sarapis enthroned (from Nervia; 1918.53), and a brick-stamp of the XXV Legion.

In the upstairs galleries is an exhibition of Romano-British antiquities, including a number of fine bronzes. The most noteworthy is a Medusaheaded *phalera* similar to the Lauersfort examples.

Of the vases formerly in the Horsefall Museum, the best is the rf. kalpis 1918,355, now on loan in the Manchester University Museum (q.v.). There remain in the basement about fifteen vases, mostly Attic black. Corinthian is represented by a convex

pyxis (1918.50) and a kothon (1918.49). A Campanian rf. cup has been published by Cambitoglou (Manchester Memoirs 90 [1948-49] pl. 4, 1-2). There are also two Attic rf. squat lekythoi, one from Crete, with two heads (1918.104), the other, somewhat earlier, with the head of a woman facing left (1918.54). A trefoil oinochoe with a seated Eros is Apulian (1918.95). Also of some interest is a Wedgwood reproduction of a Corinthian oinochoe: the Corinthian original is now in the Lagunillas collection in Havana (Payne NC p. 325, no. 1385; Benson AJA 61 [1957] 176). The Manchester copy shows that the Lagunillas oinochoe must have been above ground as early as the late eighteenth century.

Manchester, The Manchester (University) Museum (Oxford Road).

Mr. T. Burton-Brown and Dr. R. U. Sayce enabled us to study the collection in detail. In the upstairs gallery is an assorted collection of Greek and Graeco-Roman antiquities, including Greek and later terracottas and small bronzes, two Etruscan terracotta urns (one from the same mold as Giglioli, L'Arte Etrusca pl. 411, no. 4), an Italic fourth century B.C. handle from a bronze vessel with stylized Silen masks, two excellent Palmyrene busts in half-figure relief of a man and a woman, and a splendid selection of Roman aes from the Sharp Ogden Collection. The most important bronze is a Greek mirror of ca. 540 B.C., found in Corinth and showing Aphrodite in Ionian costume with two winged Erotes on her shoulders as supports for the disk (inv. no. IIIc. 94; T. B. L. Webster, Mem. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc. 80 [1936] 38f, fig. 4).

Among the Egyptian antiquities in the Main Galleries on the first floor is an Assyrian relief with a Winged Genius, a fragment of a similar figure in a register above (H.:1.65m.; W.:0.85m.), and a relief with an inscription (H.:0.68m.; W.:0.375m.), both from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal (given in memory of Mrs. J. C. Hilton by her family; pl. 83, fig. 1). These galleries also contain two cases of Greek and Roman bronzes (34, 36), many from the Sharp Ogden Collection, and a large Etruscan alabaster urn (vii.A.4; H.:0.555m.; W.: 0.85m.; pl. 84, fig. 24) with a mythological scene, perhaps Orestes in Taurica, and a separate lid with a reclining man (no. 37). The short sides are enriched with acanthus plants; the figures were poly-

chromed; the lid is inscribed. Similar urns and lids come from around Chiusi (cf. F. N. Pryce, B.M. Cat. I, 2, 204ff, esp. no. D 40-1, fig. 61). There is also an Early Christian or Coptic wooden figure from Alexandria, showing one of the disciples (?).

The front of an alabaster Volterra urn (H.:040; W.:0.68) with a scene of the return of Pelops and Hippodamia has been somewhat damaged by weathering and fire (cf. Brunn-Körte, *I relievi delle urne etrusche* II, 1, 121ff, pl. 51, 6). An island marble aniconic head with *polos* and veil (H.:0.435) was found in 1955 in the annex to round tomb 161 at Cyrene, by the Manchester Univ. Archaeological Expedition; for similar heads, all somewhat different from the Manchester example, cf. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (1953) 293ff, pls. 10ff; the Manchester head seems to date about 360 B.C.

The vases in the University Museum are not on exhibition. The collection has been considerably increased since Philippart's brief description in AntCl 4 (1935) 221-23. Many of the vases have become widely known through the publications of Webster and Charlton in the Manchester Memoirs (nos. 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, and 87). Cambitoglou has given an account of the Campanian vases in vol. 90 of the same Memoirs, 1-17; Del Chiaro discusses two Genucilia plates in Univ. of Calif. Publications in Class. Arch. 3 (1957) 272, 291.

The principal sources of the collection are the gifts and bequests of Sharp Ogden, Sir Thomas Barlow, R. M. and J. M. Cook, Miss Barlow, and Miss Pilkington. Some vases are on loan from Lady Barlow, T. B. L. Webster, and El Conde de Lagunillas, as well as other Manchester institutions, the Whitworth Institute (half a dozen vases), the Manchester City Art Gallery (a kalpis attributed by Cambitoglou to the Nausicaa Painter), the Salford Royal Museum (two bf. cups; cf. Philippart opcit. 224), and the Manchester School of Art (rf. cup, ARV 86, Elpinikos Painter no. 1).

A fascicule of CVA is in preparation. Most of the Manchester vases have been attributed, but a black-figured plate may perhaps be singled out for comment. The plate (Memoirs 80, pl. 3, 2) shows a cock and a hen and goes with a plate in Cambridge (Annual Report of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum 26 [1934] fig. 3) which has a cock and a lizard; a third plate of this group is in the British Museum (1930.12-17.3) where the subject is an eagle swooping down on a hare. All

three plates are by one hand and belong to the "Tyrrhenian" vases: perhaps they are by the Prometheus Painter (cf. AJA 48 [1944] 165, 168-69).

Manchester, Manchester School of Art.

Of the fifty-odd vases in this collection most were presented by F. T. Palgrave and can be traced to the Braun sale of 1851, the Uzielli sale of 1861, the Salzmann & Biliotti sale of 1862, the Brett sale of 1864, the Pourtalès sale of 1865, the Castellani sale of 1866, and the Cesnola sale of 1870. Some of the vases are mentioned and illustrated by Mary A. B. Herford in her *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting* (1919), hereafter abbreviated "Herford." The collection is summarized by Philippart (op.cit. 223-24). The vases are numbered with the prefix "Aa" which is omitted in the following listing of the chief pieces.

EAST GREEK

- 1. Rhodian oinochoe.
- 15. Rhodian stemmed dish (Herford pl. 5, a).

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

- 45. Amphora B (*ABV* 142, no. 4; Ghali, *Hélène* pl. 45, 2). For the chariot scene on the obverse cf. New York 56.171.9 (*BMMA* n.s. 15 [1956-57] 169, top left).
- 36. Neck-amphora, white ground (ABV 599, no. 38). The picture on the reverse is similar; under one handle a dog; under the other a siren. Add to Beazley's list of vases of the Light-make Class the following neck-amphorae: Nantes 110 (A, Dionysos and Ariadne, both seated; B, the like), Paris market (A, kneeling flute-player and dancing man; B, dancing man), London market (A, satyr and maenad; B not seen), Montpellier, Musée Fabre, 836-4-337 (A, satyr and maenad; B, the like), once Durand 158 (A, maenad between two satyrs; B, three warriors; under each handle a bird); ABV 595, 4 is now Liverpool 56.19.34.
- 33. Neck-amphora (ex Pourtalès 228; Panofka Antiques du Cabinet du Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier [Paris 1834] pl. 8, p. 110). A, maenad in a cave; B, the like. On the neck, ivy. For the style compare the small neck-amphorae by the Painter of Würzburg 234 (ABV 591).
- 34. Lekythos (ex Pourtalès 164, from Athens). Ariadne mounting chariot, with Dionysos, another goddess, and Hermes. Class of Athens 581 (cf. ABV 500, no. 54).

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17. Band-cup (ex Biliotti). Herford pl. 6, b. Rams and swans.

ATTIC RED-FIGURE

26. Nolan amphora (ex Pourtalès 345; Herford pl. 9, a; ARV 460, no. 27).

32. Bell-krater (ex Pourtalès 264). A, youth fluting, youth with lyre, youth with torch. B, three youths. 44. Hydria (ex Biliotti 396). Woman, seated woman, servant with box, woman.

25. Oinochoe (ex Pourtalès 322. Herford pl. 9, b). Lyre-player.

27. Oinochoe (ex Pourtalès 352). Woman with box and alabastron.

23. Chous (ex Pourtalès 363; Herford pl. 11, e; van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* 150, no. 682). 40. Lekythos (ex Pourtalès 187). Maenad with torch and thyrsos.

42. Lekythos (ex Castellani 79; ARV 839, no. 69). 22. Squat lekythos (ex Pourtalès 363). Seated boy. 19. Squat lekythos, black, ribbed (Pourtalès 528).

41. White lekythos. The design is modern.

29. Skyphos (ex Pourtalès 176; ARV 519, no. 6). 24. Cup (ex Canino [Vente 13-16 janvier 1840, no. 99], Pourtalès 342; ARV 86, no. 1).

37. Cup (ex Uzielli 472, Brett 1818; ARV 252, no. 112).

16. Askos. Hare, swan.

20. Askos (ex Pourtalès 180). Satyr and leopard. 21. Askos (ex Pourtalès 402). Lion and bull.

18. Black dish (ex Pourtalès 525).

31. Plastic mug (satyr's head; ex Magnoncourt [1839], no. 102; Pourtalès 317; ARV 906, Group R, no. 4).

SOUTH ITALIAN

n.n. Apulian column-krater (Herford pl. 11, b). 38. Apulian oinochoe (ex Uzielli 479; *Manchester Memoirs* 87 [1946-47] pl. 5, c).

39. Apulian rhyton in the form of a ram's head. The picture is modern.

28. Lucanian squat lekythos (ex Pourtalès 358; Manchester Memoirs 87 [1946-47] pl. 6, c).

43. Gnathian oinochoe (ex Braun 126).

CYPRIOT

62-64. Three Cypriot vases (ex A. P. Cesnola). In addition to the vases there are five bronzes: n.n. Statuette of a youth, or Apollo, holding a plectron (?). Etruscan, ca. 490 B.C. (height 14 cm.). 67. Statuette of Zeus or Poseidon, the left hand (broken) raised, the right hand extended (ex Nani

[Venice], Pourtalès 534). Late Hellenistic or Roman. H.:11.5 cm. Palgrave Gift.

89 (Ca 3-4184). Statuette of Diana in hunting costume. Her feet are broken away; in her left hand she probably held a bow. (Ex Nani [Venice], Pourtalès 553). Graeco-Roman work. H.:11 cm. Palgrave Gift.

69. Rein guide or cheekpiece of a bit, with two holes and a fastening. W.:6.5 cm.

71 (Ca 6-4186). Oinochoe with high handle and chased ovolo and bead ornaments (ex Cadogan). H.:9 cm. Palgrave Gift.

MARGAM PARK (Part I, 142f; Part II, 337).

Although the collection was dispersed at auction over fifteen years ago, a number of the sculptures deserve notice, since they have appeared in archaeological literature on more than one occasion in the years since Michaelis visited Margam Castle. The lot numbers of the Christie's sale of 29 October 1941 are given in brackets after the Michaelis numbers.

No. 1 (448), colossal statue of Lucius Verus, was considered to be too restored and worked over to photograph (Poulsen, Portraits 21; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 234). No. 2 (447) was a statue of a togatus with alien but ancient head of the young Tiberius (Poulsen, Portraits 58ff, no. 37; L. Curtius, RM 50 [1935] 308; not listed in Polacco, Il volto di Tiberio [Rome 1955] 199-202). No. 3 (446), the statue of a satyr boy was, like the following, one of the less restored statues of the collection (Riemann, Kerameikos 2, no. 25 under 108f, no. 160; Klein, Praxiteles 212, note 1, no. 8). An interesting document concerning the provenance of the Hellenistic statue of the drunken Herakles (no. 4; Lot 449; EA III 50, under add. to no. 71, bronze in Parma; Part I, 143) has come to notice since Michaelis described the piece. A drawing in Townley's Drawings from Various Antiquities in Case 59B of the Greek and Roman Department Library, British Museum, is pencilled in Townley's hand "found in the Campo Vaccino 1771, bought by Mr. Mansel Talbot" (see further, Ashby, BSR 6 [1913] 502). The statue (pl. 78, fig. 14) is the counterpart in marble of the type known in bronze from the example in the Metropolitan Museum (Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 140, figs. 577f, 580). The replica of the athlete by Stephanos in the Villa Albani (no. 5; Lot 445) is now in the New York market (F. Poulsen, Portraits 21, fig. 24; Reinach, Rép. stat. V, 533, 5; Lawrence, Classical Sculpture 174, note; V. H. Poulsen, ActaA 8 [1937] 126; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 50, list of repls.; M. Borda, La scuola di Pasiteles 28ff, no. f.; Lippold, Handbuch 128, n. 9). The statue seems to have been found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (Winnefeld, Villa des Hadrian 158; Gusman, Villa Hadriana 305). The restored portions of the arms and legs have been removed, but the restored nose and chin are still left.

No. 6, statue of a boy, was sold as Lot 443 to T. S. Singer, together with no. 13, head of Athena with an antique bronze helmet and set on an antique but not original Athena bust (Lot 433). No. 7 (439), "statue of a youth," was recognized by F. Poulsen as a portrait of a young Roman girl set on the body of a boy related to the series of youthful torsi (including the Ephebus of the Acropolis and the Tyrannicides) derived from the art of Kritios and Nesiotes (ca. 480-470 B.C.; Portraits 22, fig. 25; E. Paribeni, Sculture greche 31, under no. 36, where a slightly later date is favored). The fragment of a statue of Pan (no. 8) was Lot 435, and Poulsen illustrated the bust of the Emperor Hadrian (Part I, 143; see below under Northwick PARK no. 5; also West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 119, no. 3; García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas 34f, under no. 24; Gusman, Villa Hadriana 276). No. 10 (Lot 438, pl.), the bust of a Roman of the late Trajanic-Hadrianic period, is in the D. M. Robinson collection (Part II, 345; also Smith, British Museum Cat. 147ff, under nos. 1464, 1874; O. Brendel, RM 45 [1930] 205; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 287, 289; García y Bellido, op.cit. 70f, under no. 55). The bust is possibly from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (Winnefeld, op.cit. 165; Gusman, op.cit. 272).

Two other important portraits in the collection came from the same mine of Roman copies and Hellenistic and imperial portraits (Winnefeld 159; Gusman 277f). The head of the Empress Sabina (no. 11) was Lot 441, sold to A. H. Smith (Poulsen, Portraits 77f, no. 62; Wegner, AA [1938] col. 311; West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 126, no. 7; compared under EA no. 4825 with Sancta Pieris on a gravestone in Copenhagen, no. 809). The bust of Antoninus Pius (no. 12; Lot 442) passed from Spink and Son to a private collection in the United States (Poulsen, Portraits 90, no. 75; Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse 134). No. 14 (sold as Lot 437 to "Harper") has been much discussed as a head of a Hellenistic Greek, either a ruler (such as Eu-

menes II) or a Pergamene fighter (see Felletti Maj, Ritratti 24f, under no. 30; Lippold, Handbuch 321, n. 14; Mustilli, Museo Mussolini 64f [replica]; BrBr no. 701; Suhr, Portraits of Greek Statesmen 172 [doubtful as Eumenes II]; Dickins, JHS 34 [1914] 304f, fig. 9; EA nos. 1048f [after the cast in Munich]; Bienkowski, Darstellungen der Gallier 25f, figs. 35-38). Poulsen illustrated no. 15, bust of a Roman child, as an excellent example of an eighteenth century creation after the antique, perhaps from the studio of Cavaceppi (Portraits 21, fig. 23). It fetched the amazing sum of £131.5.0. as Lot 431 in the Sale.

The following six lots in the 1941 Sale contain antiquities not listed by Michaelis in Ancient Marbles or mentioned by F. Poulsen. Michaelis, however, did communicate some of the inscriptions to the editors of the CIL. The four exceptionally fine marble cinerary urns or altars are CIL VI, no. 27941 (Lot 432: from Michaelis' notes); CIL VI, no. 27458 (Lot 434; found near S. Caesarei, Via Appia, and in the possession of Ficoroni ca. 1731-33); CIL VI, no. 9019 (Lot 436); and CIL VI, no. 21549 (Lot 444; from the Villa Mattei). Lot 450 was a cinerary vase (H.:20in.) enriched with bands of vertical fluting and around the center with a frieze of arabesque foliage (cf. London, Soane Museum, Cat. nos. 342-56). Lot 455, including the fragment of a colossal antique foot, was purchased by the National Museum of Wales and is now in St. Fagan's Castle, Cardiff.

Since completing this, No. 4 has passed to the Raleigh (North Carolina) Museum of Art; No. 15 has appeared at F. Partridge and Sons, London; and CIL VI, no. 21549 is in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London. An altar from the same group is at Gosford House.

The red-figured amphora reported by Michaelis (no. 17) was sold at Christie's on 29 October 1941 (Lot no. 430). It passed into the possession of Spink's and was among those objects that were severely damaged or destroyed by enemy action in the bombing of London. The vase was an amphora of Panathenaic shape; it was added by Beazley to the works of the Aegisthus Painter in the Addenda of ARV (958, ad 330-32). Fragments of the amphora have been salvaged and are now in Reading. Plate 86, figs. 41-42, show the vase before destruction, taken while the amphora was still in the London market.

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NORTHWICK PARK (Blockley, near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire).

Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill invited us to study his collection of antiquities on a visit with Sir John and Lady Beazley in June 1956. There are several important Egyptian items (e.g. brown stone statuette of a man and woman, XII Dyn.; H.:0.28m.). Capt. Spencer-Churchill keeps an inventory of his classical collections, and he is constantly acquiring

new things.

The classical marbles include: 1. Head of a young Pan (H. without restns.:0.28m.) (pl. 80, fig. 13). These comprise the bust, back and possibly the r. part of the head; copy of an original of the period of the Faun of Praxiteles (see Brommer, RE Suppl. 8, cols. 978f). Coll. of Lady Zouche (Curzon), Parham, Pulborough, Sussex. 2. Head of Demosthenes, from Shobden Court (Part II, 343) (pl. 80, fig. 21). The tip of the nose, the herm from below the neck, and part of the r. ear are restored (H. without restns.:0.36m.). 3. (with the bronzes) Head of Augustus, acquired on a trip up the Nile (H.: o.ogm.; crystalline white marble); from a rulercult statuette and typical of such small heads of the Ptolemaic period (e.g. Soane Museum, Cat. no. 37A, Claudius I; also Ptolemy III Euergetes, recently presented by the Leicester Museums and Art Gallery to the Dept. of Archaeology, University College, London). 4. Grey-green basalt head of a Julio-Claudian prince, Gaius Caesar or the Emperor Caligula, lifesize (Greek Art 38, no. 172, pls. 57f); compared with but perhaps after a head in the Museo Capitolino (West, Porträt-Plastik I, pl. 33, nos. 145, 145a; CAH, Plates IV, 154b). 5. Bust of Hadrian, or more properly a fragment of a statue cut down; Pentelic marble, H.:0.45m. (pl. 80, fig. 30). Tip of nose restored; restorations on r. shoulder have been removed; pupils unexpressed; evidently not MARGAM PARK no. 9, which has gone with Margam no. 12 to an American private collection (Part I, 143).

The following bronzes have been published: Minoan bull with acrobat: Greek Art no. 25, pl. 5; IHS 41 (1921) 247f; Isis, patera handle in form of a nude youth (Wyndham Cook): Smith, Hutton, Cat. nos. 1, 52. Kouros, youth in Ionian cloak, shepherd with goat, crouching sphinx: Greek Art 33, nos. 125-29; "island type" helmet, stag: ibid. 38f, nos. 175, 177. Statuette of a reclining lyre-player, from Norcia: NSc (1878) 22, pl. 2, no. 5; Vente Castellani (1884) no. 323. Greek hydria handle,

archaic: Burlington Exhibition (1904) pl. 68, D 111; Cat. Sotheby 18 June 1930, pl. 12, no. 167; ArchEph (1936) 150, fig. 3. Greek hydria handle, siren: Burlington Exhibition (1904) pl. 68, no. D 107; Cat. Sotheby 18 June 1930, pl. 12, no. 166. Of the two Etruscan cistae, the one with lions' feet comes from the Kennedy sale (19 March 1918, no. 628).

There are eighty-eight vases, many of them purchased from the Rycroft collection in 1915. Among the Corinthian vases the inscribed column-krater is listed and discussed by Payne (NC 329, no. 1467; 167, no. 60). A Corinthian cup is listed by Seltman and Chittenden (Greek Art 27, no. 57). There is also an interesting Corinthian pyxis, convex shape, with lid, from Palenzuela, near Burgos. The animals on it are panther, swan, panther; duck, panther, goat. The Chalcidian neck-amphora by the Orvieto Painter is published by Rumpf (Chalkidische Vasen pls. 52-54, no. 26). Thirty Attic blackfigured vases are listed and attributed by Beazley in ABV (pp. 57, 105, 137, 154, 207, 242, 255, 259, 261, 267, 269, 273, 285, 287, 299, 300, 301, 307, 318, 333, 335, 343, 400, 431 [two], 523, 525, 590, 611, 648). A neck-amphora, not in ABV, was bought at Christie's on 17 May 1956 (lot no. 11) and is described by Bothmer in Amazons in Greek Art 225, as an addendum to chapter III, no. 236 bis. An unattributed hydria with Herakles and Triton is mentioned in AJA 61 (1957) 107. Fifteen Attic red-figured vases are listed and attributed by Beazley in ARV (pp. 139, 195, 267, 272, 352, 437, 441, 476, 524, 577, 627, 665, 768, 824, 830). To these he has added, in Paralipomena, a white lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter (no. 107 bis; Cat. Sotheby 22-23 May 1919, pl. 1, no. 82,2) and has tentatively identified the stemless cup ARV 768, Marlay Painter no. 39, with Paravey no. 84, once Castellani (1866) no. 110. Two black vases were bought by Capt. Spencer-Churchill at Sotheby's on 22-23 May 1919, lot no. 286. Trendall has assigned a South Italian rf. oinochoe to Lucanian. The collection also contains three big Cypriot jars.

Six vases were sold at Sotheby's on 27 May 1936, lots 60-64. Of these no. 62 (van Hoorn *Choes* no. 906⁷) and no. 63 are in San Simeon (Hearst Estate 2380 and 5593).

NOSTELL PRIORY (Part I, 143f).

Through the kindness of the owner, Major the Hon. Rowland Winn, we were able to examine the collection in detail on a visit in June 1956. The two most important sculptures are in niches on the l. and r. in the Front Hall. They are, 1. Statue of a nymph of Artemis (?), lifesize in cloudy Pentelic marble (pl. 78, fig. 11). Although much broken and restored (arms, upper part of torso, drapery and patches, r. leg, lower part of 1. and 1. foot, base), the remains of the body are quite beautifully worked, recalling in this respect the Weekes torso in Burlington House (Part I, 138), a fragmentary statue in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (no. 27; Ashmole, BrBr, text to pl. 748, fig. 4), and a statue at Brocklesby Park (Part II, 324). The Nostell statue is probably a Hellenistic rendering of drapery, on a fourth century B.C. Aphrodite "pudique" composition; this interpretation of style as well as the present restorations (esp. of the l. arm) make the drapery seem meaningless (cf. also Reinach-Clarac I, 341, 2, Poggio Imperiale). For similar mannerisms based on the style of Timotheos, cf. the statues from the Athenian Agora (Picard, Manuel III, 377ff, esp. figs. 149f). The head, seemingly from a later statue of Artemis (cf. Lippold, Vat. Kat. III, 1, 188, no. 584), a nymph, or even Aphrodite (cf. Stuart Jones, Cons. Cat. 79, no. 6, pl. 30), is ancient but probably does not belong.

2. Statue of Silenus, in crystalline Parian marble (pl. 81, fig. 19). This lifesize work of the later Hellenistic period, or a Roman version of same, is broken, reworked and repaired but singularly free of restoration (tip of nose, r. hand w. dish, r. calf, front of r. foot, base). The statue passed through the hands of Cavaceppi, for it is no. 16, vol. II of his *Raccoltà* (whence Reinach-Clarac I, 420, no. 6); it is discussed from these sources by Lippold in connection with the heavily restored variant in the Sala delle Muse (*Vat. Kat.* III, 1, 8f, no. 491).

Mr. Seymour Howard, now of the University of California at Davis, provided the following information gathered in connection with his forthcoming doctoral dissertation Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-century Restorer. In the lists of exports from Rome now in the Archivio di Stato there is a document which may refer to the Artemis and the Silenus: "27 agosto 1751 Bartolomeo Cavaceppi per l'Inghilterra una statua di un Fauno vecchio . . . un altro torzo che sì puo ridurre a diana mancante di testa e braccia e le gambe e di diverse pieghe . . ." (published by Bertolotti, Archivio storico archeologico di Roma 4 [1878-80]

80). Although the description misses in details about the Artemis, such lists tended to be overly critical in order to pass the Papal Customs. The size of the two statues, their present disposition, and similarity of restorations (including iron cramps from the base rising through the legs) indicate they were bought as pendants from the same restorer, most likely Cavaceppi. Mr. Howard further attributes restoration of the Artemis to Cavaceppi on the basis of similar handling of the drapery in an original Diana by Cavaceppi in the palace of Prince Ruffo in Rome.

The third marble (seen on the lawn beyond the porch) is a head of a maenad, in Parian marble and restored as a bust (H.:o.21m.). It is a Hellenistic original or a good Roman version of same. Major Winn plans to place it in the Lower Hall. It once stood over the fireplace in the Salon (A. T. Bolton, The Architecture of Robert and James Adam II, 123, 125).

In the Museum beyond the Lower Hall (in the case on the r.) is a collection of small bronzes and other objects, including a terracotta statuette of Herakles wrestling with the Nemean lion (H.: 0.10m.; cf. Oxford, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM no. 37 and refs.; Ippel, 97 BWPr [1937] 29ff; Furtwängler, Collection Sabouroff II, pl. cxlviii), a late Hellenistic bronze patera with ovolo fluting (Diam.:ca. 0.17m.), a Roman and an Early Christian bronze lamp with cross on the handle (cf. Dalton, British Museum, Early Christian Antiquities nos. 501f), and a bronze statuette of Harpocrates leaning to l. in Praxitelean pose against a tree trunk (cf. Walters, British Museum, Silver Plate, nos. 47ff, esp. no. 49). These minor antiquities were collected by Charles Winn, Esq. about the middle of the last century.

The hundred-odd vases in the Lower Hall were bought by Charles Winn from the Abbate H. Campbell at Naples in 1818. Peter E. Corbett of the British Museum was the first to tell us of the collection at Nostell Priory; he has kindly sent us several photographs, excerpts from letters, and a copy of the original ms. catalogue of 1818. Another lot of vases is kept in the attic: it comes from the Mainwaring collection at Colston Hall in Lincolnshire and consists of small black vases.

The Nostell collection is rich in South Italian, especially Campanian, Paestan, and Lucanian. Attic black-figure is represented by a well-preserved amphora B, attributed by Corbett to Group E

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(Beazley ABV 135, no. 46), a small amphora B by the Painter of Louvre F 6, a plain Siana cup, a neck-amphora with pictures on the shoulders (cf. ABV 276, nos. 1-9), a lekythos of the Class of Athens 581, another with palmettes only, and a Haemonian cup (I, youth with club; A, Herakles and the lion, between two youths; B, the like). Most important among the Attic red-figure is a bell-krater which has become the name-piece of the Nostell Painter (who has taken the place of the Port Sunlight Group, now disbanded); another bell-krater is by the Meleager Painter (A, Herakles with the horn of plenty, satyrs, Dionysos, and an altar); on a third bell-krater Ariadne is awakened by Pan and a young satyr, with a flute-player and two komasts on the reverse. A pelike has the unusual subject of a seated Poseidon who is approached by a Nereid holding an oinochoe and an aphlaston. There are also many smaller vases, such as choes, and a stemless cup by the Marlay Painter, as well as several Attic black vases of various shapes.

Oxford, THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (and University Collections).

In his introduction to the Oxford marbles Michaelis (538-95) gives the history of the various collections which are now brought together in the Ashmolean Museum. With the centralization of the Greek and Roman marbles in the Ashmolean and with the many acquisitions made after Michaelis' visit, his notes can no longer be used as a guide, but nonetheless his descriptions, especially of the less important pieces, are in many instances the only, or at least the most recent, publication. His careful notes on provenance and condition make it unlikely that this section of Ancient Marbles will ever cease to be of value. Many of the sculptures are also briefly described and dated by Beazley in the 1931 edition of the Summary Guide. The 1951 edition of the same guide contains fewer entries, but includes recent accessions and has illustrations.

The sculptures are for the most part exhibited on the ground floor, in the Randolph Gallery and at the foot of the main staircase. A new list of about 150 of these, with bibliographies brought up to date, will be presented in a future installment of these notes.

Of the other classical antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum the vases are perhaps best known. Many of them are published in the two Oxford

fascicules of CVA, but as the collection has been growing steadily it is to be hoped that these fascicules, of which the last appeared in 1931, will soon be followed by others. In the meantime the indices in Beazley's books and the annual Report to the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum will serve as an indication of the size of the collection.

The bronzes, terracottas, and gems are described in the two editions of the Summary Guide.

Oxford, Christ Church, Library and Senior Common Room.

The chief classical marble was discussed by Michaelis (593, no. 240). It is a group of Aphrodite and Eros. Aphrodite is draped in the manner of the fourth century and the Hellenistic period; Eros stands on a high support and leans against her right shoulder. Brought from Pella in Macedonia at the end of the eighteenth century by a student of Christ Church, the group broke into many fragments at a bonfire in the quad. It was restored shortly before the Burlington Exhibition of 1903 (Catalogue [1904] 21, no. 28; pl. 27, whence Reinach Rép. stat. IV, 231, no. 5). This work is a Roman copy or adaptation of a Greek original, perhaps of the fourth century B.c. of which no other replicas are known. Also in the library are two Egyptian canopic jars, one of which has an alien lid.

In the Senior Common Room is an Assyrian relief from Nimrud with the head and much of the body of a winged genius. It is dated in the time of Assurnasirpal II (E. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige* Pt. I [AOF 4 (1939)] 8 ff, fig. 4), and can be compared with the somewhat similar relief in Magdalen College (Weidner opcit. 9f, fig. 6).

Oxford, Pusey House, St. Giles St.

In the Cloister and Library of Pusey House is a small collection of antiquities, many with early Christian connections. They were collected by Mr. C. Wilshire and bequeathed to Pusey House, arriving about 1926. Prof. T.B.L. Webster prepared a Catalogue and published a summary in *JRS* 19 (1929) 150-54; the texts of eight unpublished inscriptions are given, and details of the collection of gold glass supplement earlier publications (see Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana* III). Of the gold glass, now on long-term loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Webster nos, 71, 80, 103, and 104 are reproduced on pls. 5f of his article. Other

smaller objects (rings, gems, etc.) are kept in the Library (upstairs). The antiquities in the Cloister are placed in five niches in the right wall as one turns left from the Chapel door. They include (starting with the extreme left niche and working downwards through the shelves of each niche): 1. (Webster no. 25) Sarcophagus fragment; the dinner beside the sea of Tiberias; traces of gilding; fourth cent. A.D. (cf. Lateran no. 150: Wilpert, I sarcofagi cristiani antichi I, pl. 58). 2. (W. 24) Fragment, end of a large sarcophagus; Cupids harvesting grapes; third cent. A.D. (cf. San Lorenzo and Lateran: Ducati, L'Arte in Roma pls. 191, 232). 3. The "Attic Grave Relief with a Loutrophoros" is modern (cf. Conze III, pls. 283ff). 4. (W. 19) Sarcophagus lid, left front; the dinner at Tiberias; late third cent. A.D. (as Wilpert pl. 254). 5. (W. 22) Sarcophagus fragment (l. to r.): Raising of Lazarus; Mary Magdalene; The Three Children in the Furnace; Jonah and the Whale; late third cent. A.D. 6. Inscribed Italo-Etruscan cinerary chest; terracotta, fourth cent. B.c. or later; scene of combat (see no. 8). 7. Roman rectangular cinerarium, with lid; late first cent. A.D.; inscription CIL VI, no. 16462 (Depoletti, dealer) on rectangular plate with fans and four rosettes around. 8. Etruscan cinerary chest, the same type as no. 6, with different lid; the scene of combat is from a similar mould (cf. Richter, N.Y. Met., Handbook of the Etruscan Coll. 149f, figs. 143f). 9. (W.7) Front of a strigilar sarcophagus; in the centre, Young Reader (Christ) between two bearded elders with scrolls; SS. Peter and Paul on the ends (cf. Wilpert I, pl. 41, esp. no. 3, in Arles: Benoit, Sarcophages paléochrétiens d'Arles et de Marseille 61, no. 79). 10. Votive relief; Lygyrius paying a vow, a woman counting in the centre, and another man beside the scrinium at the r. LYGYRIVS/VOT-VM SOL-VIT. (ca. A.D. 200-250). 11. (W.1) Sarcophagus front, late third cent. A.D. (pl. 86, fig. 40); scenes (l. to r.): Christ taken prisoner; Entry into Jerusalem; Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1-10); Feeding of 4000; Lazarus; and Mary Magdalene (cf. JdI 47 [1932] 109ff; Wilpert I, pl. 139, II, pls. 212, 235; ArtB 19 [1937] 164f, figs. 21f).

Port Sunlight (Cheshire, near Liverpool), THE LADY LEVER ART GALLERY.

There are a number of important ancient marbles in this Gallery, the bulk being from the Hope Collection at DEEPDENE (Part I, 134f). They were

purchased at the Christie Sale of 1917 and are exhibited in and near the North Sculpture Hall (Room 19; C. R. Grundy, S. L. Davison, *Illustrated Guide to the Lady Lever Collection* [1950 ed.] 54). The Gallery inventory numbers are given in brackets following the numbers of this listing. Michaelis gives full and very accurate descriptions of the restorations to the Hope pieces; those illustrated here have never been photographed before.

No. 1 (X2169; pl. 79, fig. 16) is the fountain statue of a nymph, from the Hope Collection (Michaelis no. 35; Lot 243; Part I, 135; Muthmann, Statuenstützen 119). No. 2 (X2168) (pl. 79, fig. 17) the Hope Hermaphrodite (Michaelis no. 26; Lot 242; Reinach-Clarac 371, no. 5; L. Mariani, BdA 7 [1913] 245, n. 6, compared with Oxford M.34) No. 3 (X2166; pl. 79, fig. 18), the Silenus seated, is a late Hellenistic creation after the Herakles Epitrapezios of Lysippos (Michaelis, DEEPDENE no. 19; Lot 236; Reinach-Clarac 419, no. 7). No. 4 (X2167; pl. 81, fig. 26), the Hope archaistic maiden with oinochoe and mirror (M.32; Lot 239), is a small statue similar to York, City Art GALLERY no. 1, and closest in drapery to a statue in Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria) from the Palazzo Sciarra in Rome (Matz-Duhn no. 1567; Cat. Sotheby 13 March 1931, Lot 2, two pls.). The most famous Hope marble in the Lady Lever Collection is the statue of Antinous as Dionysos (pl. 81, fig. 31) (no. 5; X2170; M.8; Lot 251; Part I, 134f; Muthmann, Statuenstützen 155, bibl., etc.).

Among the lesser marbles, no. 6 (X.2165) is the Hope head of Asklepios, a Roman copy of the common fourth century B.C. type (M41; Lot 210). A related head of Asklepios or Zeus, no. 7, restored as a bust, is a Roman second or third century work of unknown provenance (H. of antique portion: 0.23m.; Parian marble). An important series of four marble candelabra built up from antique fragments follow; they are very much of the types associated with the restorations and publications of the elder Piranesi, comparable examples being in Oxford, the Louvre, the Vatican and (fragments) Sir John Soane's Museum. No. 8 (X2157), the most imposing, also comes from the Hope Collection (see under M.43; Lot 184; Moses, Vases pl. 87, H.:100in.). The baluster shaft in three divisions is carved with acanthus, lion and ram heads, sphinxes, cranes, reptiles, and Cupids holding festoons. The other Hope candelabrum (no. 9; X2158; Lot 182; H.:29in.) consists of a

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ım a shaft built out of a tripod bowl. Nos. 10, 11, a pair of marble candelabra (X4610, X4609) in Parian marble (H.:82in., 81.5in.), were acquired in 1923 from the collection of Lord Brownlow, Carlton House Terrace.

The collection is rich in grave altars and cineraria of the more elaborate variety. No. 12 is a large grave altar (H.:o.82m.) with a scene of the deceased couple reclining on a couch; there was no time to check the lengthy, rather weathered Latin inscription. No. 13 (X2160) is the circular cinerarium described and illustrated as Lot 194 (Plate v) in the Hope Sale Catalogue; the inscription (after CIL VI, no. 24, 642?) is also given there. As no. 14 (X2161) we have the semicircular cinerarium which was Hope Lot 195 (Plate v), and no. 15 is the uninscribed cinerarium with bucrania, fillets, and garlands, from the Hope Sale (X2162; Lot 201). The last two cinerary chests are of unknown provenance but have recorded inscriptions. No. 16 (X404) with restored lid and base has dolphins flanking the inscription plate (H.:o.20m.; CIL VI, no. 24, 507); no. 17 (X405) features candelabra supporting a garland around the inscription plate (H.:o.19m.; CIL VI, no. 11, 716).

A striking lion-headed marble trapezophoros (no. 18; X3732) comes from the Duke of Hamilton's collection (Part I, 135f; H.:46in.). The restoration as a wall table was carried out ca. 1650. The last classical marble is a vase of lotus-bell form springing from a support of entwined roots (no. 19; X2164a). The ensemble is carved in island marble (H.:0.305m.). Finally, the four alabaster Canopic jars from the Hope Sale are set about the balustrade of the North Sculpture Hall (X2153-2156; Lot 172, Plate IV).

Of the large collection of Greek vases only nine are at present on view in Port Sunlight; two more are in storage; several are on loan in Rawtenstall and Preston, and the bulk of the collection is on indefinite loan in Liverpool.

The Lady Lever vases consist of three lots. The ones that have been longest in the collection were formerly at Thornton Manor and bear numbers with the prefix TM. Of these TM 478 is a black skyphos, with most of the surface gone; TM 479 is a late fifth century bell-krater on loan in Liverpool. Next comes a lot of four Attic black-figured neck-amphorae from the collection of the late C. T. D. Crews of Billingbear Park sold at Christie's on

6 July 1915 (lot no. 10). Of these, X 386 has modern designs; X 385 is at present in fragments (A, Hermes, Apollo, Athena, and fawn; B, departure of a warrior and an archer, between an old man and a woman). X 383 recalls the Antimenes Painter, but is much repainted (A, bearded oriental archer fallen between two rearing horses; B, dispute between heroes; the foot is modern). X 384 is likewise much repainted (A, extispicy; B, three warriors facing left, dog). The remaining six vases at Port Sunlight are from the Hope collection. They are Tillyard nos. 18, 67, 142, 238, 297, 249 (= Port Sunlight nos. X 2126, 2138, 2142, 2147, 2149, 2150).

The Port Sunlight vases at Liverpool bear the Liverpool loan numbers beginning with 50.43. and 55.3. The museums at Rawtenstall and Preston were not visited, so that nothing can be said about the Port Sunlight vases on loan in those museums.

Richmond, Buccleuch Gardens (near Richmond Bridge, Surrey).

In the two grottos flanking the path to the upper gardens are two sculptures, the first ancient and the second perhaps a skillful cinquecento composition in the antique manner. The first, in the grotto on the left, is a head of a bearded man of the Hadrianic period mounted as a relief facing to the left (H.:0.39m.). The restored ear is now missing, and a section of the himation around his neck is visible at the bottom.

A Roman sepulchral relief, or a clever imitation thereof (H.:o.87m.), presents two Cupids standing on bases and supporting a bust of a lady of the Trajanic to early Hadrianic period, her hair arranged in the Marciana fashion. The relief appears as the left half of a Pierre Jacques drawing of 1573 (S. Reinach, Album 135, pl. 80). The other half of the drawing contains the Lowther Castle Venus Victrix sepulchral relief now in the British Museum (Part I, 142); the two were presumably in the Palazzo Bufalo when Pierre Jacques drew them. Since the Buccleuch Gardens relief seems to represent the same lady as the pair of reliefs once at Lowther Castle, it may well be ancient and may have formed the centerpiece to a sepulchral ensemble.

Buccleuch Gardens are on the site once occupied by Buccleuch House, and the grottos are said to have been part of the wine cellars. STRATFIELD SAYE (Part II, 332, 344).

This addition gives the important ancient and later marbles and bronzes which have always been at STRATFIELD SAYE, rather than those described by Michaelis and others at Apsley House and brought to Stratfield Saye when the Duke of Wellington's London home became the Wellington Museum. One of the Stratfield Saye marbles has already been published, the Roman copy of a portrait of the Athenian orator Lysias (Part II, 332, pl. 108). We also illustrate the statue of Eros from Apsley House (Michaelis no. 1) (pl. 82, fig. 15). The type copies a Hellenistic version of the sculptures which include Erotes as fountain figures, fisherboys, children asleep, and like subjects (cf. EA no. 4085, Florence; London, Soane Museum, Michaelis no. 4, etc.).

I. (At foot of stairs) Heroic head of Alexander the Great. A marble helmet and a bronze and alabaster bust have been added to an ancient, Pentelic marble head (H.:0.21m.); bought by the First Duke of Wellington in 1817. The restoration gives the bust an appearance similar to the porphyry Alexander Richelieu in the Louvre (Delbrueck, *Porphyrwerke*)

60ff, fig. 12, pl. 15).

2. (Orangery) Head of a man of the late Republic (pl. 82, fig. 28). Island marble; H.(max.):0.36m. The back of the head and neck have been evened off, and a large iron dowel has been inserted, as if the piece had been re-used as building material or more likely attached to a Renaissance palazzo wall (as, for example, the sculptures walled-up in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence). The style of this striking portrait fits the group of portraits identified by B. Schweitzer as of the period of the Second Triumvirate (Bildnis-kunst J1, J2, J4, figs. 186-89).

3. Porphyry head of Faustina II, (lifesize. H.:0.38m.) with the neck worked for insertion in a statue (pl. 82, fig. 32). Acquired by the present Duke and from the collection of the Duke of Richmond. Cf. Dresden no. 394 (Wegner, Herrscherbildnisse pl. 37), Terme no. 728 (idem, pl. 35; Felletti Maj, Ritratti 118f, no. 235), or Museo Capitolino, Galleria no. 53 (Hekler, Portraits pl. 285a; Stuart Jones, Cap.Cat. 126, pl. 32). These heads show the Empress at the height of her career, in the period ca.

160-170.

4. Porphyry head of Julia Domna, (H.:0.365m. pendant to previous) showing the Empress as a younger woman (pl. 82, fig. 33). Provenance as

previous. Cf. the Braccio Nuovo portrait, where the nose is wrongly restored (Vat.Cat. I, no. 133, pl. 20). Coins of the Rome mint in the earlier part of Severus' rule show a portrait of Julia Domna identical in every respect with that of the Wellington bust (e.g. BMCRE V, pls. 27ff). A majority of these coins show the Empress with an aquiline nose, something usually restored or missing in the marble portraits (e.g. Felletti Maj, Ritratti 130f, nos. 257f). Damage to both heads consists of a few chips on hair and face and at the base of the bust; the surfaces of their faces have a high polish not found in ancient porphyry busts (cf. the Hadrian in the British Museum: FA 5 [1950] no. 3638, fig. 80). These heads seem to have come from the same workshop and to have adorned pendant variegated marble busts. They are strikingly successful eighteenth century porphyry sculptures after the antique. The Faustina in particular could easily pass as antique were not the other bust of a later period obviously by the same hand.

5. (Front Hall, on l.). Neo-Classic head of Augustus on ancient porphyry bust. The bust is cuirassed, with paludamentum across l. shoulder and below gorgoneion; it is of a second or third century date (cf. Delbrueck, op.cit. 82ff). Bought by the present Duke from the Marlay collection (see Cambridge, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, Addenda, nos.

8, 18).

6. Large bronze eagle with wings partially spread. Purchased at the Cardinal Fesch Sale (Lot 263) and the counterpart of the marble eagles at Gosford House and in the Louvre (Part I, 141; Reinach, Rép.stat. II, 768, 3, idem, MonPiot 3 [1896] 39ff). Italian seventeenth century work, very like monumental antique bronzes.

Syon Lodge, Busch Corner, Isleworth (Middlesex). B. Crowther, Ltd.

Among other antiquities are a number of inscribed cineraria, cippi, altars and statue bases of Mediterranean manufacture. These have lain about the two principal gardens for at least five years. The most important is an altar (H.:0.76m.), with surface cleaned but antique. The inscription is CIL VI, no. 31029; BullComm (1890) 107, no. 6, recorded in a stonecutter's yard in Rome. Four of the other five inscriptions are forgeries, three on ancient marbles.

Among the unpublished sculptures, a Roman sarcophagus of ca. A.D. 250-280 presents an interest-

ing subject in a state of preservation affected only by the weathering suffered sitting out in English gardens. (pl. 85, figs. 37-38). Only the front of this lifesize sarcophagus is carved. Four Seasonal Erotes with predominantly Bacchic attributes are seen. The center two run forward supporting the medallion bust of the deceased, a middle-aged Roman with a noticeable beard. The Eros on the extreme left holds up cymbals; he on the extreme right moves away from the scene holding lyre and plectron. Beneath the central group appear (l. to r.) basket of fruits, Satyr mask to l., two Erotes superintending a cock-fight, Silen mask to r., another basket of fruits, and (between the feet of the lyre-player) a pedum. Trees fill the background be-

hang bows and quivers.

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The sarcophagus unfortunately is set in a recess which makes a photograph of the entire front only possible at an angle. For a comparable sarcophagus, see Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus II, no. 471a, fig. 47a (Museo Nazionale Romano), which is a less elaborate, somewhat later version of a similar schema. There are a number of close parallels for the cock-fight beneath the central medallion (e.g. Copenhagen, Cat. no. 788b; also a section of Season Sarcophagus front in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto).

tween the pairs of Erotes, and from these trees

TATEFIELD HALL, near Harrogate (Yorkshire; Mr. B. J. W. Kent, F.S.A.)

Mr. Kent's large collection of antiquities has been formed at sales and by private purchase throughout England. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan bronzes come from the Museum, Hornby Castle, near Richmond; they were acquired in 1930, having been brought from Italy by the Duke of Leeds ca. 1860. Of special interest are an Etruscan striding warrior (cf. H. Jucker, Kunst und Leben der Etrusker [Köln 1956] no. 396, fig. 47), an Etruscan bronze statuette of a kouros similar to the example in the Walter Baker Collection (D. von Bothmer, Cat. no. 14; cf. Jucker, op.cit. nos. 281f, fig. 17), and a number of Gallo-Roman statuettes of Herakles. There are about 50 Roman lamps of all periods, including examples from York and Aldborough; 20 Coptic textile fragments, 25 pieces of ancient glass, and two Etruscan terracotta urns with lids (Cat. nos. 369, 402). Mr. Kent keeps a detailed catalogue of his collection (about 1000 items).

The marbles were purchased from the George Arnold Museum at Gravesend in 1912; they had been brought from the Mediterranean by a sea captain who built many of them into his garden wall. The three most important (nos. 1, 2 and 7) were outside the house and, unfortunately, were only studied briefly at the close of our visit. No. 1 is a head (of Artemis?) in Pentelic marble (H.:0.21m.), a somewhat battered but still splendid Greek original of the time of Agoracritus' Nemesis. No. 2 is an over-lifesize head of a goddess, probably Aphrodite, in Parian marble and with the neck worked for insertion in manner similar to that of the Petworth Aphrodite. Although much weathered, the sculpture is a great Greek original of the end of the fourth century B.C. It was propped up in the garden when we saw it. No. 3 (in a case in the room with the vases and bronzes) is a limestone head of the young Ammon (H.:0.23m), from Alexandria; no. 4 is a fragment of a large Ionic capital of good Greek style, said to be from the temple of Apollo at Naukratis.

No. 5 is a small statue of Artemis in Pentelic marble (H.:0.46m.), the head, arms, left leg and base missing; no. 6 is a Pentelic marble statue of Dionysos, preserved only below the waist (H.: 0.61m.); the himation is wrapped about the lower limbs, and the god leans his l. arm on a tree trunk with vine leaves hanging down the shaft. No. 7 (in the Granary) is a fragment of a state relief, a large head of Vespasian or Titus carved almost in the round (H.:0.35m.; Pentelic marble). No. 8 (Cat., no. 841) is a rectangular cinerarium of usual type (H:0.43m.), with flaming torches on the corners of the body; the lid has a filleted wreath in the pediment, masks on the corners.

Of the hundred-odd vases in the house the following were noted. Mycenaean: 480 pithoid jar. Attic Black-Figure: 299 oinochoe (reclining maenad and Dionysos); 363 lekythos (Poseidon on hippocamp between two nereids. Class of Athens 581); 214 lekythos (seated woman with lyre; reclining Dionysos); 345 lekythos (palmettes); n.n. skyphos (A and B, warrior between two riders); n.n. cupkotyle (A and B, youths. Haemonian); 771 whiteground mastoid, with handles (A and B, youth between eyes. Ivy leaf under each handle). Attic Red-Figure: F 29 pelike (A, maenad and satyr; B, woman and boy); 344 squat lekythos, ex Raoul-Rochette, Vente 30 avril—1 mai 1855, no. 219 (head of woman to left); 927 squat lekythos (sphinx);

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Attic Black: 370 amphoriskos; 374 astragalos; 697 (and two others) three stemmed dishes; 378 stemless cup; Attic Pattern Work: 400 squat lekythos, from Kerch (reticulation); n.n. amphoriskos (reticulation). On these vases see Beazley in BSA 41 (1945) 12, 18. Campanian: n.n. bf. lekythos. Lucanian 751 hydria (woman to left with box). Apulian: 362 pelike (A, Eros; B, seated woman); 890 pelike (A, head of woman; B, the like); n.n. pelike (A and B, head of woman); 375 volutekrater (A, shrine, with basin on column; B, head of woman); 376 bell-krater (Disney, Museum Disneianum pls. 121-22); 703 hydria (maenad to left, followed by satyr); 380 oinochoe (seated maenad. Winter-Wind Painter); 361 epichysis (youth pursuing a boy); 320 kantharos (seated woman); 321 kantharos (seated satyr); n.n. fish-plate; 314 plain rhyton in the shape of a dog's head; 889 lamp-filler; Gnathian: 440 askos (bell-krater); 886 skyphos (mask). Paestan: 379 skyphos (A, young satyr; B, man); 702 skyphos (A, youth leaning on pillar; B, naked woman in arbor); n.n. hydria (head of woman). Etruscan: 69 Socra jug. Hellenistic: 325 Hadra hydria; 700 Canosa vase. Messapian: 404 nestoris.

Part of Mr. Kent's collection is exhibited in the ROYAL PUMP ROOM MUSEUM in Harrogate. The sculptures include a small, island marble head of a "Sappho"-type goddess, first or second cent. A.D. and after a mid-fifth cent. B.C. Pheidian work in much larger scale (H.:ca.o.tom.). The label reads "Aldborough, probably imported," and the fact that the nose has an inset restoration might suggest a postantique importation. There are other finds from Aldborough in the same display, including a splendid Roman lamp with a standing gladiator in the medallion, and a crescent-shaped handle.

The following vases are on view. Corinthian aryballos, from Naucratis (griffin-bird). Attic bf. neck-amphora, ex Davis (ABV 115, manner of Lydos, no. 2); Attic bf. neck-amphora (ABV 128, Painter of Louvre F 6, no. 91); Attic bf. neck-amphora (ABV 603, Red-line Painter no. 57); Attic bf. neck-amphora, ex Gott no. 10 (AJA 48 [1944] 258); Attic bf. neck-amphora, ex Davis (A, two men in chariot, warrior, another figure, seated man; B, three warriors to left [devices: white, lion's protome, horse's protome]); Attic bf. lekythos (ABV 474, Gela Painter no. 12); Attic bf. oinochoe (ABV 426, Keyside Class no. 7; p. 537, near the Painter of Vatican G. 49, no. 3); Attic bf. lipcup

(A and B, siren); Attic bf. handle-plate of a column-krater (AJA 48 [1944] 251). Attic white lekythos (the design is modern). Campanian rf. neck-amphora (A, seated warrior, half-dressed seated woman, woman running to left; B, woman seated on camp-stool, standing youth. APZ Painter); Campanian rf. bell-krater (A, warrior to right, warrior on horseback. B, two youths); Campanian black lekanis. Apulian rhyton in the form of a stag's head.

WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE (the Earl Fitzwilliam. Part I, 148; Part II, 345-46).

Additions can be made to the list of vases given in Part II. Of the vases sold in 1948, lot 13, 1 is now in Sydney (48.257; JHS 71 [1951] 184, no. 59). Of lot 14, nos. 2 and 3 are in Christchurch, Canterbury University College, and in Sydney (48.259; JHS 71 [1951] 184, nos. 66 and 65). Lot 7, an Italo-Corinthian skyphos, has been acquired by the Burrell collection in Glasgow and is published in Glasgow Art Gallery, the Burrell Collection, p. 24, below. Lot 20 (London 1948.10-15.2) is now published by Mme. Ghali (Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène pl. 55). Of the vases sold on the premises and given to the City Art Gallery in York, an Etruscan red-figured stamnos by the Painter of London F 484 is described by Beazley in Festschrift Andreas Rumpf, p. 11.

Of the vases resold in New York in 1951, no. 3 (=1948 sale lot 15, no. 1) is mentioned by Beazley in ABV 223, under no. 65. As already noted in Part II, this cup is now in the collection of Christos Bastis. It should be noted, however, that the Bastis collection is no longer in Kings Point, but in Bronx-ville (N.Y.).

Weston Birt House, Tetbury (Gloucestershire), Sir George Holford.

Some of the Holford vases were kept at Dorchester House, in London (Park Lane). The London vases were the first to be sold, at a Sotheby sale on 11 July 1927; the Tetbury vases were sold in the following year, likewise at Sotheby's (2 April 1928). Neither collection is mentioned by Michaelis, and nothing is known of their history. Italian miniatures of the same collection were assembled following the Ottley sale of 1838, and one of the vases was drawn in Rome in 1836. It may therefore be assumed that the vases were collected before the middle of the last century, a date which is also

borne out by the style and technique of the restora-

Of the vases in the first sale, here given by their Sotheby lot numbers, no. 148 is at San Simeon, Hearst Estate 5476, as is no. 149 (5482; ABV 327, Group of Faina 75, no. 3). No. 150 was bought by Garabed; the description of this hydria recalls works by the Antimenes Painter. No. 151 went to the Rothschild collection in Paris (ABV 333, near the Priam Painter I, no. 2). No. 152 is now in New York (56.171.29; ABV 362, Leagros Group no. 30; BMMA 15 [1956/57] 174, top left). No. 153 is also in New York (56.171.22; ABV 383, Acheloos Painter no. 9; BMMA 15 [1956/57] 173, middle right). Nos. 154 and 155 are in Oxford (ARV 140 and 135, Berlin Painter nos. 135 and 20). No. 156 is at San Simeon (Hearst Estate 5547; attributed by Beazley to the Berlin Painter in BSR 11 [1929] 20, n. 2, but the attribution is given up in ARV). The hydria is much repainted, the heads of all three youths being modern, but the pattern-work and the stacking of the folds recall the Berlin Painter. The question arises whether this vase could possibly be no. 1814 in the Brett sale of 5-18 April 1864. No. 157 is in Oxford (ARV 39, Oltos no. 62). No. 158 is in Cambridge (ARV 307, Makron no. 100). Nos. 159 and 160 are in New York (56.171.47 and 56.171.46; ARV 370, Pig Painter no. 10; ARV 357, Alkimachos Painter no. 29). No. 161 was bought by Hindamian (for Maurice de Rothschild?). It is ARV 179, Harrow Painter no. 38 (Jüthner's drawing is based on a tracing made in 1836, preserved in the German Institute at Rome [Album 9, no. 68]; on the graffito see *BdI* [1837] 71). No. 162 is in New York (56.171.52; ARV 695, Group of Polygnotos no. 7; BMMA 15 [1956/57] 178, top left). No. 163 is in the Haniel collection at Munich (ARV 786, Kleophon Painter no. 36).

The seventeen vases of the second sale were sold in nine lots (nos. 113-21), of which the first four are illustrated (pls. 4-5). The Attic bf. neck-amphora no. 113 was bought by Spink. No. 114 is among the vases retained by Mr. Gallatin and still in his collection (ARV 436, manner of the Providence Painter no. 1). No. 115 went to Sweden (ARV 666, Danae Painter no. 3). No. 116 was bought by Lederer (ARV 707, Naples Painter no. 40). No. 117, an Attic rf. hydria with a scene of two women running, was bought by Spink. The Attic rf. squat lekythos no. 118 went to Arditti. An early Italiote column-krater, no. 119, was bought

by Hindamian and left on approval with the Berlin Museum before the war. It is now shown in the museum of East Berlin. The next lot, 120, consisting of three small vases, was bought by Lederer and the last lot, no. 121, made up of seven small Italiote vases, by Lawrence.

WOBURN ABBEY (Part I, 150; Part II, 348-50).

On a visit in June 1956 further notes were made on sculptures, especially those not covered by previous catalogues and the instalments listed above. The Sculpture Gallery has again been rearranged, the movable sculptures being grouped in the central bay and the section of the Gallery farthest from the Abbey. Aside from the four sarcophagus fronts and the relief let into the wall, the only ancient sculpture of note in this part of the Gallery is the Neo-Attic relief of a young girl (Smith no. 69). The bronzes, including the terminal figure of the young satyr (Smith no. 84), have been moved to the private apartments of the house. A number of important examples of ancient architectural ornament, a type of sculpture not too well represented in Country House collections (Charsworth, Vir-GINIA WATER excepted), have been overlooked. The busts between the windows on the garden side are set on eight Greek marble consoles (L.:ca.o.20m.-0.30m.), at least seven of which are from the same Severan structure. The eight colored marble columns supporting the central bay (red, dark and light grey marbles; H.:ca.16 ft.) are topped by composite capitals of excellent Severan type similar to examples from the Palatine, the Baths of Caracalla, and one from Aquileia (A/A 59 [1955] 190; V. Scrinari, I capitelli romani di Aquileia no. 77). They have been patched, particularly the ends of the acanthus leaves on the bodies, but are otherwise in excellent preservation. The columns are also ancient and have been carefully patched and re-

Further comments on published pieces follow the Smith numbering, with the Michaelis numbers in brackets. Smith no. 110 (Michaelis no. 169) "Nymphs tending the babe Dionysos" is a sarcophagus fragment trimmed off to make a rectangular relief (H.:0.38m.; W.:0.455m.) and let into a statue base near the Abbey entrance to the Sculpture Gallery (pl. 85, fig. 36). Miss Frances F. Jones contributes the following: "In publishing a second century A.D. sarcophagus front with scenes related to the life and worship of Dionysos, L. Cur-

tius grouped the Woburn relief and the sarcophagus front, then in Rome and now in Princeton. He apparently lacked adequate illustration to make a closer association (Ölh 36 [1946] 63, n. 4). The measurements and style make it highly probable that the Woburn fragment is the short right end of the sarcophagus of which the Princeton relief is the principal panel." Although the surface of the Woburn relief is slightly cleaned, the marble seems to be of the same Greek variety as that of the Princeton panel. This panel, which lacks the scene between the squared break on the right front and the short right end, has been also discussed and illustrated by Miss Jones, "The Princeton Art Museum. Antiquities Received in Recent Years," Archaeology 7 (1954) 242.

Smith no. 46 (M.98) is probably a cut down side of an altar, with reliefs showing the Alexandrine Hellenistic divinities in their Roman cult guises (cf. the similar figure of Harpocrates on a base in Venice, Reinach, Répsel. III, 432, 1-3). Smith no. 65 (not in Michaelis) is a head of Apollo of the Egremont type (Petworth no. 7), also used in variants by Roman copyists, such as the "Apollo with the Attributes of Aesculapius" from HAMIL-TON PALACE (Part I, 136) and now in the collection of C. Ruxton Love, Jr., New York. No. 105 (M.176), head of Pan, is an ancient copy of a post-Pergamene Hellenistic work very similar to Soane Museum, Cat. no. 389 = Michaelis no. 9. Smith no. 159 (M.205a) is set on an interesting Luna marble base, rectangular in shape with convex ends (H.:o.21m.; W.:0.38m.). The rectangular part is enriched with rosettes and candelabrum-type leaves. The bust of Cicero (Smith no. 168; M.183) is not antique; the "restorations" are incised. Smith no. 182 (M.220) is very likely a portrait of Domitian ca. A.D. 75 (cf. the Uffizi head, West, Römische Porträt-Plastik II, 23f, no. 1). Smith no. 194, the crouching Aphrodite by L. Delvaux (1696-1778), should be studied by those who deal with the several such creations after the antique which currently pass as antiquities. The Woburn statue copies the Vatican, Gabinetto delle Maschere example (Lullies, Die kauernde Aphrodite 13, no. 9), with the addition of drapery in the left hand. Finally, there is a bust of Caracalla over the fireplace in the Long Gallery of the Abbey; this sculpture, omitted in the Smith and Michaelis lists, is similar to the bust in the Art Museum, Princeton University (also to WILTON House, M.69, very close to the Princeton bust).

Several additional vases have now been attributed. Beazley attributes the Attic rf. pelike (ex Cawdor 52; A, man and youth; B, youth) to Aison, an oinochoe (shape 4) to the Bull Painter, a bellkrater (A, deer hunt; B, Nike between two youths) to the Telos Painter, and relates the obverse of another bell-krater to the Meleager Painter (A. Dionysos seated at altar, maenads, young satyr; B, three youths). A third bell-krater was formerly in the second Hamilton collection and was drawn by Clener. Engravings based on this drawing are published by Millin (Peintures de vases antiques vol. 2, pl. 44) and by Lenormant and de Witte (Élite des monuments céramographiques vol. 3, pl. 96, pp. 233, 259). The vase is intact.

The two Paestan bell-kraters have been attributed by Trendall to the Altavilla Group. They did not come from the Cawdor sale, but were "bought of a gentleman" in 1800. Trendall compares the early Apulian pelike (ex Cawdor 53) with his Copenhagen-Cork Group (School of the Tarporley Painter).

York, CITY ART GALLERY (Exhibition Square).

Two ancient marbles were acquired at the Earl Fitzwilliam Sale, WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE, 5 July 1949 (Part II, 345f) (Lots 432, 431). Inv. no. 556-1948 is an archaistic statuette of the Kore or Spes type, in Greek island marble (H.:o.gom.) (pl. 81, fig. 27). The head, the r. arm with flower, the l. arm and hand holding the edge of the drapery, and the outside of the plinth have been restored by Nollekens. Small statues of this type exist as freestanding sculptures (INCE no. 82) and furniture supports (Soane, Cat. no. 381).

Inv. no. 555-1948 is a statuette of a recumbent Silenus, on a wineskin on rocky ground (pl. 81, fig. 20); Greek mainland marble (L.:0.59m.; H.: 0.32m.). Extensive drillwork indicates a Roman copy ca. A.D. 150-250 of a Hellenistic work. Restorations comprise the r. hand with the end of the skin, the lower l. leg, the end of the nose, a patch in the stomach, and the exterior of the plinth. Cf. Reinach-Clarac 422, no. 2 (Mattei); the pose is a mirror reversal of certain river god types (Reinach-Clarac 432).

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The Corinthian Chimaera Painter¹

PATRICIA LAWRENCE

PLATES 87-92

OF Humfry Payne's five major subdivisions of Middle Corinthian vase-painting with animal subiect matter,2 it is perhaps the Chimaera Group8 which most often attracts the attention of both the casual observer and the specialist. The style of the Chimaera Painter's plates (pls. 87-88, figs. 1-6, 11) is indeed impressive, the more so for being unique in kind in Corinthian vase-painting. Generally speaking, at their best, Corinthian painters produced vases with extremely tasteful, delicately incised animal friezes or miniaturistic narrative scenes, an exquisite style basically unlike that of Attica. But Corinthian work, on the other hand, unlike Attic, is very seldom truly monumental; it is the Chimaera Painter's monumentality which sets him apart from his fellows. One will look in vain elsewhere among Middle Corinthian felines for one which approximates, in vitality and grandeur, his chimaeras and lions or even those of his companions in the Chimaera Group. He is unique also in his use of the tondo of the plate; artists in other branches of Corinthian vase-painting decorate it with concentric animal friezes,4 and the shape itself, furthermore, is not popular at Corinth. The Chimaera Painter favored it, obviously, because his style demands a flat surface; his animals are best accommodated to a square or circular area. In

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short, he uses the plate as a plaque. When we add that he was one of the finest draughtsmen in all Corinthian black-figure and possessed an unerring sense of design, we have come close to explaining his pre-eminent position among his contemporaries.

In the light of these observations, it seems curious that, since Payne recognized the style of the Chimaera Painter and established the central group of plates certainly from his hand, no detailed study has been made of the painter and the group surrounding him. Since the painters of the Chimaera Group stand apart in Middle Corinthian, it is important that we understand them in the context of their own period and recognize their predecessors in Early Corinthian.

The present study is based on Payne's concepts of the styles involved and their relationship to one another, since in this area as elsewhere his basic framework has been found to be essentially sound. His Chimaera Group includes twenty-three pieces; since the publication of Necrocorinthia, sixteen more have been added or referred to the Group, and several not previously attached to it will be added here. With these additions, the Chimaera Group is not only a much larger, but a more complex body of vase-paintings. Its boundaries need to be defined, and the relative dates of the Chi-

¹ I should like to express my gratitude to the following individuals and institutions without whose help and cooperation this paper could not have been written. First, I must thank Prof. D. A. Amyx of the University of California, Berkeley, who has read the paper several times, first as a thesis for the M.A. degree, and then in its present form. His numerous suggestions have not only prevented many misjudgments, but have greatly enriched the content of the paper. For photographs of unpublished pieces and new photographs of pieces previously published and for permission to reproduce the same here, I wish to thank Prof. A. Greifenhagen, Berlin Museum; Prof. Reinhard Lullies, Munich; Prof. John L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens; Huberta von Littrow of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Ernst Langlotz of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn; Niels Breitenstein of the National Museum, Copenhagen; Mme. Anna Peredol'skaja of the Hermitage, Leningrad; P. E. Corbett and the Trustees of the British Museum; Dietrich von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Mme. Iole Marconi of the Palermo Museum; Prof. P. Devambez and Jean Charbonneaux of the Louvre, Paris, also for their kind cooperation and efforts in having photographs made of objects in their keeping.

² Humfry Payne, Necrocorinthia (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931) 62-65 (hereafter NC for text refs., NC for cat. nos.).

⁸ NC 62, 65, 313; figs. 140 bis, 154; pls. 30, 8; 34, 1; NC cat. nos. 1040-1052, 1054-1056, 1009-1013, 835, 853, 801, 892, 1182. The reference to NC 982 in the catalogue at NC 1040 is surely a misprint (infra n. 21). Of these, Payne is not sure that NC 801 and 1013 are products of the same workshop as the others, and in mentioning NC 892 and 1182 says only that "the same style recurs" on these two (NC 65). Payne also says that besides NC 853, "perhaps others of the same set" may belong to the Group, but the aryballoi following NC 853 seem to be in styles independent of that of the Chimaera Group, although certainly contemporary with NC 1054-5 and 853.

⁴ Compare a plate of the same shape from Ithaka, stylistically unrelated to the Chimaera Group. BSA 39 (1938-39) 25, no. 67, pls. 11-12; Hopper, "Late M. C. Akin to NC no. 887?" Addenda to Necrocorinthia, BSA 44 (1949) 231. Early Corinthian plates are rare and are differently decorated (NC 720-

⁸ Excluding the misprint "NC 982" (see n. 3).

⁶I omit Hopper's association of an alabastron at Oxford with NC 801 (op.cit. 193, n. 4).

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maera Painter and his companions should be fixed more securely. Finally, we must determine which Early Corinthian groups are stylistically antecedent to the Chimaera Painter.

To five pieces ascribed by Payne to the hand of the Chimaera Painter, we may add a plate in New York attributed to him by G. M. A. Richter. Since no one has questioned (or could doubt) that these six are from one hand, analysis of their animals will serve to define his style and provide a valid basis for accepting or rejecting other pieces.

Plates

- Vienna, Hofmuseum 193, from Siana (pl. 87, fig. 1). Von Lücken, Greek Vase-Painting pl. 61; JdI 40 (1925) 149, fig. 60; NC 1040, pl. 30, 8; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 1. Chimaera. (Payne)
- 2. New York, MMA 41.11.1, from Attica (?) (pl. 87, fig. 2, from a drawing by Lindsley F. Hall). BMMA 36 (1941) 188, fig. 1; Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection (New York 1953) 185, fig. 25a (photograph); Richter, Archaic Greek Art (New York 1949) fig. 16 (drawing); Benson, GKV list 60, no. 4. Chimaera. (Richter)
- Paris, Louvre S 1679, from Corinth (pl. 87, fig. 3). CVA 6, pls. 8, 1-4, 9 (color); Benndorf, Griechische und Sizilische Vasenbilder pl. 6; Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité 9, 605, fig. 314; NC 1041; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 2. Lioness, lotus. (Payne)
- Mykonos KB 922, from Rheneia (pl. 87, fig. 4).
 Dugas, Délos 17, pl. 62, 145; NC 1042; Benson,
 GKV list 60, no. 3. Two lions. (Payne)

Bowls with offset rims

- London, BM 95.10-27.1 (pl. 88, figs. 7-8). NC 1009; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 5. Lion. (Payne)
- Corinth, fragments CP 516, CP 2439-2442 (pl. 88, figs. 9-10). CP 516: Weinberg, Corinth VII:1, no. 327; NC 1010; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 6. Lioness. (Payne)
- ⁷ J. L. Benson, Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen (Basle 1953) (hereafter GKV) 39, list 60, nos. 1-6, accepts precisely these six as certainly by the Chimaera Painter; Hopper, op.cit. 231, also accepts Richter's attribution, as does Amyx, Corinthian Vases in the Hearst Collection (Univ. of Calif. Publications in Classical Archaeology 1, no. 9) 229, n. 73 (hereafter CorV).
- ⁸ That is, from the standard type to which the Chimaera Group is related; see infra.

These six are manifestly from one hand. Their felines differ among themselves in many details, but only because they represent different stages of the artist's career; besides, the Chimaera Painter's style is identifiable less by identical renderings of corresponding parts than by its idiosyncrasies and varied schemes which become recognizable as creations of one artist's hand and imagination. He is never a routine decorator.

The Louvre lioness (no. 3) and the New York chimaera (no. 2), most nearly alike in drawing and details, should be as close together in date as they are in style; they represent an earlier stage of the Chimaera Painter's style than the namepiece, The rendering of the ruff in these two is peculiar to them, but certainly related to that of the lion of no. 5. The rounded shoulder enclosures of the Louvre lioness and the New York chimaera are further evidence of their proximity to each other; the Chimaera Painter more frequently makes the shoulder trowel-shaped, as on the namepiece (no. 1). In these two, as in all his animals, the hindquarters are remarkably alike. The New York chimaera plate is the most painstakingly drawn of all his works-the filling rosettes are incised with great care, the goat has eyelashes, and the snake's head is drawn in much greater detail than that of

In the namepiece, the Chimaera Painter's drawing has become, with no loss of precision, bolder and freer. The head is of a type almost completely divorced from those of standard Early and Middle Corinthian leonine creatures.8 We are surely justified in regarding the Vienna chimaera as a work of the artist's prime. We see here, for the first time, the unenclosed ruff drawn in separate locks which terminate in rounded tips; it is an identifying characteristic of the painter.9 The shape and structure of the head and neck, however, and the incisions in the upraised foreleg show it to be from the hand of nos. 2 and 3. Further, we should note in all three the Chimaera Painter's awareness of the aesthetic potential of negative space in the composition.10

⁹ Two kotylai of the Samos Group (NC 950, 952) bear lions with ruffs of the same type; since this group is later than the Chimaera Painter, the painter may conceivably have learned the rendering from him.

¹⁰ Payne to the contrary, NC 65, "a handsome heraldic style, but without much concern for questions of composition." This statement is difficult to understand with reference to the Chimaera Painter's plates.

Drawing, which in the Vienna chimaera was bold and assured, has become loose and comparatively careless in the Mykonos lions (no. 4). The composition, on the other hand, is more complexly conceived; the back-to-back lions produce a fine tondo design, the more so since the artist has placed the lion at the right on a slightly higher level, avoiding the monotony of absolute symmetry. More complex also is the naturalistic indication of musculature in the forelegs, which is not encountered again in recognized works of the Chimaera Painter. The Mykonos lions are certainly from the same hand as no. 1, but every aspect of their style suggests a late stage in the artist's career, developed well beyond the style of the namepiece.

Like each of the four above considered, the lion of no. 5 possesses traits peculiar to itself, traits which will be of considerable importance in determining influences upon the Chimaera Painter's style. Especially noteworthy are the pattern of the ruff and the zigzag in the band across the nose which are found associated more frequently in works of a companion of the Chimaera Painter, the Painter of Louvre E 574 (see infra). Other parts tally nicely with corresponding parts of no. 1, although the British Museum lion is rather less elegantly proportioned. We should take special note of the button-like protuberance on top of the head above the ear; it occurs also on the lioness of no. 3, and we shall refer to it in another context.¹¹

The Corinth fragments, inv. no. CP 516 (no. 6), show shoulder and foreleg markings that fully justify Payne's attribution. In addition to the ten previously identified fragments (CP 516), four more in the Corinth museum (CP 2439-2442) have been identified by Prof. D. A. Amyx¹² as probably belonging to this bowl. A fragment of the haunch (CP 2441) completes the S-shaped haunch incision and gives the short parallel arcs on the lower back, curving towards the head, as on the panther of no. 9 (infra; cf. on the Musée Rodin and Leningrad pyxides infra), rather than towards the tail as is usual (cp. on nos. 1-5). A rib fragment (CP

2439) gives the position of the tail, tucked up inside the haunch, as in the seated panther of no. 9. The fragment of the hind leg (CP 2442) joins, or nearly joins, CP 516 at the left and fills out the hindquarters to the extent that we can see that they are very like those of the Louvre lioness (no. 3). The fragment, CP 2440, which gives part of the red and black bands of the tondo and a filling rosette, perhaps belongs at right, just above the raised forepaw, where a larger fragment now resides. The necessary placements of the new fragments necessitate that the perimetral fragments of CP 516, as they exist in the reconstruction in the Corinth museum, be moved and placed in such a way that they do not fill areas that the head and hind legs must occupy.

These six, then, may be taken as a well-established nucleus for study of the Chimaera Painter's style; of three others which Payne, perhaps because of their different subject matter, listed as only "probably" by the Chimaera Painter, two are certainly from his hand:

Plates

- Paris, Louvre CA 1629, from Boeotia (pl. 87, fig. 5). CVA 6, pl. 8, 2, 3, 5; NC 1045; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 9. Bearded siren.
- Berlin inv. 3934, from Kameiros (pl. 87, fig. 6).
 Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung
 im Antiquarium 2, no. 1002; AM 41 (1916) 50,
 fig. 9; NC 1044; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 8.
 Boread.

The Louvre siren (no. 7) has doubtless been provisionally excluded from the canon only because the siren cannot be compared part by part with lions and chimaeras. The piece is, nonetheless, demonstrably his, and to exclude it would leave our concept of the painter's style consequently narrower and incomplete. The side-beard of the siren is simply the ruff of the Vienna chimaera (no. 1) transferred to a human head, and his profile is remarkably like that of the goat on the namepiece. This comparison, which may, at first, seem ridicu-

is worn. Of the fragment, CP 2439 (ribs), the "exterior preserves root of foot-ring, also part of the band inside foot medallion underneath (exact match)." Of the haunch fragment, CP 2441, "everything matches perfectly, including outside pattern (exterior begins at edge of foot-ring, and agrees with CP 516 even to the off-center position of red band between white bands)." The fragment, CP 2442 (hind leg and part of lower haunch) also seems to belong with the fragments, CP

¹¹ This small protuberance seems to be a characteristic trait for which a parallel exists in the similar buttons on the bridges of the noses of the lions of the Painter of Palermo 489; see NC 76-77, pl. 15, 7-8, 11.

¹²I owe my knowledge of these fragments to photographs and descriptions of them received from Prof. D. A. Amyx in Athens. Of the fragment, CP 2440, with red and white bands on the edge of the tondo and a rosette, he says that the "inside patterns match exactly those of CP 516." The outside

lous, is nevertheless very instructive. Compare the eyes, the brows, the bridges, tips and nostrils of their noses, and the placement of these parts in relation to one another. Finally, the "majestic" quality of forms and drawing (not to be confused with the physical dimensions of the figures), the lack of non-functional detail, and the accommodation of the siren to the tondo show that this plate is from the hand of the Chimaera Painter. Stylistically, and therefore chronologically, it is especially close to the namepiece.

The Boread in Berlin (no. 8) can be compared with the felines in fewer parts. The beard is rendered in the same fashion as that of the Louvre siren; the scheme is an unusual one, and does not occur unaltered outside the work of the Chimaera Painter.14 The line of the hair and beard about the face, the ear, the headband, and the eye are very like corresponding features of the siren. The disposition of the Boread within the circle and the shapes and proportions of the parts of which he is built, the combination of sturdiness and vitality seem to betray the hand of the Chimaera Painter. The drawing is less careful than in the chimaeras, but considerably tidier than in the lions of no. 4. The looser drawing, the rendering of the locks of hair in the beard (especially like the ruffs of the Mykonos lions) and the more complex design ally it, chronologically, with the latter as a relatively late work of the artist.

A flat-bottomed aryballos formerly in Syracuse is surely by the Chimaera Painter:

 Gela, from Gela. MonAnt 17 (1906) 6 (vignette) and fig. 16; NC 835, fig. 140 bis; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 15. Panthers flanking palmette-lotus cross.

Payne, in the *NC* catalogue at no. 1054, apparently assigns this vase to the same hand as NC 1054.¹⁵ There is reason to believe that for 835 there we should read 853 (Munich 319; see infra); in listing the latter,¹⁶ Payne provides a cross-reference to the attribution at no. 1054, but at 835 says only that it is "very near the plates nos. 1054-5, and

perhaps from the same hand." It is probable that the type of the panthers' faces rather than their bodies or the palmette-lotus cross between them. features which find no parallel in NC 1054-5 and 853, provided the basis for the attribution. In Payne's Chimaera Group, these four pieces alone bear panthers, and that these panthers have their facial type in common is undeniable. The panthers of NC 835 (no. 9), however, have rounder jaws and their noses are less pointed, less set off from the rest of the face. Furthermore, their bodies and those of the panthers on NC 1055 (pl. 89, fig. 14) cannot be from the same hand, and the neck is shorter and less arched. The trowel-shaped shoulder enclosure, the forelegs, and the hindquarters, as comparison with nos. 1-3 and 5-6 will reveal, are those of the Chimaera Painter; compare especially the elbow articulation of the seated panther of no. 9 with that of the Vienna chimaera (no. 1). There is no part of these panthers which is not his, and therefore no reason for excluding the aryballos from the list of his known works. The attribution is an important one, for it adds to his repertory a shape quite unlike the bowls and plates, an animal absent from his other pieces and, lastly, its fine palmette-lotus cross.

The palmette-lotus cross of no. 9 enables us, with more assurance than would have been possible prior to its attribution here, to assign to the hand of the Chimaera Painter a plate in Berkeley:

10. Berkeley, UCMA 8/104, from Rhodes. CVA 1, pl. 6, 4. Palmette-lotus cross (H. R. W. Smith, CVA 1, p. 17, "Chimaera Group"; J. L. Benson, GKV list 60, no. 7, "probably by the Chimaera Painter").

Benson's attribution of this plate is surely correct. His stated reason for the placement, however, is only that it is so carefully drawn that it should, therefore, be his. Comparing the Berkeley palmettelotus cross with that of the aryballos, no. 9, and with the lotus bud of no. 3, one can establish the attribution on firmer ground. The Berkeley complex is more elaborate than that of the aryballos,

¹⁸ The term "majestic" is Benson's; he uses it as an epithet for the work of various painters including those of the Chimaera Group and others, such as the Erlenmeyer Painter (GKV list 64), to which the adjective is equally applicable, but which are not stylistically connected with the Chimaera Group, except insofar as they are contemporary.

¹⁴ The Boreads on a krater, NC 1172, have a very similar beard; this krater is, according to Payne, probably an earlier

work of the painter of the skyphoi NC 950-952 (NC 953, which he assigns to the same hand, is not quite of the same style); see supra n. 9.

¹⁸ NC cat. at nos. 835 and 1054. Benson apparently follows the attribution at NC 1054, for he credits Payne (GKV list 60, at no. 15).

¹⁶ NC 305 at no. 853.

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but the shape, proportions, and articulation of parts in the two are very similar. The red dots on the tendrils of the Berkeley palmettes occur on the tail of the lioness of no. 3; although red dots are a common embellishment of Corinthian animals, they are rare on tails and tendrils,17 and are usually confined to the necks and wingbows of swans, sirens, and the like. It is, perhaps, the incision of the lotus sepals and the use of double lines and polychromy in nos. 3, 9, and 10 that most forcibly lead us to conclude that the Chimaera Painter was responsible for all three. Also, the rosettes of the namepiece, no. 1, and those of the Berkeley plate, no. 10, are identically incised. Rosettes are simple things, to be sure, but these, to the minutest detail (e.g., the lines separating the petals curve identically) are so alike as almost to serve as signatures.

Of two plates, NC 1047 and 1048, nearly identical in composition, with confronted horse protomai, one is by the Chimaera Painter:

11. Palermo, not from Selinus (pl. 88, fig. 11). NC 1048. Confronted horse protomai.

The scheme, which is best accommodated to the tondo of a plate or bowl or to the panel of an amphora, is as uncommon in Corinth as are vases of these shapes.¹⁸ The interest which NC 1047 (which will be discussed in connection with NC 1054-5 and NC 853) and NC 1048 possess, isolated

17 Closest in function, perhaps, to the red dots on the tendrils of the Berkeley plate is the red stripe running the length of the tendrils on the Sphinx Painter's alabastron, NC 459, p. 151, fig. 58 F.

18 Single or jugate horse protomai are, of course, not rare, but the scheme of these plates, two protomai confronted, seldom occurs elsewhere in Corinthian. Prof. Amyx has brought to my attention Early Corinthian alabastra in Königsberg, Bonn (inv. 691) and London (BM 1936.12-30.3) with just this scheme. Reinhard Lullies (Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg Pr. 17, no. 27, pl. 5) in publishing his alabastron, refers to several other pieces with which his example (Königsberg inv. F 136, NC 354) may be compared:

1) ASAtene 10-12 (1927-29) 133, fig. 119, pl. 18, P 58. Early to Middle Corinthian alabastron, single protome.

 CVA Louvre 6, pl. 4, 2-4. Boeotian alabastron, confronted protomai (published as Corinthian).

 CVA Louvre 6, pl. 7, 9-11. Attic olpe, confronted protomai (published as Corinthian).

4) Cat. Vente Drouot (2-4 June 1904) pl. 3, 106. Early to Middle Corinthian alabastron, jugate protomai; now in Basle, and republished by Benson, AJA 60 (1956) 225f, pl. 72, figs. 24-25.

 Clara Rhodos 3 (1929) 78, no. 20, fig. 69, pl. 6. Middle Corinthian alabastron, single protome with female figure and centaur.

from the other plates and associated by their subject, arises from the fact that they are not from one hand, although, as Payne says at NC 1048, they differ "only in small details." His statement is correct, but the sum of these small differences is immense, since in no significant detail do they agree. The horses of the Palermo plate seem rather earlier, and stylistically entirely consistent with other works of the Chimaera Painter. The attribution is admittedly based upon subjective impressions; the treatment of the contour, the distribution, direction, and curvature of the incised lines, the manner in which the stylization of anatomy is achieved all indicate his hand. Furthermore, the button-like protuberance which we noted atop the heads of the felines of nos. 3 and 5 is present here on the horse to the left.

With the plates nos. 7 and 8 Payne grouped a third plate as "probably by" the Chimaera Painter:

New York, MMA 06.1021.26, from Corinth (pl. 89, figs. 15-16).

Burlington Magazine (1906) 204, fig. 3; BMMA 1 (1906) 78, fig. 2; Richter, Ancient Furniture fig. 179; NC 1046; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 10. Man in bed.

If this is Chimaera Painter, as it *probably* is, it is not the artist at his best. The enshrouded figure, wide-eyed and rigid on an undersized bed, his lyre hung on the wall and a footstool beside him, ¹⁰

 Sieveking and Hackl, Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München 3x, fig. 46. This is the Munich protomai plate, NC 1047.

To these should be added an aryballos, Munich 7637, from Athens (CVA Munich 3, pl. 145, 5) with single protome. Lullies (ibid. 42) refers it to his earlier list, just quoted. It is close in style to the alabastron no. 1 above. The Königsberg alabastron, like those in Bonn and London, seems Early. Since none of the examples which Lullies cites, except the second and the third which are not Corinthian and in any case no earlier than the Palermo plate, NC 1048, bear confronted horse protomai, they are not relevant to the present question. The Königsberg alabastron is stylistically very unusual (its horses seem to derive from those of the Attic Gorgon Painter, Beazley, ABV 8-relevance to Athens-Corinth chronology?) and totally unrelated to the Chimaera Group or its antecedents. The scheme is found in Attic, however, in the seventh century on both sides of a Proto-Attic amphora from a well in the Athenian agora (Ath. Ag. P 22551. Hesperia 22 [1953] 48, n. 36, pl. 18 d; JHS 73 [1953] 112, fig. 3). This is the earliest example of the scheme known to me, and, curiously enough, closest to the composition of the Palermo plate, NC 1048. The scheme is found again in Attic before the end of the seventh century on the neck of an amphora by the Lion Painter (ABV 2, no. 1) and early in the sixth century in the tondo of a lekanis by the Panther Painter (ABV 18, no. 1).

19 G. M. A. Richter (BMMA 1 [1906] 78) believes the man

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makes a charming picture, but it is no masterpiece. Since the plate was found at Corinth, we may wonder whether it was not commissioned from its maker for some special reason—why would such a subject be chosen for a piece intended for export? The head compares rather well with those of nos. 7 and 8, but no other parts are comparable to known works of the Chimaera Painter. Payne's designation, "probably by," is not too positive, for the artist who had complete mastery of the standard repertory may not have been equally successful when faced with such a novel theme.

Among the most interesting and, for the connoisseur, most challenging pieces in the Chimaera Group are three pyxides from one hand. Although the filling ornament is fairly heterogeneous and the animals more perfunctorily incised than on his plates, they must be the work of the Chimaera Painter. The fact that we are here dealing with pyxides and with animal friezes instead of tondo compositions will account for a large percentage of the disturbing elements in their drawing. The Chimaera Painter's flat-bottomed aryballos (no. 9) bridges the gap between the pyxides and the plates; Prof. D. A. Amyx, who has seen the aryballos in Gela (it is published only in a line drawing), tells me that it is equally surely the work of the Chimaera Painter and from the same hand as the pyxides.

Head-pyxides

- Leningrad, Hermitage inv. 5551 (pls. 90-91, figs. 18-23).
 - AA (1930) p. 24 and fig. 6. A: above, siren between seated lions; below, grazing goat between panthers; B: above, Boread between panthers; below, lion, goat, lion, goat. First referred to the Chimaera Group by D. A. Amyx.²⁰
- Bonn inv. 466 (pl. 92, figs. 24-25). NC 892,
 pl. 48, 5 (plastic head only). Above: A,
 Boread between lion and chimaera; B, sphinx
 between sphinxes. Below: panthers, goats.

Payne, NC 307 at 892, "among the animals are a Boread, and a chimaera in the style of the Chimaera plates (nos. 1040-3)." (N.B.: the unpublished plate fragment, NC 1043, is not attributed to the Chimaera Painter by Payne at NC 1040ff nor elsewhere in the text of NC except here). Payne²¹ therefore associated this pyxis with the Chimaera Painter; G. M. A. Richter²² unequivocally implies that she attribution of the New York Chimaera (no. 2) partly upon its likeness to the chimaera of the pyxis.

Kotyle-pyxis

14. Paris, Musée Rodin TC 607. CVA 1, pl. 5, 1-5. Lid: Boread, lions, goats, panther; Vase: goats, panthers, owl. For a very different understanding of this pyxis' place in Corinthian vasepainting, see Hopper, Addenda to Necrocorinthia, BSA 44 (1949) 167, 224; he regards it as an "Early Corinthian forerunner of the Dodwell Painter's28 style." The traits which he construes as evidence of Dodwellian style are constantly present in the work of that painter, but occur equally frequently in other areas of Corinthian vase-painting, including the Chimaera Group, and cannot be used, therefore, to establish affinities between one stylistic group and another. It does not appear to me stylistically earlier than early work of the Dodwell Painter, and, for this reason, could not be a forerunner of his style.

At this point, the reader, before going on to the discussion which follows, might turn to the illustrations of the pyxides (pls. 90-92, figs. 18-25) and compare their animals with those of the Chimaera Painter's work (pls. 87-88, figs. 1-10). Note especially those parts of the felines' bodies which were found to be significant in the central pieces (nos. 1-6)—the general configuration and posture of the head, the shape and position and internal markings of the shoulder enclosures, the haunch and

to be a poet—hence the lyre—on his death bed. That he is so completely enshrouded perhaps supports her statement. Dietrich von Bothmer has called to my attention traces of a rosette to the right of the bed; it was erased before firing. Thus the unbalanced composition of the picture is accounted for.

²⁰ CorV 227, n. 5, "Early M. C. the style of painting is perhaps related to that of the Chimaera Group (cf. Payne on NC 892), but earlier for tongues instead of rays at base of body, cf. NC 892 . . ."

²¹ NC cat. at no. 892, "in the style of." At NC 1040, the reference, "Cf. also no. 982" (a cup; there is no cross-reference at no. 982 to 1040, but rather at no. 892), is surely a misprint. Read, "cf. also no. 892." The pyxis, NC 892, is referred to the Painter or Group, not only at its place in the catalogue, but also on pp. 65, n. 2 and 236, n. 1.

²² BMMA 36 (1941) 188.

²⁸ Payne's Dodwell Painter: NC nos. 861-4, 895, 905, 1090, 1091, 1113-23 A, 1141; cf. the hydria 1150.

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tail attachment, the markings of legs and feet, and, last but not least, the total silhouette of the animal. Some details are lacking in the smaller and more perfunctory frieze animals, and some features appear here (e.g., the cross-hatched necks of two of the Hermitage pyxis' lions) which do not appear in the plates.24 On the whole, however, the structure and incised markings of the pyxides' animals are extremely similar to those of the felines of nos. 1-6 and of the panthers of the Gela aryballos (no. a). Accordingly, we must revise our concept of the Chimaera Painter as a decorator mainly of plates to include the animal friezes of these pyxides. Even the master of the Vienna Chimaera, when working on vase-shapes for which tradition dictated animal frieze decoration, has lapsed into the habitual insouciance of a painter of pyxides or oinochoai. The shorthand renderings in some of the animals on the pyxides are no less characteristic of the Chimaera Painter for being more hastily drawn.25

The Musée Rodin kotyle-pyxis is surely the earliest of the three. Not only does the style appear less practiced, but the variety of stylizations used for lions' shoulders and goats' heads and haunches may well reveal an artist not yet set in his ways. The Hermitage pyxis displays almost as many variations but within a narrower range. The will to vary is as characteristic of the Chimaera Painter's pyxides as it is of his plates.

The goats in all three pyxides are stylistically very close to one another; goats of all workshops and periods in Corinthian vase-painting may be similar, but not so alike as these. The lions and panthers of the three pyxides differ in particularssome are drawn in greater detail, in others only the essentials of their anatomy are indicated-but they are manifestly from one hand. Each of the pyxides bears a Boread; he is on the lid of the Musée Rodin kotyle-pyxis, on the shoulders of the headpyxides. The similarity of the Boreads to each other is especially striking; alone, without the evidence of the animals, they would indicate that the pyxides are by one artist. Asserting the identity of this artist and the Chimaera Painter, I do not ignore Payne's cautious placement of the Bonn pyxis (no. 13), "in the style of . . ."; in addition to the general observations mentioned above, con-

sider these specific features: the pyxides' Boreads, although they are much smaller, are very similar to the Berlin Boread (no. 8). Compare the heads also with those of the siren (no. 7) and the man in bed of NC 1046 (supra). Four animals on the Musée Rodin pyxis and one lion on the Hermitage pyxis share with the Corinth lioness (no. 6) and a panther of the Gela aryballos (no. 9) the peculiarity of having the short parallel arcs on the lower back curve toward the head instead of toward the tail, and, as we have seen, the hindquarters of all the lions and panthers on the pyxides are extremely similar to those of the Chimaera Painter's other felines. Also, one lion on the Musée Rodin pyxis has the unusual ear of the Louvre lioness (no. 3). For the double lines in the shoulders of four of the animals on that pyxis, we need go no farther than the Chimaera Painter's companion, the Painter of Louvre E 574 (infra).20

A fragment of a pyxis lid in Syracuse is best mentioned here:

Syracuse, NM, from Gela, fragment. MonAnt 17 (1906) 615, fig. 424. Lotus as on NC 835, siren, part of (?) panther. (Amyx, CorV 229, n. 73, "apparently related to the group"; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 11, "probably by the Chimaera Painter").

That the Chimaera Painter decorated this fragment is impossible even though, as Amyx noted, the neat incision and the type of the lotus ally the fragment with the Group. The siren compares badly with that of no. 7, and the markings of the feline hindquarters to the right are unlike corresponding incisions in the Chimaera Group. The filling rosettes, however, are comparable to those of the Musée Rodin kotyle-pyxis in shape and density, and the drawing in general, as Amyx implies, might be referred to this subdivision of Middle Corinthian.

Of a considerable number of pieces which are very closely related to the work of the Chimaera Painter, some are identifiable as the work of individual painters. Two plates isolated and assigned to one hand by Payne are by an artist who may be called the *Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes* after the more elaborate of these plates.

c of a large proportion sketchy than the other two; this impression is due to the ined by his companion, deplorable condition of the pyxis' surface.

²⁶ Hopper referred the double line in the shoulder to the Dodwell Painter (op.cit. 167, 224; supra n. 4).

²⁴ The cross-hatched neck, characteristic of a large proportion of Early Corinthian lions, is, however, retained by his companion, the Painter of Louvre E 574 (infra).

²⁵ The Bonn pyxis (no. 13) seems at first glance more

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Plates

- Copenhagen, NM inv. 1630, from Corinth (pl. 89, fig. 13). CVA 2, pl. 90, 3 and pl. 90A (color); Merlin, Vases Grecs pl. 16; Scheurleer, Grieksche Ceramiek, pl. 12, 38; NC 1054, pl. 34, 1; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 13. Confronted bearded sphinxes and (bottom) panther protome.
- 2. Copenhagen, NM inv. 1631, from Corinth (pl. 89, fig. 14). CVA 2, pl. 90, 4; NC 1055; Benson, GKV list 60, no. 14. Heraldic panthers and (bottom) komast.

These two are obviously from one hand; compare the panthers' faces and the sphinxes of no. 1 with the komast of no. 2. Although the scheme for a panther's face is common property in Corinthian workshops, the angular jaws and sharply pointed noses of these are unparalleled.

In giving their author a name, we have implicitly recognized him as a separate entity possessing a distinguishable personal style. J. L. Benson,21 however, has seriously considered whether the sphinx and panther plates might be not the work of a second artist but a manneristic development of the Chimaera Painter's declining years. But we cannot account for the undeniably mannered markings in these two by the rendering of corresponding parts in acknowledged works of the Chimaera Painter; we find in them a completely different concept of the creatures' anatomy. In the beards, hair, and forelocks of the Copenhagen sphinxes the approach to the rendering of hair is entirely different from that of the Chimaera Painter's siren (pl. 87, fig. 5). The sphinxes' hindquarters and shoulder complexes are wholly unlike, and the forelegs only superficially similar to,28 those of the Chimaera Painter. The spaces between the panthers' ribs (no. 2) are all painted red; the Chimaera Painter invariably makes only alternate interstices red. Here is no development of the Chimaera Painter but another stylistic personality, innately manneristic. In any case, we have seen already that the late style of the Chimaera Painter is exemplified by the loose virtuosity of the Mykonos lions (no. 4, supra); thus his course of development is in the same direction as that of Titian, Rembrandt, Re-

noir and many others. Mannerism as the style of old age is actually the exception rather than the rule.

Even if these sphinxes and panthers tallied with animals of the Chimaera Painter in details of rendering, we should still be able to distinguish two styles, for the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes has a taste for elaboration of detail and attenuation which is unthinkable for the master of the elegant but bold and self-contained Vienna chimaera (pl. 87, fig. 1). Again, the Mykonos lions are heraldically posed, but the Chimaera Painter avoided the precisely symmetrical arrangement which is the first characteristic of the Copenhagen plates, The Chimaera Painter's figures move easily within the circle allotted to them, but those of the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes are imprisoned, tied to the rim of the tondo like Ixion to his wheel. The style of the latter is best regarded as that of a younger companion, probably the successor, of the Chimaera Painter. As such, he must have been active in the last years of the Middle period. Payne29 compared the horses of NC 1047 with those of the François vase; we may follow his example with the Copenhagen Sphinxes. Their attitudes and proportions are similar to those of Kleitias' sphinxes in a way which leads one to regard them as approximately contemporary.

To the artist of the Copenhagen plates, Payne assigned also a flat-bottomed aryballos, NC 853,30

Flat-bottomed aryballos

Munich J 154 (pl. 92, figs. 28-30). Sieveking and Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München* 319, pl. 10; NC 853; Benson, *GKV* list 60, no. 16. Siren between panthers.

Payne's attribution of this aryballos to the hand of the Copenhagen plates has never been questioned; indeed, in as much as can be seen in the published photograph, there is nothing dubious—the panther's face is, so to speak, a carbon copy of those on the Copenhagen plates. Every part of the bodies of the panthers, on the other hand, and the face and body of the siren which they flank bespeak an extremely intimate relationship with the works of the Painter of Louvre E 574, whose style

²⁷ GKV 39 at list 60, nos. 13-16.

²⁸ The forelegs find their closest parallel in the lion on an aryballos in Florence, Mus. Etr. 79246, AJA 60 (1956) 225 and pl. 71, figs. 20-21, there attributed by J. L. Benson to the Painter of Louvre E 574 (GKV list 61).

²⁹ NC 62

³⁰ It is certainly the Munich aryballos (NC 853) rather than the Gela (NC 835) which Payne attributed unquestionably to the hand of NC 1054-5; see supra and n. 15.

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will be discussed presently. The latter artist is, like the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes, a close companion of the Chimaera Painter, and one of his aryballoi (infra no. 3) bears a lion with forelegs similar to both those of the Copenhagen Sphinxes and those of the panthers on this Munich aryballos. In the light of these observations, the certain attribution of the Munich aryballos to the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes cannot be retained, the panthers' faces notwithstanding. These same panthers' faces, so perfectly like those of the Copenhagen panthers, make any association of the aryballos in question with the Painter of Louvre E 574 tantamount to identifying the two painters, whose styles are, on the whole, quite dissimilar.

Also roughly contemporary to the Copenhagen plates as a late member of the Chimaera Group is NC 1047, the second of the plates with confronted horse protomai:

Munich (pl. 88, fig. 12). Sieveking and Hackl, Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München 346 A, p. 31, fig. 46; Buschor, Griechische Vasen, p. 66, fig. 76; Vente Druot cat., Coll. de M.E. (1904) pl. 4, 113; NC 1047. Confronted horse protomai.

These horses, furthermore, have traits which recall the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes, e.g., that hair is similarly rendered in rippling locks and that incisions for musculature are relatively naturalistic (contrast the Chimaera Painter's protomai on no. 11). The Munich plate must remain, for the present, unassigned to any known painter; it clearly originated in the Chimaera workshop and stands late among the pieces extant, but the style is not certainly that of the Copenhagen plates, from which it differs in format also, and it has almost nothing in common with recognized works of the Chimaera Painter.

Six pieces in the Group, decorated with palmette and lotus complexes, are more or less closely connected with the Chimaera Painter, but unlike the Berkeley plate (no. 10) cannot be definitely attributed to him:

³¹ It is exactly like neither the pieces that Payne classifies as stemmed lekanides nor those referred to as stemmed pyxides. See Plaoutine's description, CVA Musée Rodin 6. I refer to it as a "stemmed pyxis," realizing that "lekanis" would be no more or less appropriate.

⁸² A perfect foil for these (the Berkeley plate, the Musée Rodin stemmed pyxis, and the Selinus fragment) is found on the contemporary aryballos, NC 827, where the palmette-lotus cross is of essentially the same general type and equally elabo-

Plates

- Athens, NM 12941, from Corinth. NC 1049.
 Palmette complex. (Payne, Chimaera Group)
- b) Louvre A 417, from Rhodes. Pottier, Vases Antiques du Louvre pl. 14; CVA 1, II Dc pl. 3, 5; CVA 8, pl. 23, 6; NC 1050. Replica of the last. (Payne, Chimaera Group)
- c) British Museum 64.10-7.20, from Kameiros (pl. 92, fig. 26). NC 1051. Replica of the last two. (Payne, Chimaera Group)
- d) Palermo (?), fragment from Selinus (Demeter Malophoros). *MonAnt* 32, p. 311, fig. 130. Lotus cross (Payne, *NC* 339, "probably MC; for the style, cf. nos. 831, 835, etc." The aryballos, NC 831, is unpublished; NC 835 is Chimaera Painter, no. 9, above).

Bowl with offset rim

e) Delphi, fragment. NC 1012 (Payne, "palmette complex, as in nos. 1049-51 of the Chimaera Group").

Stemmed pyxis

f) Paris, Musée Rodin TC 899. CVA 1, pl. 6, 4-5. Palmette-lotus cross.

The unusual⁸¹ stemmed pyxis in the Musée Rodin is, in pattern and execution, very close to the Berkeley plate (no. 10). Its "sepalled" palmettes are perhaps without parallel, but they are exceptionally effective in holding the design together. The pyxis is certainly from the Chimaera Painter's workshop; quite possibly it is his, but I cannot be certain. The lotuses on the plate fragment from Selinus (Demeter Malophoros), as Payne's reference to NC 835 (no. 9) indicates, also resemble those of the Berkeley plate.82 The published photograph is not clear, but we can see that the fragment is from a plate like those of the Chimaera Painter. The complex, however, is comparatively loosely constructed. While the fragment must be included in the Chimaera Group, one would be unwilling to regard it as the Painter's own.

The three plates, NC 1049-1051, in Athens,

rate but, like the panthers that flank it, of a stylistic breed unrelated to the Chimaera Painter. Compare also the lotus crosses, NC fig. 53 A, B (from NC 366 C and 560 C); again they are of the same species but not of the same breed. For a discussion of the relationship of the Group of Louvre E 565, to which NC 827 belongs, and the Chimaera Group, as well as of the relationship of various other Middle Corinthian floral complexes to these, see Amyx, CorV 218-19.

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Paris, and London (pl. 92, fig. 26) are, in shape and format, like those decorated by the Chimaera Painter and bear palmette complexes of a type which I have not seen elsewhere in the Corinthian fabric.33 Since they are unique, it is difficult to compare them with the others. The design is more intricate and heavier than those here assigned to the Chimaera Painter. The drawing of the larger palmettes and the use of tiny crisscross rosettes on the Louvre and British Museum plates are entirely possible for him, while the manner in which the tendrils frame the palmettes recalls the floral decoration at the feet of the Copenhagen Sphinxes (NC 1054). Nevertheless, in the absence of the more complex and variable lotus blossom, these three plates from one hand cannot be certainly attributed either to the Chimaera Painter or to the hand of the Musée Rodin stemmed pyxis or of the Selinus fragment.

The Delphi fragment, NC 1012, which Payne associates with NC 1049-51, is unpublished. It is said to be from a bowl like NC 1009 and 1010 by the Chimaera Painter; for the shape, see pl. 88, fig. 8.

A group of fragments from a similar bowl with offset rim at Corinth³⁴ is, like the above, to be included among pieces which were made in the Chimaera workshop. So much is given by the shape itself and the use made of the tondo.

Corinth CP 2438, fragments (pl. 89, fig. 17). Part of head and neck of panther protome.

The use of polychromy and the overall crazing in the black paint³⁵ also point to Chimaera Group manufacture. If the panther's nose and the shoulder stump of the protome were preserved, an attribution might be possible. On the basis of what remains, I doubt that it is the work of the Chimaera Painter, although the forehead area might easily be a more elaborate version of either those of the Chimaera Painter's aryballos (no. 9) or those of the panthers of NC 1055 (the style, however, is too broad and bold for the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes). Two elements discourage an attribution to the Chimaera Painter: the stippled

³⁸ Pottier (CVA Louvre 1, II Dc, p. 4, pl. 3, 5) was inclined to call the Louvre plate Rhodian; as Payne observes (NC 313), it can only be Corinthian.

34 These fragments were recognized by Prof. Amyx in Corinth as related to the work of the Chimaera Painter, and it is to him that I owe knowledge of their existence and photographs and descriptions of them. He noted that they belong to a lekanoid bowl (like nos. 5 and 6 of the Chimaera Painter) with subsidiary decoration as in no. 6 and that they resemble

neck and the eight-petalled crisscross rosettes. Compare the latter with those of no. 7 (pl. 87, fig. 5).

We have seen that the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes owes something to the Chimaera Painter. The pieces which may be assigned to the Painter of Louvre E 574 are likewise related to his plates, but seem to a limited degree influential rather than dependent upon the style of the Chimaera Painter.

Alabastron

Paris, Louvre E 574, from Caere. CVA 9, pl. 31, 15-17; Pottier, Vases Antiques du Louvre pl. 42; Enc. Phot. de l'art 2, p. 269; Benson, GKV list 61, no. 1; NC 801. Siren between lions. (Bloesch)

Aryballoi, flat-bottomed

- 2. Zurich, priv. coll. Bloesch, Antike Kunst in der Schweiz 39f, 159f, pls. 8-9; Sammlung Ruesch, Auktion Aug. 1936, pl. 22, 1; Benson, GKV list 61, no. 2. Lion and rosette. (Amyx, CorV 218; Bloesch, op.cit. 160)
- Florence, Museo Etrusco inv. 79246, from Rhodes. AJA 60 (1956) 225, pl. 71, figs. 20-21.
 Siren between crouching lions. (Benson)
- Market, Hesperia Art. Hesperia Art Bulletin
 (Philadelphia 1958) no. 40 and illustration.
 Sphinx between crouching panthers.
- Basle, priv. coll. Benson, GKV 8of and fig. 1b, pls. 7-8. Bearded sphinx between large flying eagles.
- Berlin F 1089 (pl. 92, figs. 31-33). Foto Marburg LA 1073/22-25, NC 857. Siren between lions with raised forepaws. (Recognized and called to my attention by Prof. D. A. Amyx)

The Painter of Louvre E 574 is easily recognized by several peculiarities of his animals, notably the shape, size, and incisions of the shoulder enclosure, the markings of the forelegs, and the profiles of sirens and sphinxes. In lions, the shape of the head and the ruff are thoroughly characteristic. The hindquarters of nos. 1-5 are virtually identical; so are the markings of the feet. It will be noted that,

the latter also in the color of the clay and quality of the glaze

Painter's works of which we possess photographs sufficient for observation of such minutiae, as well as in the floral plates NC 1049-1050 supra, and the Hermitage pyxis supra, probably also in the other two pyxides (Musée Rodin and Bonn) of which we lack detailed photographs; it is perhaps largely responsible for the deplorable surface condition of these pieces.

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although they are attached to creatures of entirely different proportions and general character, the haunches are similar to those of the Chimaera Painter; the *shape* of the bounding line of the haunch, however, is different. The ruff of the lion of NC 1009 by the Chimaera Painter (no. 5 supra) undoubtedly reflects the influence of this artist. The incisions in the *raised* forepaws of the lions on the Berlin aryballos (no. 6), on the other hand, testify to the influence of the Chimaera Painter on his companion, the Painter of Louvre E 574.

Bloesch's date for the Zurich aryballos, the end of the seventh century, seems too early; a well-developed flat-bottomed aryballos like this one is unequivocally Middle Corinthian. Since this aryballos appears to be, stylistically, the earliest of his works, the Painter of Louvre E 574 must be regarded as a companion rather than a teacher of the Chimaera Painter, although his work provides a link between certain Early Corinthian lions and those of the Chimaera Painter's plates (see infra).

The discovery of the panther aryballos, no. 4, greatly enriches our knowledge of this painter and of his position in the Chimaera Group. In the first place, its sphinx's profile and ear, so clearly from the same hand as no. 1, make the attribution of no. 5, which we might otherwise have doubted, certain. The panthers' faces strengthen our belief in the association of the Painter of Louvre E 574 with the Chimaera Painter; the double half-circles on the cheeks are found on one panther on the Hermitage pyxis (supra), and the faces are generally like those on the Gela aryballos (Chimaera Painter, no. 9).

Probably by the Painter of Louvre E 574 are two fragments of a large flat-bottomed aryballos which Prof. D. A. Amyx recognized as work in the style of this painter.³⁶

- a) Corinth CP 2364 (neg. III, 2), fragments (pl. 92, fig. 27). Parts of a seated panther.
- ⁸⁶ I owe knowledge of these fragments and a photograph of them to Prof. Amyx, who noticed them in the Corinth
- Museum.

 87 CorV 218.
- 88 A/A 60 (1956) 225. At the same time, he gave the Fogg Museum aryballos to his Panther Painter (GKV list 78 [Panthergruppe]; A/A 60 [1956] 224f, where he states that the vases listed as a group in GKV are the work of one painter). I do not see that the Fogg Museum aryballos is from the same hand as any of the alabastra in the Panther Painter list.
- ³⁹ The name, "Painter of the Rhodian Lions" (GKV list 62) is a misnomer. In the CVA publication, only the lion is figured and the animals are described by Jacopi as due felini; hence

The shoulder enclosure is that which has been cited as an identifying trait of the felines of the Painter of Louvre E 574. The rib markings, on the other hand, slash diagonally as in none of his felines and, while foreleg markings in his animals vary, those of nos. 1-6 resemble one another more closely than they resemble the preserved foreleg of this panther. It seems wise, therefore, especially since head and hindquarters of Corinth CP 2364 are lost, to keep the fragments apart from nos. 1-6.

Two aryballoi are very closely related to the work of the Painter of Louvre E 574. Amyx believed them to be from one hand. J. L. Benson more recently separated the two and attributed the Rhodes aryballos to the Painter of Louvre E 574. It is extremely close to his work, and may be his, but I cannot be certain; in many parts it resembles both the work of the Painter of Louvre E 574 and the Fogg Museum aryballos with which Amyx originally connected it.

- b) Rhodes inv. 5175, from Ialysos (grave 78). ASAtene 6/7 (1923-24) 328, fig. 219; CVA 2, pl. 3, 8; Benson, GKV list 62, no. 1. Palmettelotus cross flanked by crouching lion and panther.³⁹
- c) Cambridge, Fogg Museum. CVA Hoppin and Gallatin 1, pl. 1, 4; C. A. Robinson, Ancient History (New York 1951) 169 left; AJA 60 (1956) pl. 71, fig. 19; NC 830; Benson, GKV list 62, no. 2. Bird between crouching panthers.

The Rhodes aryballos has much in common with the Florence aryballos (no. 3) of the Painter of Louvre E 574, which, as Benson says, is his most developed, and therefore latest, piece. The head, however, is longer, squarer, and more massive than those of his lions, the hindquarters are oddly marked, and the curvature of the rib lines is subtly different. The rendering of the ruff is unique.

the error. In the original publication of the piece by Maiuri (ASAtene 6/7 [1923-24] 328, fig. 219) the piece is correctly described and the palmette-lotus cross is prominent in the photograph.

⁴⁰ The wavy lines which define the ruff are relevant in another context; Benson (loc.cit. n. 47) suggests that the motif of the raised forepaw reflects the influence of the Chimaera Painter. It is noteworthy that the Mykonos lions of the Chimaera Painter (no. 4) exhibit the same wavy line about the face that in the Rhodes lion forms part of the ruff; interesting, too, is the fact that it occurs nowhere again in the Chimaera Painter's felines. It will be recalled that the Mykonos lions are unique also in the markings of their forelegs and in their lack of a

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The Rhodes aryballos is inextricably connected with this quarter of the Chimaera workshop, but it seems better to reserve an outright attribution. The faces of the panthers on the Fogg Museum aryballos are very similar to those of no. 4 of the Painter of Louvre E 574, and the tail parts of the bird between them resemble those of the siren on his namepiece (no. 1). The bodies of the panthers, on the other hand, especially the forelegs, discourage ascribing them either to the Painter of Louvre E 574 or to the hand of the Rhodes aryballos. For the present, although these aryballoi are closely connected to each other and to the Painter of Louvre E 574, I should prefer to leave them unattributed.

Among other pieces which are related to the work of Chimaera Group painters, several have much in common with the style of the Painter of Louvre E 574. A fragmentary plate in Palermo, NC 1052,⁴¹ bears lion protomai similar to the lions of the Painter of Louvre E 574. The plate shows his influence, but is not his work. NC 1052 is not, furthermore, closely related to others in the Group, since the scheme of decoration is totally unlike the use made of the tondo by the Chimaera Painter and the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes. Its inclusion in the Group depends entirely upon the resemblance of the lions to those of the Painter of Louvre E 574 and upon the fact that it is a plate.⁴²

Although at first sight the resemblance may seem strong, a late Early Corinthian olpe fragment in Heidelberg⁴³ attributed to the Painter of Louvre E 574 must come from a different (and earlier) hand.⁴⁴ While the lion's head represents an earlier stage of the *type* which this painter later developed into his own, every part is differently drawn, and

the head, as a whole, is of less sophisticated proportions. Its profuse filling ornament is also uncharacteristic of the Painter of Louvre E 574.

A flat-bottomed aryballos in Athens (NC 841)48 is manifestly influenced by the style of the Painter of Louvre E 574, but it is not from his hand. Details in the lions' heads reveal the influence of the Chimaera Painter as well. A flat-bottomed aryballos in Moscow,46 NC 842 A, likewise has traits that recall both painters. Prof. Amyx, having examined the Athens aryballos at first hand, informs me that these two are certainly from one hand. The style is at once heavier and less impressively massive than that of the Painter of Louvre E 574, and the great quantity of heterogeneous filling ornament implies a painter of different tastes. An alabastron at Yale,47 stylistically quite unlike NC 841, is also, as Benson says, in the manner of the Painter of Louvre E 574. Its style (if by style we mean peculiarities of draughtsmanship) is unlike his. Certain mannerisms in its lions recall the Erlenmeyer Painter.48

A patently Late Corinthian⁴⁰ flat-bottomed aryballos once in Bremen,⁵⁰ said to be in the manner of the Painter of Louvre E 574, is too late to have been directly influenced by his style.

Certain other Middle Corinthian vases are referred to the Group by Payne or Benson or have peculiarities which suggest contact with the Group. Under the handles of two kraters, in the Louvre and at Basle, attributed by Benson to his Three Maidens Painter, are lions whose forequarters and "flame" manes suggest that their painter was familiar with the Chimaera Painter's felines. ⁵¹ The same degree of proximity, not considerable, is evidenced by the Chimaeroid ruffs of the lions on

[&]quot;flame mane." Furthermore, if they are compared with those of his other felines, it will be seen that the shape of the shoulder enclosure is not quite canonical. In the event that additional pieces assignable to the Chimaera Group are discovered or identified, the Mykonos lions, on account of these peculiarities, when compared with others, should yield pertinent information concerning the contacts of the Chimaera Painter with his contemporaries.

⁴¹ Palermo, from Selinus (Demeter Malophoros). *MonAnt* 32, pl. 86, 9; NC 1052. Alternating horse and lion protomai around a central gorgoneion.

⁴² But cf. the plate from Ithaka supra n. 4.

⁴⁸ Heidelberg 103. CVA 1, pl. 15, 4; NC 762, pl. 18, 4; GKV list 61, no. 3. Perhaps from a large alabastron rather than an olpe (so Payne, NC 300, n. 1).

⁴⁴ The Heidelberg fragment is better compared with the lions of a round aryballos contemporary with it, NC 564 (pl. 22, 8); both derive from the lion type established by the Painter of Palermo 489 (supra n. 11).

⁴⁵ Athens, NM 971 (CC 487, pl. 22); NC 841. Lions flanking bird.

⁴⁶ Moscow. AA 42 (1927) col. 307, figs. 6-8. NC 842 A.
47 New Haven, Yale, Stoddard coll. no. 81; Baur 60; A/A

^{60 (1956) 225,} pl. 72, figs. 22-23.

48 GKV list 64; additions, AJA 60 (1956) 225. The Erlenmeyer Painter, however, is not the same hand as the Winged

Lion Painter (GKV list 96).

49 The cock is obviously late; see Amyx, CorV 216.

⁵⁰ Benson, GKV list 61, no. 1a; formerly in Bremen, now Leiden Arch. Mus. I.1950/7.4 (ex Waldmann collection); Bremer Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft; Abhandlungen und Vorträge 7 (1933) 17-18, pl. 3 b.

⁵¹ Column kraters. Paris, Louvre E 634 from Caere. Pottier, Vases Antiques du Louvre pl. 48; NC 1182, pl. 30, 7; GKV list 82, no. 1. Basle, Schweizer coll. AJA 60 (1956) 226f, pls. 74-75, figs. 32-35. The resemblance of the lion on the Louvre krater to those of the Chimaera Painter was noted by Payne, NC 65, n. 2. The resemblance is, in both cases, superficial.

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two skyphoi of Payne's Samos Group. ⁵² A rather attractive aryballos, NC 842, ⁵³ is assigned by Benson to a hand in the manner of the Chimaera Painter, and indeed there are likenesses which justify placing it in his neighborhood, but it is less thoroughly influenced by the styles of Chimaera Group painters than the Athens and Moscow aryballoi, NC 841 and 842 A.

The group to which these three belong (NC 821-860 A) is a large and various lot of aryballoi the animals of which Payne regarded as related to those of the krater NC 1155 (Louvre E 565) after which the group is named.54 Certain of them,55 mentioned above, can be referred to the painters of the Chimaera Group, but there is no real consistency of style among these aryballoi which, like several other such series in the Necrocorinthia catalogue, are listed together only because they have a decorative scheme in common (in this case animals flanking a central motif). The majority of the aryballoi, NC 821-860 A, have in common with the Chimaera Group only the sturdiness of their animals; nothing stylistic. The same may be said of an alabastron in Basle which has been said to be in the manner of the Chimaera Painter;56 I should prefer to exclude it altogether from the Chimaera Group, although it is probably more or less contemporary with the mature phase of the Chimaera Painter's style.

A plate fragment in Athens,⁸⁷ NC 1056, is assigned by Payne to the Chimaera Group but it does not seem related to the others. Three other pieces of his Group are unpublished.⁵⁸

⁵² See notes 9 and 14.

⁸⁸ Amsterdam (?). CVA Scheurleer 1, pl. 6, 2; NC 842; GKV list 60, no. 1 a.

⁵⁴ NC 64. For Louvre E 585 there, read E 565. The relationship of the aryballoi to the krater is difficult to define, and among the aryballoi themselves are representatives of a number of unrelated styles. They have in common a scheme—a central motif, animal or floral, flanked by animals or fantastic creatures—and both animals and floral ornament are of heavy proportions.

by the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes), NC 853 (possibly by the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes), NC 857 (by the Painter of Louvre E 574), NC 841 and 842 A (from one hand, reflecting the influence of the Chimaera Painter and the Painter of Louvre E 574), NC 842 (style similar to the last two), NC 830 (closely related to Rhodes inv. 5175). Rhodes inv. 5175 and Nos. 2-5 of the Painter of Louvre E 574 are not catalogued by Payne, but would have been listed with the series NC 821-

⁵⁶ Basle, priv. coll. GKV list 60, no. 2 a and pl. 6.

⁸⁷ Athens, from the Acropolis. Graef, pl. 25, 425; NC 1056. Fragment: A, Apollo and Artemis; B, Gorgoneion.

⁵⁸ Plate. Palermo, from Selinus (Demeter Malophoros). NC

Having analyzed stylistically the vases known or said to belong to the Chimaera Group, we are ready to turn to the questions of the date and the antecedents of the chief artist in the Group. Although the Chimaera Painter's style is well known, his position in the development of Corinthian vasepainting has not been adequately fixed. There is no general agreement as to where in the Early Corinthian style we should seek his antecedents, and Payne and Hopper disagree as to his date.59 Benson preferred to assign to one hand the pieces here attributed, respectively, to the Chimaera Painter and the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes, but he recognized that NC 1054 and 1055 are later. On the other hand he, justly I think, calls the Painter of Louvre E 574 (GKV at list 61) a companion of the Chimaera Painter, but he contests neither Bloesch's date (end of the seventh century) for the former nor Payne's for the latter (580-70 B.C.). Hopper believes that the Chimaera Painter's style descended from that of the Griffon Group via the Early Corinthian Gorgon-bird Group; 61 Benson says that he was a pupil or follower of the Painter of Palermo 489,62 a Transitional artist whose alabastra are decorated very differently from those of the Griffon Group. Such contradictory theories cannot all be valid.

It will be convenient to establish first the relative dates of the artists involved. Since the absolute chronology of the Middle period is especially uncertain, we shall speak in terms of earlier and later Middle Corinthian rather than of decades from the beginning of the sixth century or other actual dates.

^{1043.} Part of a lion. Bowls. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment with part of centauromachy. NC 1011. At no. 1040 in the NC catalogue, referred to the Chimaera Group. Corinth, fragment with part of a winged figure. NC 1013. Payne (NC 65) regards this fragment as possibly not from the Chimaera Painter's workshop. The Palermo fragments are in storage; for this reason, Mme. Iole Marconi, who kindly provided a photograph of the plate NC 1048, was unable to have them photographed at this time. Prof. Amyx has not been able to locate the Corinth fragment.

⁵⁰ Hopper, op.cit. 168f; Payne, NC 313.

⁶⁰ op.cit. 169.

⁶¹ Of the Transitional Griffon Group (NC 84-96), Hopper cites specifically NC 94-95; of this group, Benson places NC 84-86, 88-89, given to one hand by Payne, as probably by his Snake Painter (GKV list 25, nos. 3-9) and more recently added two additional alabastra to this list (AJA 60 [1956] 223). For the Early Corinthian Gorgon-bird Group, see NC cat. nos. 440ff.

⁶² GKV at list 60. Painter of Palermo 489, NC 76-80; GKV list 20.

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It was the affinity of the protomai on the Munich plate, NC 1047, to the horses of the François vase that led Payne to date the whole of the Group to the second half of the Middle Corinthian period.68 We have seen that the Palermo protomai (NC 1048) which, unlike the Munich, are by the Chimaera Painter, are of an earlier type; that the Munich horses, on the other hand, have much in common with the Copenhagen plates which approach the aesthetic standards of Late Corinthian, both in the elongation of their animals and in their rigidity. Unlike the animals of the Chimaera Painter, they retain nothing characteristic of the Early style. Therefore, Payne's date for the Munich plate is applicable only to other late members of the Group-the Copenhagen plates. If we compare the panthers of the Chimaera Painter's aryballos, NC 835 (no. 9), with those of the Copenhagen plate NC 1055, we must conclude again that Hopper's date is more nearly correct than Payne's; both artists' panthers are Middle Corinthian, and unless we wish to regard those of NC 1055 as Late Corinthian, we must concede that those of NC 835 come rather early in the Middle period. The same is true of the lions. Those of the Painter of Louvre E 574 descend directly from the Early type of the Heidelberg fragment, NC 762, and the latter in turn represents a natural, continuous development from the type introduced by the Painter of Palermo 489.64 There can be no doubt that the Painter of Louvre E 574 is of the first half of the Middle period, although the shapes of his alabastron and aryballoi, as well as the proportions of their animals, indicate that his known works cannot be earlier. Since the Painter of Louvre E 574 is the more conservative of the two, and since the Chimaera Painter borrowed his ruff for the lion of the British Museum bowl (NC 1009, no. 5), one might conclude that of the two the former was the elder. But his earliest piece, the Zurich aryballos, can scarcely be earlier than NC 835, and the Florence lions are of rather advanced Middle Corinthian style. Their forelegs are further developed than those of the lions on Louvre E 574, and recall, in the incisions, the forelegs on Rhodes inv. 5175

and of the Copenhagen sphinxes. The siren between the Florence lions is of approximately the same proportions as the bearded siren of NC 1045, a work of the Chimaera Painter's maturity. If, as seems extremely likely to me, the Musée Rodin kotyle-pyxis and the head-pyxides in Bonn and Leningrad were decorated by the Chimaera Painter, they have special relevance to the problem of dating his work. Their style in general, and in particular the stocky build and compact rendering of the animals, must mean that they belong to a very early phase of Middle Corinthian. Finally, Hopper's observation65 is quite just: that the Chimaera Painter's animals are comparable in Athens not to those of Kleitias but to those of the Gorgon Painter; likewise, the palmette-lotus cross of the Berkeley plate represents a stage of development comparable to that of the main floral frieze of the Louvre Gorgon dinos rather than the festoons of the Francois vase.

Both the Chimaera Painter and the Painter of Louvre E 574 must have continued to produce actively through the second decade of the Middle period. At this time, the Painter of the Copenhagen Sphinxes would have been serving his apprenticeship in the workshop.

The Chimaera Painter's lions enable us to identify his seventh-century antecedents, but certain features of the plates, which have been indicated in the discussion of his style, are either his own inventions, as is entirely possible, or conceivably derive from some other source than the Early Corinthian tradition of vase-painting. Since, however, we have nothing extant besides vase-paintings which is closely related to his style, any suggestion that he was influenced by free painting on a larger scale must be regarded as pure hypothesis. The Chimaera Painter's use of the tondo of the plate, with the rim ornamented only by concentric circles at the edge and around the picture, is confined to his immediate group. We have very few Early Corinthian plates, and their decorative scheme is entirely different;66 the Middle Corinthian example from Ithaka, not related to his in style and format but of identical manufacture, has its main figured

68 NC 62.

⁽NC pl. 24, 1; 25, 3; Benson, GKV list 58, no. 9, places this piece in his Delos Group).

^{85 168}f (supra n. 4). Payne (NC 62) notes that the lioness of NC 1041 (Chimaera Painter, no. 3) is comparable to one by the Gorgon Painter, but he refers to the latter as work of a "rather earlier period."

⁶⁶ See n. 4.

⁶⁴ The following may be taken to exemplify the Early Corinthian lion type in question: the alabastra of the Painter of Palermo 489 (GKV list 29), the alabastra of his follower, the Dolphin Painter (GKV list 30), the aryballoi of the Painter of the Heraldic Lions (GKV list 38), the Heidelberg fragment, NC 762 (GKV list 61, 3), an unattributed aryballos, NC 564 (NC pl. 22, 8), the aryballos of Payne's Comast Group, NC 531

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decoration not in the central tondo but on the rim; like the Copenhagen plates, it bears a figure, a cock, on the bottom. Here the surface of the plate is used, not as a "place for showing off," but, like that of any other shape, for frieze decoration.

In decorating a commoner shape, however, the flat-bottomed aryballos NC 835, the Chimaera Painter employs the most traditional of schemes. Thus it is that this aryballos, together with the work of the Painter of Louvre E 574, indicates in which area of Early Corinthian we should seek the Chimaera Painter's antecedents. As we have already remarked, it is among the smaller alabastra and round aryballoi whose animals descend directly from the type invented by the Painter of Palermo 489, and which exhibit the same scheme of lions and panthers flanking a central motif. This heraldic composition, also, may have been first used in Corinth by the Painter of Palermo

Hopper,68 however, believed that, because of their tidy incision and their decorative use of polychromy, the alabastra of the Griffon and Gorgonbird Groups⁶⁹ should represent Early Corinthian forerunners of the Chimaera style. Two styles are not necessarily related simply because they have in common neatness and decorative polychromy; the former is a matter of quality, not of style, and the use of applied red reflects only the taste of the individual. Benson (supra), on the other hand, rightly observed that the style of the Chimaera Painter is descended from that of the Painter of Palermo 489, but there is a chronological difficulty if we assume that he was a direct follower or pupil of that painter, none of whose known work can be later than the opening years of Early Corinthian.

Thus, although we can find no antecedent for the particular form and decorative scheme of the Chimaera Painter's plates, the breed of his felines is the end product of a continuous tradition. For what is unique in his plates, we can find antecedents no better in early Attic black-figure than in Corinthian, and it seems wiser to attribute these innovations to the inventive genius of a tal-

ented decorator than to postulate the existence in his day of influential pinakes or wall-paintings now lost, especially since his is pre-eminently an animal and black-figure style.

My intent in undertaking a thorough examination of the work of the Chimaera Painter was to provide an analysis, as exhaustive as is possible at present, of one of the major subdivisions of a single period in Corinthian vase-painting. It is by means of many such particular investigations that we shall gradually achieve for Corinthian blackfigure a final ordering, comparable to that which the efforts of Beazley and others have attained in the last half-century for Attic vase-painting. Necrocorinthia, as a magnificent pioneering work and a monument to Payne's genius, will never be superseded, but in the generation which has passed since its appearance the volume of Corinthian material has grown immensely, and its catalogue, furthermore, made no pretense of being a definitive and complete listing of Corinthian pots and painters. Through the contributions of Amyx, Hopper, Benson, Dunbabin, and Robertson in the last twenty-five years, we can now foresee in the not too distant future the achievement of this goal, but much remains to be done. It is my hope that, by offering a close study of the work of one of the most important and attractive Corinthian vasepainters, I may have contributed something towards a definitive classification of Corinthian vases. That the material justifies the effort is, I think, convincingly demonstrated by the animal style of the painters of the Chimaera Group.

Another purpose of this contribution is served mainly by the illustrations. This is to present, as fully as space permits, a repertory of the Chimaera Painter's works, some of which were hitherto unpublished, together with several other vases which may be his or which have a special bearing on the question of his style. With this material conveniently in hand, further study of the Painter and the Group will, I hope, be made easier and more rewarding.

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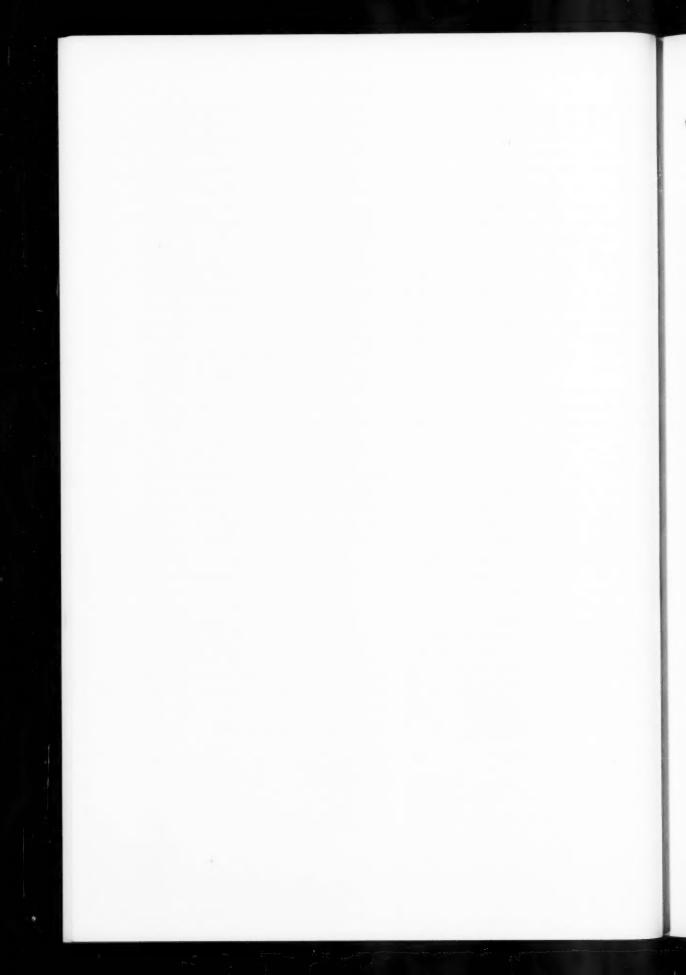
proximately contemporary with the Palermo plate of the Chimaera Painter (NC 1048) which exhibits the same scheme. Although one might wish to argue that his predilection for large single animals could reflect Attic influence, especially since the scheme of the horse protomai plate (NC 1048, no. 11) is apparently Attic in origin (supra n. 18), the anatomical stylizations of his animals (including horses), which are purely Corinthian, are very strong evidence against such an hypothesis.

⁶⁷ The phrase is Amyx's; CorV 218.

⁶⁸ op.cit. 169 (supra n. 4).

⁶⁹ See n. 61.

⁷⁰ The plates of his Attic contemporary, the Gorgon Painter, are decorated with friezes. Perhaps of greater interest is the Panther Painter's lekanis (ABV 2, no. 1) with confronted horse protomai in a tondo. Since the latter artist is contemporary with the Gorgon Painter, the lekanis should be ap-



On the Reconstruction of the Vatican Laocoon Group

SEYMOUR HOWARD

PLATES 93-94

EVER since the discovery of the Laocoon group in the Vatican, its restoration has been a source of controversy. Disturbing aspects of the work have legitimately been felt to be incompatible with its over-all excellence; even the most recent reconstructions, in which the erroneous restorations are revised, do not afford the satisfaction promised us by the qualities of the original portions.²

Recently, while studying other restored statues in the Vatican Museum, I took the opportunity to observe the Laocoon group with care.² To my surprise, I found several crucial restorations that have significantly changed the composition of the group but have not been taken into account in its recent reconstructions. The correction of these faults and the implications thereof, I believe, will lead to a more satisfactory reconstruction of the Vatican

First, it must be noted that the restored positions of the three right arms have been recognized as erroneous; at present the most satisfactory corrections are to be found in a reconstructed cast at the Museo dei Gessi all'Università in Rome.⁸ These suggested changes, however, are not quite sufficient, and something more should be said about them.

The position of the priest's right arm, the bestknown error in the restoration, can almost certainly be determined. From the portions of the extended latissimus dorsi and scapula and the contracted deltoid remaining at the ancient break (pl. 93, figs. 1 and 2), it is evident that the upper arm was originally drawn up and back. The level breaks on the right rear quadrant of the priest's head (figs. 1 and 2, A) indicate that something flat was attached to this place, perhaps the broad side of the back of his hand, pulled down by the coils of the snake on the shoulder. The arm found in Rome by Ludwig Pollak at the beginning of this century, now generally conceded to be the original arm, is compatible with the proposed restoration.⁴

To reconstruct the situation, then, the snake on Laocoon's shoulder, coiled over and around his upper arm, draws the whole arm back (pl. 93, fig. 3). Firmly anchored to the wrist, by its constricting motion the reptile also pulls the lower arm down, lifting the elbow and severely everting the scapula while forcing the back of the priest's own hand to push his head to one side (fig. 2). Drawn back as well as down, the right arm now distracts attention even less than in the recent reconstructions⁵ from the superb head and its missing corolla of leaves. The greater compactness achieved by this change—which increases the force of the composition, the practicality of making the group in marble, and the movement into the third dimension-is, I believe, a key to the reconstruction of the group.

The right arm of the younger son, bolt upright like that of Laocoon, should be lower, perhaps

1948) 18f, 88f, and others; the modification suggested by Ferri, ArchCl 2 (1950), 66-69, pl. 18, is disapproved by Miss Richter, Three Critical Periods 70.

² I am grateful to the Vatican authorities, especially to Miss M. Speyer, of the museum staff, for permission to make the photographs illustrated here and also to F. P. Johnson for his helpful criticisms of the article.

⁸ This cast (ArchCl 1 [1949] pl. 22) is, except for minor elements, a duplication of Treu's older reconstruction of the group, formerly in Dresden (M. Pohlenz, Die Antike IX [1933] 57, fig. 1; Bieber, pl. 10). For a list of the restored parts see Amelung II, 181-84.

⁴ L. Pollak, "Der rechte Arm des Laokoon," RM 20 (1905) 277-82, pl. 8. The arm (Amelung, 206, no. 74a; Bieber, fig. 9), until recent thorough examination by Vergara-Caffarelli, was thought to come from a smaller replica of different marble.

⁵ These (supra) follow essentially Pollak's restoration (RM 20 [1905] 282, fig. 2) which shows the arm parallel to the front edge of the base.

¹ The Laocoon is published in W. Amelung, Sculpturen des vatikanischen Museum (Berlin 1908) II, 181-205, no. 74. Margarete Bieber, Laocoon (New York 1942) has the most complete series of photographic illustrations of the sculpture. G. Lippold, Idl 61/62 (1946-47) 88-94, defends the present restoration of the right arm of Laocoon. Gisela Richter, Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture (Oxford 1951) 66-70, would date the work in the second century B.C. instead of the first; this is rejected by F. P. Johnson, CP 49 (1954) 48, and briefly by Miss Bieber, Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York 1955) 134f. There is an important discussion in A. von Salis, Antike und Renaissance (Zurich 1947) 135-53; and in H. Ladendorf, "Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie," AbhSächs-AkLeipzig 46,2 (1953) 37-46, 158f; both of these with extensive bibliography. A restoration in the Museum of Casts in the University of Rome was presented by Vergara-Caffarelli, ArchCl 1 (1949) 75-77, pl. 22; cf. also G. R. Ansaldi, Emporium 101 (1945) 54-61, fig. 4; this has been noted with approval by Cagiano de Azevedo, Il gusto nel restauro (Rome

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even lower than is popularly assumed. The coil over the face of the upper arm (pl. 93, fig. 4) originally rose higher, more diagonally, and also was in higher relief, pulling the arm well back, and the figure down, the arm probably continuing the line of the torso and stretching the painfully extended pectoral muscles. The back of the boy's head is restored. Conceivably the lower arm was attached here, and both it and the back of the head were broken away together. In this case, the upper arm was drawn further to the left, roughly parallel to the boy's cheek, while the lower arm touched the crown and the hand hung back, near Laocoon's torso. The arm would then, in a manner befitting marble sculpture and the intact part of the work, more closely relate the contour and mass of the son and his father, as well as echo the position of the father's arm.

The position of the upraised hand of the elder son has recently been nicely determined.⁶ Apparently the hand, palm up in a gesture eloquent of horror and futility, like the forearm was bent backward and down, in the direction of the spur of a strut support on the coils over the boy's upper arm (pl. 94, fig. 9). It should also be noted that the upper arm might be rotated slightly forward on the axis of a break below the deltoid.

The fourth major element of the composition dependent on the judgment of the restorer, in fact the most significant component of the restoration, has almost escaped notice. This is the position of the elder son.⁷

As now placed, the son seems fixed by the coils and base that join him and his father in a relief-like plane of action common to the three figures. There is, however, no continuous connection fixing this position. The antique fragments as set into the base are separated between the right foot of the boy and the left foot of the father not only by breaks but by filling marble between the edges, no parts of which will coincide (pl. 93, figs. 5 and 6). Moreover, the two feet are crowded together in an unnatural position, indicating that they were originally placed differently.

The snake-coil that goes clockwise around Laocoon's shin to the elder son (pl. 94, fig. 7, B and C)

is not continuous with the coil that goes over the boy's right thigh (fig. 7, A). From the rear or from between the son's leg and drapery (pl. 94, fig. 8) it is seen that this coil on the thigh (fig. 8, A) has been trimmed and crudely fitted under and against the coil around the father's leg (fig. 8, B). It joins the coil at the center of the back of the calf, half a foot to the left of the broken end near the altar to which it originally was attached (fig. 8, C) (an intervening bit of coil is lost).

That part which seems most clearly to set the position of the elder son, the transverse coil from Laocoon's hand to the ascending coil leading to the forearm of the son (pl. 94, fig. 9, C), is of course modern.

The coil that runs over Laocoon's forearm and seems to join the winds around the elder boy's arm (fig. 9, A) also has a break that does not meet its ancient complement. When this coil is seen from the back of the group, somewhat below the knot of winds (foreshortened strongly in pl. 94, fig. 10, A), it is evident that, like the coil around the leg, it merely abuts against another coil (fig. 10, D). Its break clearly faces the rear (figs. 9 and 10, A). This is a clue to the orientation of the elder son. There are others. From the back, the restored coil leading from the hand of Laocoon to the elder son (fig. 10, C) is seen not to continue the original direction of the antique portion, also toward the rear (fig. 10, B), but to go forward. Thus the restorer consciously turned the "face side" of the elder son into the same plane as that of the other two figures. The original orientation may also be determined from the coil around Laocoon's shin (figs. 7 and 8, C), which pointed directly back along the side of the altar.

The remnants of the original coils, then, indicate that the figure of the son should be turned about ninety degrees, i.e. parallel to the right side of the altar, as seen in pl. 94, figs. 11 and 12.8

From a technical point of view these reconstructions are most revealing. The three-dimensional altar, which one expects to repeat the shape of the block, now clearly becomes the essential core form. By lowering the right arms and by bringing them and the figure of the elder son closer to the

they are rough approximations and should not be considered as finished renderings; only the reconstruction of a cast could give a completely satisfactory picture of the proposed composi-

⁶ ArchCl 1 (1949) pl. 22.

⁷ In the Museum of Casts reconstruction the outer side of this figure has been turned slightly forward on the axis of a break, emphasizing the frontality of the composition.

⁸ The line drawings are based on tracings of photographs;

core the stone is utilized much more effectively, with reduction of its size and elimination of much waste. Pliny's remarkable observation⁹ that the original colossal group (perhaps recently discovered¹⁰) was cut from a single block of stone is far more credible in light of the compact mass of this new composition. Another technical consideration, though a minor one, is that the three faces of the group would have facilitated its being worked on by the three original sculptors.

Other consequences of these alterations are equally important and gratifying. It will be noted that the group as reconstructed can no longer be most satisfactorily seen from the traditional view, since the elder son would be almost totally obscured (pl. 94, fig. 12). The axis must be shifted almost forty-five degrees to present a single pregnant view of the whole. The center of the composition still lies between the flanking figures but is now marked by the corner of the altar and the advancing left leg of Laocoon, the most salient aspect of the central figure. Laocoon's foot is now the startingpoint of the composition, which in its main lines is carried up and back like a great wave by the twisting movement of the central figure and the complementary forms of the flanking sons. Laocoon's head is still the apex of the group, but the composition is now, rather than an obtuse twodimensional triangle, a fairly regular pyramid.

By virtue of this alteration in the composition, refinements, otherwise unexplainable, become significant. For example, the altar steps, which tilt up slightly, are now lowest at the new axis, accentuating the center of the composition and dis-

playing the group in a somewhat more obvious elevation. The strange awkward space between the elder son and the rest of the group is removed. eliminating the extraordinary cleavage of directions which at present tears the composition in two. The elder son, placed behind Laocoon's left heel, fills the space provided by the altar and base, while the coil joining the legs of the two figures fits naturally under a large swag of drapery that is otherwise compositionally meaningless. The coils joining the arms of the father and his son are now made comprehensible11; massed tightly, they also serve to unify the two figures forcefully. The son's raised arm and his slightly inclined torso nicely complement the adjacent masses of the father's figure, while the raised legs are repeated motifs on two sides of the composition. Like the right side of the younger son, so the near-vertical line of the elder son's left side marks the outer corner of the original block and the end of the composition.

Freed from the relief-like composition imposed on it by its sixteenth-century restorer, the group now has an extraordinary three-dimensional character. The High Renaissance sculptor, who saw the work in pieces (pl. 94, fig. 13), reconstructed it with contemporary eyes, as a "classic," planigraphic composition, in which the action was unified in a comparatively shallow space. The preference for such a composition was apparently the reason for the liberties taken with the positioning of the elder son; it would also explain the positions of the restored arms which, parallel to the front edge of the base, enhance the relief-like character of the Renaissance composition.

1836] I, 329-31; Bottari-Ticozzi, Lettere [Milan 1822] III, 474-77). The group as restored by Montorsoli in 1532, perhaps after a lost bronze reconstruction by Jacopo Sansovino (his drawing of the reconstructed central figure, Uffizi 14535, is discussed by U. Middeldorf, BurlMag 60 (1932) 236-45, pl. 3a), was first engraved in 1544 (Marliani, Topographia urbis Romae [1544]; for a list of Renaissance drawings of the group see P. P. Bober, Drawings After the Antique by Amico Aspertini [London 1957] 62); here the right arm is upright as at present. This arm has been rerestored at least twice: by Agostino Cornacchini in the eighteenth century; and in the Louvre, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with an arm, perhaps the present one, based on a copy of the group by Girardon (the literature is reviewed by de Mély, MonPiot 16 [1909] 209-22). The bent terracotta arm in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 205, no. 74b; Bieber, fig. 8) traditionally ascribed to Michelangelo, and sometimes to Montorsoli (according to Winckelmann, Winckelmanns sämtliche Werke, ed. J. Eiselein [Donauöschingen 1825-29] VI 16ff, it is by Bernini), is, I believe, probably a sketch temporarily attached to the group by Bandinelli, whose copy (Bieber, fig. 4) made in 1522, elaborates on this otherwise unique design.

Natural History 36.37.

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10 The several fragments of the signed work illustrated in the popular press (Time, October 14, 1957, 94; Life, December 2, 1957, 49-50) are so mutilated that it seems unlikely we will be able to learn more from them about the over-all composition than from the far better preserved Vatican group. The colossal right hand illustrated in Life, however, presumably that of Laocoon, corroborates my opinion, formed in 1956, that Laocoon's right hand does not struggle with the snake.

¹¹ Note that in the Vatican restoration it is impossible to trace the body of the snake uninterruptedly; there is only a confused impression of a knot formed by one strand (pl. 94, fig. 9). In the proposed reconstruction the coil is visually and physically continuous.

13 Since the engraving of the group made by Marco Dente (Bieber, fig. 2), sometime before his death in 1527, shows the figures assembled in their present position—even before the restoration of Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli in 1532—I offer as a hypothesis the possibility that this important project, the assembly of the figures, may have been directed by the leading sculptor in Rome, Michelangelo, who had already identified

the work and seen to its excavation (C. Fea, Miscellanea [Rome

Apparently the first restorers employed similar license in the interpretation of the subject. The scene is not primarily a physical struggle,18 as conceived by them, but an exposition on the classic theme of tragedy: the hubris of the individual, man, punished by uncompromising authority, the gods. From left to right, the narrative unfolds as a scene of inevitable destruction. The younger son, helpless, his legs bound, his body crumpling, lapses into unconsciousness and death, fatally wounded by the gods' agent of retribution. The central figure, the guilty Trojan priest, in agony and perhaps realization, is shown at the crucial moment of the drama, his body tortured by the bite of the snake on his hip. The elder boy, still in fear and apprehension, superficially seems able to escape but is trapped against the altar, inextricably bound to the others, awaiting their fate. Death relentlessly overcomes action. There is a consistent contrapposto in the arms of the figures: the raised right arms are helpless, the hands open, palms up and empty; only the lowered left hands, naturally weaker, act, ineffectually. The large central figure unifies and is the culmination of the theme and action; in the convulsed figure of Laocoon the whole drama has reached its climax and all that follows will be denouement-not an eternal struggle, as the Renaissance restorer saw it.

Thus viewed, the Renaissance reconstruction serves as a revealing example of how the restorer's art reflects the taste of his time. Apparently because of the traditional importance of this group, this original restoration was never drastically altered in form; this same veneration, perhaps, has also prevented any reconsideration of the basic composition as it was first restored.

Looking with fresh eyes at the major fragments as they were discovered (pl. 94, fig. 13) one is struck by how uncompromisingly "baroque" they are. Certainly their heavy yet dynamic and organic masses, the extreme sensuality of the surfaces, and the pictorial rendering of the light and shade, as

well as the excited passions of the actors, are in the best "baroque" tradition. The proposed shift of the axis, with consequent increased dynamism of the composition, is as compatible with this style as with details of the work. By virtue of the new axis the observer is forced to move around the sculpture and certain elements acquire new meaning, intensely baroque in nature. The younger son's death becomes a surprise, the head of the snake being discovered last and hidden by the boy's hand. The snake that bites Laocoon is also hidden from view and elicits a similar response. Laocoon's right leg, no longer disturbingly foreshortened as in the present relief-like composition, enlivens the contour of the new principal view. To and fro movement of masses along this new axis, especially in the central figure, actively welds the three faces of the group into a unified whole. In such a reconstruction it becomes apparent why the right arms of Laocoon and the younger son should be moved back, as well as closer to the core, for they too unify, and utilize, their space in a manner more consistent with the three-dimensional baroque feeling of the rest.

These observations about the baroque character of the original may affect the dating of the work, The former High Renaissance composition supported the assignation of a late date because of its similarity to neoclassic relief-like composition. But the changes here proposed, on stylistic grounds, favor a date for the group somewhat earlier than our epigraphical evidence would indicate.16 However, since an archaism is evident in the discrepant scales of the figures and a strong element of frontality remains in the orientation of the group as a whole, the more established date of about 50 B.C. cannot be totally rejected, even on stylistic grounds.16 At this date, however, the artists, like Apollonius in his execution of the Torso Belvedere, must be considered as working in a very conservative tradi-

The general outlines of the proposed reconstruc-

on the great frieze), at the beginning of the second century, Richter, pp. 66-70, has been at great pains to show that the epigraphical evidence indicating that Athenodoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros lived at about 50 B.C. is not conclusive.

16 It must be observed, however, that the use of these elements may reflect the same sort of conservatism that led the sculptors at Pergamum to copy fifth-century statues and return in the great altar frieze to a flattened composition typical of classical relief.

¹⁸ For a history of the interpretations of the subject see Bieber, 2ff.

¹⁴ See M. Dvořák, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte (Piper, Munich 1929) 271; C. Brandi, Carmine o della pittura (Florence 1948) 137; Cagiano passim; Ladendorf, 55-62; M. Neusser, WJb Bd. 6, 20 (1929) 27-42, for restatements of this observation.

¹⁵ In her efforts to date the group to the period of its popularly conceded Pergamene prototypes (compare now especially Laocoon with the figure of the giant in combat with Athena

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ury, the lros, elethe turn tion can be seen in a sketch by the Renaissance architect San Gallo.¹⁷ His design, primarily an architectural frame, with a perfunctory blocking in of the figures, was made shortly before the repair of the group, when the composition was still controversial. It shows the central figure set forward with the flanking figures set back and to the sides; the whole group is put before an apse. This may well have been the original setting of the sculpture, since the group forms a convex mass that would nicely complement the concavity of an apse, a shape which also suits the silhouette. The back of the work, moreover, has little interest and probably was not meant to be viewed seriously.

It has been shown that inspection of portions of the Vatican Laocoon group indicates that the antique original was markedly distorted by its first restorers in the direction of High Renaissance taste. The elder son was displaced perhaps as much as ninety degrees out of his original position, and the axis of the group was shifted about forty-five degrees. Indications for further correcting the positions of the right arms are also evident.

The proposed reconstruction is satisfying technically, formally and stylistically. The resulting composition is more suitable to a work in marble and may more easily be conceived to have been cut from a single block; the split in the composition is removed, with conversion of discordant elements into essential contributions to the total scheme; certain otherwise unexplained refinements of design are given significance; and the baroque rendering of form and subject is paralleled by a more baroque composition. The trenchancy of the subject seems also to be enhanced by the suggested restoration.

The Renaissance restorer constrained the original baroque-looking composition into a planigraphic frontality, giving the work a somewhat neoclassic character; conceivably this has induced us to prefer too recent a date for it.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

17 In the Albertina, Vienna (Ladendorf, fig. 106; von Salis, pl. 37a).

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Pattern Families in Nabataean Painted Ware¹

PHILIP C. HAMMOND, IR.

R. J. CHARLESTON, in his volume on Roman pottery,2 has said that "the especial merit of the Nabataean pottery lies in its painting." It is the very fact of the existence of the painted wares which, up to the present time, has allowed of research into the Nabataean ceramic culture at all. Without sherds of the distinctive painted type, identified as "Nabataean" by Horsfield in 1929 and following, most Nabataean sites in the Near East would have continued to be identified as "Roman," wherever inscriptional, architectural, or other non-ceramic indications were lacking.3

But in spite of the positive identification of certain ceramics as specifically Nabataean, no intensive study of this culture has been made until the present time. This paper, which includes material from a comprehensive study of Nabataean pottery just completed, will deal with one important aspect of

the problem.

The form classification evolved in the complete work established ten form categories, of which only the first two are relevant to the present paper. Form Class I is composed of Fine Nabataean Bowls, of which there are three basic types, described in terms of the manner of rim-body join, with three rim profiles based on the manner in which the rim edge was finished. Form Class II consists of Fine Cups and Straight-sided Bowls, of which there are two basic body shapes, and which show the same rim profiles as Class I.

The Ware Groups established by the complete study are five in number, Group A and Group B being the only two of concern to this paper. Ware Group A is composed of all fine, thin wares of smooth surface, fairly free from surface grits, blow marks, etc. and with a moderately thin section. Group B wares are of the same section as Group A, but show less pre-firing and firing care, with resultant rougher surfaces, grits, blow marks, etc.

Turning now to the patterns themselves, it was felt that a thorough study of the decorative motifs

might prove fruitful for purposes of relation to form and ware, geographical connection, chronology and other aspects of the whole ceramic culture of the Nabataeans. This anticipation was greatly justified. It is felt that a system of classification has been evolved which may assist in clarifying a number of questions relating to the painted wares themselves, as well as providing a useful tool for stratigraphic and classificatory purposes. If this be so, another method will be available to assist in narrowing the limits within a ceramic culture. It is expected that future excavations on Nabataean sites will determine certain limits and amplify certain tentative conclusions of this study.

In order to systematize the study of the patterns, the total decorations on individual Nabataean sherds were first reduced to their component parts, as each appeared in the examination of available sherds, photographs and drawings. Each pattern "component" was drawn and given a code number as it was isolated. A separate registry sheet was assigned to each code number, upon which all subsequent occurrences of the same component item were entered, along with the other pattern components associated with it in each case, as well as notes on ware, provenance, levels, etc. A total of 1550 separate sherds were so examined and coded: 1127 from Petra, 190 from Dhiban and 233 from other sites. These sherds resulted in some 3176 cross-referenced entries. The separate component sheets were eventually arranged by general similarities of the components, and finally brought together by more definitely established relationships as the cross-references began to evidence connections. The final arrangement of the component registry sheets resulted in the "Pattern Families" of this paper.

Because of the original freehand work on the part of the Nabataean painters, the fragmentary nature of some of the specimens, and other similar factors, the component break-down and ar-

¹ This paper includes material submitted to the Faculty of The Graduate School, Yale University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1956, under the title of "A Study of Nabataean

Pottery.'

² R. J. Charleston, Roman Pottery 37.

⁸ Compare, for example, the pioneer studies of identical sites by F. Frank, "Aus der 'Araba,I.," ZDPV 57 (1934), and Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I, II, III, IV," AASOR 14, 15, 18-19 and 25-28.

rangement was done broadly, in order to preclude too cumbersome a classification system. A control on the method was introduced by the simple expedient of recoding and rechecking random samples to insure consistency of procedure.

The statistical compilation produced fifteen groups of component types, on the basis of the general decorative similarity of the individual elements or "components." These groups are composed of 173 separate items, with 64 additional ones finally considered to be merely variants of the main motifs.

It is felt that virtually any Nabataean sherd can now be systematically classified under this method, with adequate provision made in the system for any new or rare components to be fitted into one of the existing classes.

Of the 173 main components, it was found that 65 could be interrelated on the basis of mutual occurrences, with an additional 31 rim-edgings ignored for the present. These connected elements constitute the "Pattern Families." It is anticipated that continuing research will relate more of the remaining elements (and any new ones) to the material now classified.

On the basis of these established relationships, therefore, once a given sherd can be fitted into the general "component" grouping, reference to the "family" table will provide the additional data so far established by the statistical information assembled. As the classification is itself refined by future excavations and publications, the degree of accuracy and the quantity of data available will be proportionally extended.

The "Families," as they have been isolated in this study, are four in number: three which are unrelated and one which is found with two others (i.e. occurs as supplementary decoration only). Family (a) is composed of "leaf" or "frond" type motifs; Family (b) is composed of more developed "floral" forms; Family (c) is composed of simple crossed lines, generally running from edge to edge through the center of the vessel; Family (d) is composed of a group of miscellaneous borders, fills, etc. which occur as supplements to the main forms of families (a) and (b).

The interrelationships and family connections of the individual components are shown on the Table of Pattern Relationships. There, the components are arranged by "family" types, under the original component group numbers. This table clearly

shows the isolation of Family (a) from Family (b), the supplementary occurrence of Family (d) with both (a) and (b), and the completely separate nature of Family (c).

On the Table of Pattern Families is shown the interrelated groupings resulting from the statistical study, arranged by "major" components, "borders and fills," etc., along with the major examples of the supplementary Family (d) group. From this arrangement it is possible to reconstruct the pattern lay-out of the specific decorative "Family." Thus a vessel of the Family (a) variety exhibits an arrangement consisting of an upper pattern (just beneath the rim, itself), followed by a secondary register, a border and a fill surrounding a central motif. The vessels with the Family (b) decoration are very different in arrangement, however. There, background fills and (smaller) fill units dominate, all in conjunction with a varied group of (larger) main (but entirely disjunctive) pattern elements placed here and there over the entire bowl surface. Family (c) stands apart from both (a) and (b). Usually the simple lines (rarerdotted lines) merely cross the interior of the vessel without further ornamentation.

When frequency of occurrence is analyzed, it reveals the preferred motifs of the Nabataean painters. It also points to the fact that within Family (a) more than one "standard" combination of components existed (counter to what cursory examination in the past has suggested). That more than one type existed in the Family (b) group has long been obvious, though not previously classified and isolated into distinct varieties.

Certain data regarding the relation of the Pattern Families to form, ware, etc. also emerged from the statistics of the larger study. When the undefined corpus of material was initially undertaken for investigation, certain differentiations were possible on purely empirical grounds, and the decision was made to classify the painted wares, for testing purposes, into three broad "types," on the basis of (then unsubstantiated) major pattern variations. Specimens of each type were then tested for original firing temperature, hardness, porosity, and composition, according to standard testing procedures. When these results were correlated with the final results of the pattern study, Pattern Family (a) was equated with "Type 1" of the testing runs, (b) with "Type 2," and (c) with "Type 3."

When these results were, in turn, compared with

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the general study of fabric it was found that Type 2 was almost without exception of Ware Group A; Type 1 was found to fluctuate between Ware Groups A and B (but never in Group C); Type 3 remained generally in Ware Group B.

The kiln tests point to a general differentiation between Painted Type 1 and 2, but further research must be made in this area. At present, it appears that Type 2 pottery was originally fired at a higher peak than was Type 1, perhaps indicating increased proficiency in firing ability (achieving harder ware without resultant color aberration or deformation).

The porosity tests also differentiate, physically, between Types 1 and 2, with the interior surface of Type 2 markedly less porous than Type 1 specimens tested.

Hardness ranges also varied: Type 1 wares being less hard than Type 2, with Type 3 between the other two in range.

In the realm of form it was found that the painted specimens occurred in 52 groups of the entire classification system developed in this study. Of those 52 groups, 37 are within Form Classes I and II. When the notes on the pattern study were compared with those of the form investigation, it was found that the "Type" or "Pattern Family" differentiations were further supported. Almost without exception, the types did not mix, within any given form category. In one case, a rare pattern sub-type could even be isolated to one form sub-type. It was possible, on the basis of the statistical tables compiled, to determine that some formtypes emerged as the main (or sole) forms on which the specific pattern family types predominated, to the exclusion of any plain ware examples of related form, and to the exclusion of the other family types. Statistically, then, the major and minor form-types for each Pattern Family were established. The major occurrence of Family (a)

decorations is limited to a single main form type (I 1A[1]), with a rarer occurrence noted on six other form types (I 1B[2a], C[1b], C[2], C[3], 2B[6a], and [3A]), with rim profile "A" being consistently preferred. Pattern Family (b), on the other hand, appears in quantity on five major form-types (I 1A[2a], C[1a], C[5], 2B[9] and 2C[5]); more rarely, it appears on four other forms (I 1B[4], 2B[2], 3B[4], 3B[5a]), and, in special design and only in black paint, on one other form (I 2C[6]). This Family prefers rim profiles "B" and "C," instead of "A." Pattern Family (c) occurs on two form-types in Class II (II 1B[5] and 2C[1]), but appears to be most common on a single Class I form (I 1B[2a]) at Dhiban.

Thus the "Pattern Family" or "Type" designation furnishes for each group certain definite information on form, ware, rim profile, etc., as well as a connection with more tangible physical data.

From the chronological side, the 1955 expedition of The American School of Oriental Research at Dhiban was able to isolate two distinct Nabataean levels which provide a relative date for certain Nabataean Painted Wares, and perhaps the basis for a more absolute dating for the corpus of Nabataean Painted Wares as a whole. Until that excavation report is published, however, all that may be said is that the relative order of the Painted Ware types, as outlined in this paper, seems to be 1-2 and 3, or 1,2,3 successively.

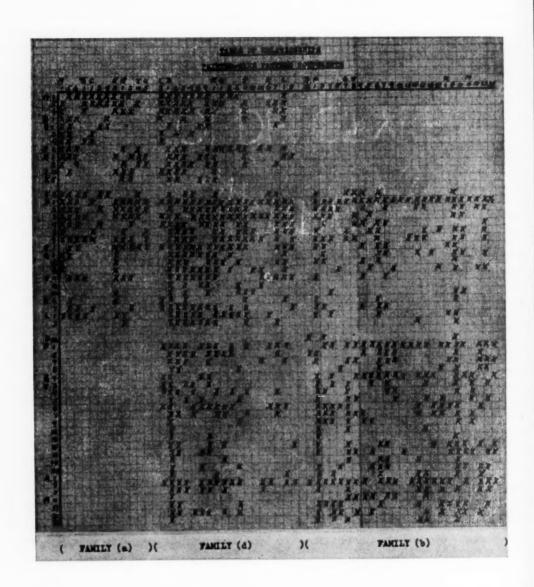
On the basis of the complete study, it is felt that the Nabataean Painted Ware, considered from the standpoint of form and motifs of decoration, reflects Hellenistic, if any, "foreign" influence, probably via Hellenized Syria. It is insisted, however, that such adoption of any foreign art forms has been modified by local adaptation, through local imagination and local originality, working from (largely) local floral prototypes.

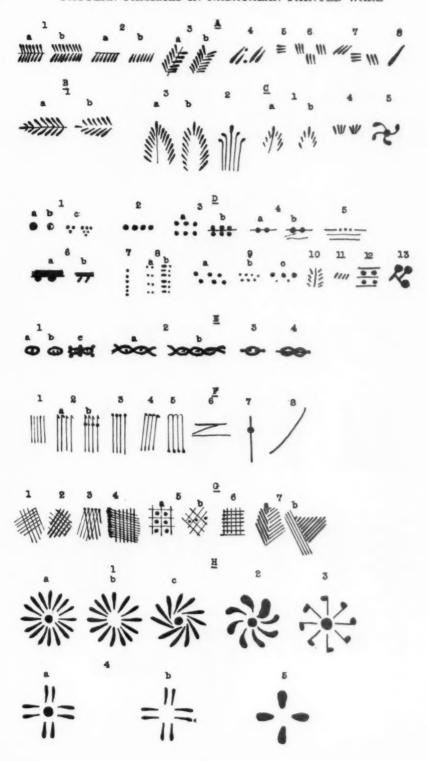
LYCOMING COLLEGE

prior to and during the period of the rise of the Nabataean kingdom.

See following pages

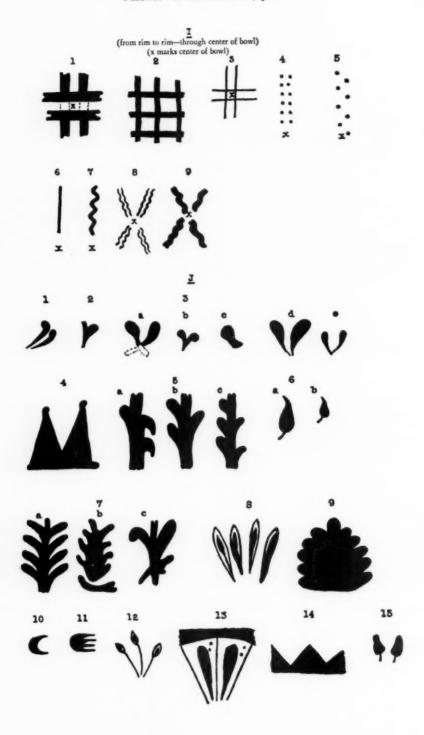
^{4 &}quot;Hellenistic" is here construed not as direct influence, but the end product of the over-all Hellenization of the Near East

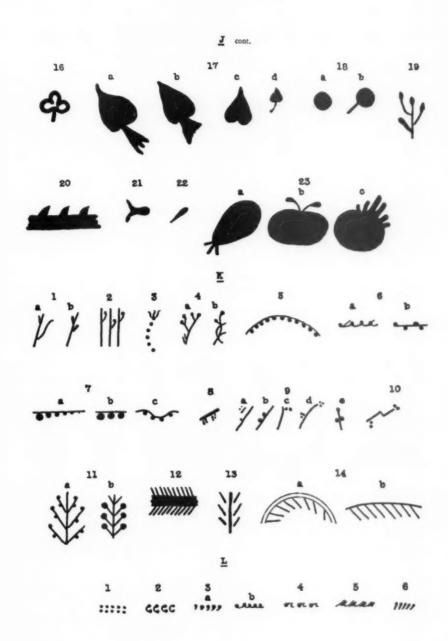




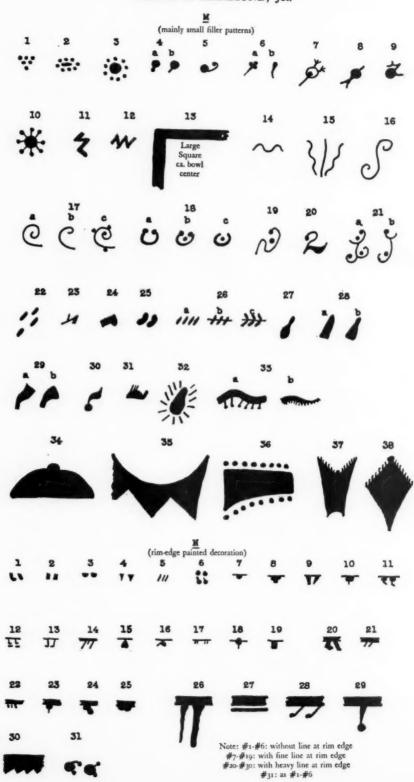
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A 63

TABLE OF PATTERN FAMILIES*

	Family (a)	Family (d)	Family (b)	Family (c)
MAJOR PATTERN COMPONENTS:	Aı Bı	Cı	J4, J5, J7, J9, J13, J17, J23, M35-37-38	I1-9
BORDERS & FILLS:	A6 E2 K5	D2-4 D8-9 E1, K6, K7, L1, L3	D12	-
FILLS:	A ₅ C ₄ J ₁₀	D1, G1, G2, G6, J11, J21	F1, F3, F7, G7, J3, J6, J15, J18, K1, K9, K11, M11, M17, M27	-
CENTRAL PATTERNS:	C ₁ C ₃ ? H ₁₋₂	-	-	-

[•] In terms of individual components expressed alphabetically.

TABLE OF HARDNESS VALUES* NABATAEAN POTTERY

Ware Group	Average Hardness Value
"A"	54
"B"	5.1
"C"	4.5
Nab. Ptd, Type I	5.1
Type II	6.7
Type III	4.5

[•] In terms of Mohs' Scale.

All measurements less correction factors. All measurements to nearest .ooi". All % of shrinkage to nearest .1%

Sherd No.	Ware Group	@ o° C.	@ 700° C.	%	@ 800° C.	%	@ 890° C.	%
I	"A"	.130	-	-	.1295	4	.129-	.8
2	"A"	.105	-	-	.105	.0	.104	-95
3	"A"	.137	-	-	.1365	4	.136	.7
		209	.268	-4				
4	"A"	.117	-	_	.1158	0.1	.1148	1.9
		.126	.126	.0				
5	"A"	.125	-	-	.1233	1.4	.1225	2
24	"A"	.194	-	-	.093	1.1	.093	1.1
6	"B"	.241	_	-	.239	.8	2375	1.5
7	"B"	.185	-	_	.185	۵	.1825	14
		.151	.151	.0				
8	"B"	.127	-	_	.1255	1.2	.124	2.4
		.171	.1705	-3	-			
9	"B"	.116	-	-	.115	.9	.1145	1.3
		.235	.2345	2				
10	"B"	.179	-515	-	.178	.6	.177	1.1
		.117	.1165	4				
11	"B"	.108	-	_	.1075	-5	.1060	1.9
		.090	.090	۵				
12	"B"	.151	-	-	.150	-7	.150	.7
18	"B"	.128	-	-	.1275	-4	.1275	4
19	"B"	.135	-	-	.1345	4	.1345	4
20	"B"。	.160	-	-	.1575	1.6	.157	1.9
13	"C"	.193	_	_	.188	2.6	.1875	2.8
		.145	.145	.0				
14	"C"	.668	-	_	.666	•3	.6645	-5
		.691	.6905	.I				
15	Ptd, I	.095	-	_	.0945	-5	.093	2.1
I	Ptd, I	.071	-	_	.070	14	.0695	2.1
II	Ptd, I	.080	-	_	.080	٥.	.0795	.6
III	Ptd, I	.085	-	-	.0845	.6	.084-	1.2
\mathbf{v}	Ptd, I	.079	-	_	.079	.0	.079	.0
VIII	Ptd, I	.08r	-	-	.081	ω,	.0808	2
16	Ptd, II	.087	_	_	.087	.0	.0865	.6
IV	Ptd, II	.075	-	_	.0725	3.3	.0715	4.7
VI	Ptd, II	.094	_	_	.0935	.5	.0935	-5
VII	Ptd, II	.086	-	_	.086	.0	£855	.6
17	Ptd, III	.113	_	-	.113	.0	.113	.0

.8 -95 -7

1.9 2.-

1.5

24

1.3

1.1

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.5 2.1 2.1 .6 12 .0

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POROSITY TEST: NABATAEAN POTTERY (All Surfaces)

All weights expressed to nearest .001 gram All weights less correction factors.

Sherd No.	Ware Group	Dry Wght	Wet Wght	H ₂ O Wght	% of Apparent Porosity
I	"A"	4.601	4.995	-394	8.563
4	"A"	18.791	19.467	.676	3.597
24	"A"	7.587	8.257	.670	8.83
-	"A"	5.927	6.058	.131	2.210
6	"B"	25.981	26.940	-959	3.691
7	"B"	18.695	18.955	260	1.390
10	"B"	25.751	26.154	403	1.564
12	"B"	17.083	18.798	1.715	10.039
13	"C"	21.363	21.886	.523	2.481
14	"C"	55-377	60.388	5.011	9.048
-	"C"	16.729	17.754	1.025	6.127
- Ptd,		4.601	4.995	-394	8.563
- Ptd,	, I	3-408	3.782	-374	10.974
- Ptd,		2.724	2.963	239	8.774
- Ptd,		2.866	3.164	298	10.398
- Ptd,		2.846	3.029	.183	6430
- Ptd	, I	2491	2.682	.191	7.668
T.S.,	III	3.226	3.824	.598	18.537
Cup,	"A"	35.23-	37.03-	r.80-	5-
Site 22	2				
-	"A"	.506	-524	.018	3.557
-	"B"	2.552	2.579	.027	-10.
-	"B"	2.548	2.646	.098	3.846
-	"C"	8.673	8.821	.148	1.171
Site 15	I				
-	"B"	9.613	9.684	.071	.728
	Modern ontrol)	2.691	3.110	419	15.570
Kh. Q Cool	umran king Pot ontrol)	6.994	7-575	.581	8.307

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POROSITY TEST: NABATAEAN POTTERY (Inner Surface Only)

Painted Ware

Type No.	Dry Wght	Dry & Seal Wght	Seal Wght	Wet & Seal Wght	Net Wet Wght	Wght Diff.	% of Apparent Porosity
I	1.547	1.593	.046	1.639	1.593	.046	2.97
I	-973	-994	.021	1.027	1.006	.033	3-4
1	-959	.979	.020	1.010	1.990	.031	3.2
II	1.939	1.971	.032	2.018	1.986	.047	2.4
II	3.397	3-440	.043	3.467	3-424	.027	.8
II	1.471	1.501	.030	1.566	1.536	.065	4-4

News Letter from Rome¹

A. W. VAN BUREN

PLATES 95-100

READERS who have followed this series of reports from their inception in the year 1926 will appreciate the generosity of administrators and colleagues in contributing unpublished material for the purpose: limitations of space and funds have often compelled on our part a regrettable degree of selection and compression; from year to year, emphasis has shifted from one sector to another, partly owing to the development of fresh undertakings, partly from our own desire to redress the balance of space allotted to the respective areas. These conditions remain essentially the same but somewhat modified by the crescendo of activity and discovery in this vast field.

Recent News Letters from Rome have recorded the development of air-photography as applied to archaeological prospecting: it is superfluous to emphasize the importance, and the promise of great usefulness, of the newly established Aerofototeca, an office of the Ministry of Public Instruction, General Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts, which is destined to collect and sort all the air documentation which concerns the various archaeological zones in which excavations are being conducted. The office is to be installed in the Palazzo delle Scienze of the Esposizione Universale di Roma (for the moment, the work is being conducted at the Gabinetto Nazionale Fotografico). The Director is Professor Dinu Adamesteanu, whose remarkable record in connection with the use of air-photography in Sicily demonstrates the appropriateness of this appointment. The immediate task of the office is to gather information; after this it plans to form a collection of negatives, to obtain copies of existing air-photographs and, it is hoped, eventually to undertake special flights and the work necessary for the preparation of archaeological

Professor Antonio Maria Colini and Dr. Carlo Pietrangeli of the archaeological service of the Commune of Rome have generously communi-

cated information regarding developments in their jurisdiction:

The construction has just now been completed of the "galleria dei servizi pubblici" of the Vicus Iugarius, which in all its extent including the Piazza della Consolazione has given rise to archaeological discoveries of great interest from the point of view of historical topography.

It may be said that such discoveries were to be expected, not only because the zone traversed is one of the most central of ancient Rome (it lies at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, on the boundary between the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium), but also because previous excavations had already revealed archaeological remains existing under the most favorable conditions for discovery and exploration, due to the closeness of the ancient level to the modern one.

Although evaluation of the discoveries is premature, it may be said at once that they are quite important and have rendered it possible to determine the exact course of the Vicus Iugarius (which joined the Roman Forum and the eastern quarters of the city to the Forum Holitorium, the Circus Flaminius and the Island in the Tiber), and moreover to assemble precise data as to the course of the Republican fortification of Rome at one of the points most keenly debated, namely the spot at which the walls themselves separated from the Capitoline.

The Vicus Iugarius has been shown, in fact, to have been flanked on its lower side, toward the north, by remains of walls constructed with tufa blocks of varying quality encased in brick constructions and, toward the south, by the open space upon which rose the temples of Fortuna and the Magna Mater (the so-called "Area Sacra di S. Omobono"); at the very start, where this street separated from that joining the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium, the Porta Carmentalis

D. Adamesteanu, R. Bartoccini, J. Bayet, G. Caputo, A. M. Colini, N. Degrassi, R. Naumann, V. Panebianco, C. Pietrangeli, G. Rizza, J. B. Ward Perkins, and P. Zancani Montuoro.

¹ The most recent installment of these reports appeared in A]A 62 (1958) 415-27, pls. 112-19.

For material generously communicated on the present occasion, with permission to publish, sincere thanks are due to

opened, some remains of which it has been considered possible to identify (pl. 95, fig. 1).

Brickwork constructions of the Imperial age with shops have come to light alongside the Vicus Iugarius extending as far as the Piazza della Consolazione where, in addition to recognizing the exact line of the street itself, a well-preserved stretch of a very early drain has been found.

The renewal of the pavement of the historic Church of San Pietro in Vincoli on the Oppian Hill has given to the administrations concerned the opportunity to conduct extensive investigations in the edifice itself and to explore the subsoil.²

This undertaking is still in progress. The most ancient remains so far discovered belong to a house constructed in ashlar of Grotta Oscura tufa, with the use also of cappellaccio in the foundations, and with tufa pavement-slabs, datable in the mid-Republican period. At a higher level are wide stretches of mosaic and colored cement with insertions of colored mosaic, largely destroyed in antiquity (pl. 95, fig. 2). These belong to one or two adjacent houses of the Late Republican period.

In the Early Imperial period, perhaps under Nero, all the zone was occupied by a palace having at its center a garden-court surrounded by porticoes with cryptoporticoes beneath them. This palace had an orientation slightly divergent from that of the Republican houses; this new orientation was followed by the church which rose later in this area, utilizing a part of the same foundations. The building underwent extensive alterations, apparently dated by brick-stamps at the close of the reign of Antoninus Pius; again, at a later time, its great hall was prolonged out into the interior of the court, upon which its rear wall gave by means of triple openings.

The results already achieved through the investigation of the church have revealed that the present structure was preceded by another, considerable traces of which remain, datable perhaps in the second half of the fourth century of our era—of typical basilical form, without transepts, with 15 columns on each side; but space fails us here for further details, which when published will prove of great significance.

In the excavations which the X. Ripartizione of

the Commune of Rome is conducting in the necropolis which extends on the left side of the Via Praenestina at the third kilometer out from Rome, in line with the so-called Mausoleum of the Gordiani, there came to light in August of 1958 an artistically rendered small sepulchral altar of marble (pl. 95, fig. 2a), pertaining to the tomb of a personage who had an unusual career: comes of the emperor Tiberius, and superintendent of the imperial libraries in the time of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. The inscription reads:

D(is) M(anibus)

Ti(berio) Iulio, Zoili f(ilio), Fab(ia tribu), Pappo, comit(i) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti), idemq(ue) supr(a) bybliothecas omnes Augustorum ab Ti(berio) Caesare usque ad Ti(berium) Claudium Caesarem.

Per Ti(berium) Iulium Niconem hered(em) in parte quarta et Iulia(m) Fortun(atam).

The small altar, m. 0.77 high, bears on its front a wreath which passes across the inscription, on the right side a calf before a laurel tree, on the left side the patera and praefericulum, and on the back a wreath.

The sculpture collections of the Capitoline Museums have received a noteworthy addition through purchase in the antiquarian market: a replica of the type of Bearded Dionysos familiar from the "Sardanapallus" of the Vatican (pl. 95, fig. 3: head and right arm are restored).

Some further items of interest from the capital may be briefly presented:

In the Roman Forum, the state of the famous three surviving columns of the Temple of Castor with their entablature has occasioned considerable anxiety: they are now being reconditioned in accordance with current procedure.

Digging for drains and the like in the general area of Pompey's theater has led to the finding of architectural fragments which, while not of great importance in themselves, deserve mention by reason of the significance of this neighborhood and its associations.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius has undergone a thorough reconditioning, necessitated by the fragility and the deterioration of its surface.

Museums, III 2, 61-65.

⁴ This superstructure appears due to a reconstruction in the time of Domitian; the foundation on which it rests is Augustan, incorporating extensive remains of earlier periods (A. von Gerkan, RM 60/61 [1953/54] 200-06).

² Communications presented by Professor A. M. Colini and Professor Guglielmo Matthiae at the meeting of the Pontifical Roman Academy of Archaeology of June 26, 1958.

³ Sala della Biga 608: see Georg Lippold's treatment in the German Institute's catalogue, Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen

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In the Lateran area, and close to the Scala Santa, discovery of a mosaic pavement antedating the third century A.D. adds information as to successive buildings in that vicinity.

Developments in the northwestern periphery of the Baths of Diocletian have proved highly interesting. As is well known, the builders of the great imperial thermae levelled off a number of pre-existing structures (this is implied in the famous building inscription CIL VI 1130 = ILS 646). Some extensive building undertakings now in progress, near the present Planetarium and the Via Pastrenga, have occasioned the Soprintendenza for Rome to conduct archaeological explorations in the subsoil with a view to obtaining further and more ample information. These have been rewarded by the finding of extensive remains which when published will add distinctly to the plan of pre-Diocletianic Imperial Rome.

Attention has been directed to the Praetorian Camp by the announcement that the competent authorities will accord it a homogeneous systematization when, as is expected, it is released by the military department which has retained jurisdiction over it until now.

There is a project to establish here not only the National Library but various other cultural institutions. A competition for the general layout has been announced; it has been suggested that when the time arrives for excavation for the foundations of the projected buildings, advantage might be taken of this unusual opportunity for the archaeological investigation of the ancient remains. Something is already known, but comparatively little, of the interior arrangements of the camp.

Great expectations are aroused by an item in the Roman daily paper *Il Tempo*, May 17, 1959: the process of clearing the underground parts of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito, on the right bank of the Tiber in line with San Pietro, has disclosed remains of walls of various periods of antiquity, also a mosaic pavement. It is in this general area that the ancient authors mention gardens of Agrippina and Nero.

As to the VATICAN CITY, further information regarding the important discoveries in the area of

the necropolis which were summarily reported a year ago[®] is now available in Commendatore Filippo Magi's preliminary report which has appeared in an unusual publication; meanwhile, discussion has continued active in regard to the interpretation of the earlier discoveries beneath the Confessio of the Basilica of St. Peter; the innumerable graffiti upon the wall-surfaces of the tombs have been published in full by Professor Margherita Guarducci. T

The progress of that ponderous undertaking, the construction of a great airport at FIUMICINO, extending over the area of the port of Claudius, led in the autumn of 1958 to the finding of the remains of a lighter, some 45 feet long, its cross-timbers well preserved, which is believed to have been used for conveying freight up the river. The procedure was described, for the time of Augustus, by Strabo, 5.3.5.

The museum of Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa, installed in an ancient structure pertaining to the Canopus, was inaugurated on Oct. 30, 1958. The wealth of sculptures found during recent campaigns assures this minor museum a place of distinction among such local collections: it reflects the tastes of Hadrian, and the copies which were executed at the Emperor's command for the adornment of his villa serve to document various phases of the history of classical art; post-Hadrianic portraiture is also represented.

The meeting of April 2, 1959, of the Pontifical Roman Academy of Archaeology was memorable for the presentation of engrossing information from Lavinium and its territory. Dr. Lucos Cozza discussed the systematic excavation of an early sanctuary, and Professor Ferdinando Castagnoli the topography of Lavinium. The sanctuary contains a long series of open-air altars, many architectural details and other objects, and an infinity of small finds. With these and other recent developments, Lavinium and the neighboring sector of Latium are assuming a place in archaeology comparable to that which is accorded them in literature, e.g. Strabo 5:3.5.

POMPEII and HERCULANEUM maintain their traditional interest.9 The visit to those sites stands out

Pietro in Vaticano, 3 vols., Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

⁸ ILN no. 6234, Nov. 29, 1958, 936; no. 6235, Dec. 6, 1958, 990.

⁹ In view of the preoccupation with the "celebrity" of Pompeii during the years immediately preceding the great eruption of A.D. 79 expressed by some of the most eminent of our Pompeian

⁵ A]A 62 (1958) 415, 416.

⁶ Triplice Omaggio a Sua Santità Pio XII offerto dalle Pontificie Accademie di S. Tommaso e di Religione Cattolica, di Archeologia, e dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana (1958) II, 87-115.

⁷ Margherita Guarducci, I graffiti sotto la Confessione di San

vividly among the memories of the Congress of Classical Archaeology of September, 1958: especially memorable was the view of the newly-excavated area of Pompeii, and equally so Commendatore Maiuri's announcement that the large-scale excavation of Herculaneum is now to be resumed, working uphill in the area of the forum and adjacent public buildings which were explored in the eighteenth century by means of tunnelling. Noteworthy also has been the appearance of the first installment of Maiuri's great publication of the new excavations (1927-58), dealing with the city plan and the architecture of the public and private buildings.¹⁰

Members of the organization Amici di Pompei have received an extremely informative circular enumerating the various tasks accomplished by it in the protection, maintenance and restoration of the elements of that unique patrimony which otherwise would have been exposed to the risk of deterioration or worse: an admirable accounting for an unusual stewardship.¹¹

A comprehensive statement as to the activities of the Soprintendenza for Campania during the period 1957-58 has been kindly transmitted by Commendatore Maiuri; we translate it without abbreviation, as follows:

At Pompeii, progress has continued in developing considerably the excavation of the quarter to the south of Via dell' Abbondanza, bringing to light in fact the greater part of the streets for the sake of the "articulation" of that quarter—and, in the second place, continuing with the dwelling-houses, which retain that agricultural and industrial character which had been already observed during the excavations of previous years.

At Herculaneum, the excavation has been completed of the Suburban Thermae, which by reason of their exceptional preservation take rank as the best preserved of all thermae, at least among the colonies and municipalities of Italy. Still more important is the demolition of a first group of mod-

ern houses which had been built above the quarter of the Forum of Herculaneum; and the start in clearing and in excavation, processes which are to afford us, within a year at most, the possibility of bringing to light the public edifices of the ancient city.

At CASTELLAMMARE DI STABIA, while the excavation of the Roman villas on the hill of Varano is approaching completion, there have come to light on the plain below an archaic necropolis and the bath of a Roman villa of the Flavian age with panels showing figurative representations in stucco.

Tombs of a Greek period (5th-4th centuries B.C.) have been discovered in Naples (in the Vico Pallonetto S. Chiara, i.e. to the west of the ancient city); other tombs of the 4th century B.C. have been found near CUMAE (Monterusciello) and at Catvano: they contained Attic and Campanian ceramics.

In the city of Naples, in the course of the work of laying a foundation under the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, important structures came to light beneath the level of the Palaeochristian Basilica, belonging to a public edifice of the first century of our era; also a stretch of one of the cardines of ancient Naples, the level of which has been revealed as having been raised several times. Beneath the level of the Roman period, some massive substructions of the 4th century B.C. have been found.

At BAIAE, the monumental excavations have been continued: the clearing has been completed of the complex of the Thermae, and there has also been an auspicious start in the excavation—beneath the level of the infiltrating water—in the interior of the so-called Temple of Mercury. At Santa Maria Capua Vetere, on the occasion of the construction of the Autostrada del sole, to the north of the city, some statues and funerary reliefs have been found.

In Samnium, at Benevento, the Roman arch called "del Sacramento" has been isolated, and a group of structures of the Imperial age has been recognized; some funerary inscriptions have been found in the city; in the Province of Benevento, at Montesarchio, the exploration of the archaic necropolis, which ranges in time from the 9th to

colleagues, it may not be considered otiose to remind students that the adjective *celeber* applied to the city by Seneca, N.Q. 6.1.1 and Tacitus, Ann. 15.22, conveys the signification "populous."

¹⁰ Ercolano, I Nuovi Scavi, La Libreria dello Stato. A complete publication of the inscriptions found at Herculaneum between 1929 and 1941 (excluding the tabulae ceratae) has been presented by Matteo Della Corte in the Rendiconti of the Naples Academy 33 (1958) 239-308. He promises an Indice delle cose notevoli, in a forthcoming volume of the Atti of the Accademia Pontaniana, under the title Notabilia Varia Herculanensia. A forthcoming issue of NSc is to include his publication of Iscrizioni Pompeiane del quinquennio 1952-1956.

Specialists will consult also his Onomassicum Herculanense (in collaboration with Pietro Soprano) in RendNap 27 (1952) 211-32.

¹¹ Membership in this association provides a simple and effectual means of sharing in the urgent task of protecting and evaluating this irreplaceable material: it serves to encourage the local administration which, while largely preoccupied with the current program of excavation, is also painfully conscious of the progressive deterioration to which the older parts of the city are exposed. Further information may be obtained by addressing La Segreteria dell' Associatione Internazionale "Amici di Pompei," presso il Museo Nazionale, Naples.

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the 6th century B.C., has confirmed the location of ancient CAUDIUM.

In the land of the ancient Hirpini, in the Province of Avellino, excavations of remains of Roman date at Aeclanum have been continued; near Mirabella Eclano, at the locality Madonna delle Grazie, a necropolis of the Aeneolithic period has been excavated. Most important, and still in progress, is the excavation of the Sanctuary of the Goddess Mephitis (?) at Rocca S. Felice.

Among the new acquisitions of the Museo Nazionale of Naples are two admirable portraits from Sinuessa: a head of the deified Claudius, wearing the oak-wreath, and a baby girl's head, also of the Claudian period.

In the same museum, expansion is in progress, which takes account not only of the public exhibition halls but also of the rearrangement of the rich material in the storerooms, which up to now has evaded the notice of students. . . .

Brief mention appeared in last year's report, of the promising undertaking on the part of the Provincial Museum of Salerno at Nocera Superiore, the ancient Nuceria Alfaterna.¹² In the meanwhile, it has proved possible, by means of extremely difficult exploratory excavations, to determine the nature of the grandiose structural remains which have come to light at this site: they belong to the early fortifications of the venerable city, the capital of the Samnite confederation of Southern Campania.¹³

This is an imposing work of defence, consisting of facings in squared masonry strengthened by an extremely stout agger, which underwent on its outer face two successive enlargements, until it attained the thickness of 25 meters (noteworthy, at the depth of m. 11.25 below the present ground level, remains of the escarped outer curtain of the Samnite period, with a structure of anisodomic work in tufa blocks marked with letters in the Oscan alphabet), whereas, inside, the mass of earth was supported by a grandiose wall with nichesalong one stretch, in incertum, but at other points in reticulatum-reinforced by pilasters of brickwork, which were subsequently adapted to serve as the supporting members of a cryptoporticus, extending along the foot of the fortification (pl. 95, fig. 4). It also had impressive towers projecting towards the interior of the city, effectively domi-

nating the urban area beneath. Set against one of these towers on the western side of the circuit of wall, a well-constructed flight of stairs leading to the rampart-walk has come to light, together with an exedra in the neighborhood of which was found, the previous year, the admirable statue of Athena, perhaps a gift of the Emperor Otho.¹⁴ The presence of this statue is in any case an indication that as late as the second half of the first century of our era it was found necessary to adopt vigorous measures for restoring the fortifications of Nuceria, which must have suffered enormous damage not only at the time of the sanguinary Hannibalic War but also during the Civil Wars and in the earth-quake of A.D. 62.

At SALA CONSILINA¹⁵ with the continuance for a limited period of the exploration of the larger archaic necropolis—conducted likewise by the Provincial Museum of Salerno—48 more Oenotrio-Ausonian tombs have been uncovered, of the usual type and containing the customary equipment. Students of the University of Heidelberg took part in this excavation as a training course, in the second half of September.

The same Salerno Museum carried out explorations in the zone to the NE of the inhabited area of Padula, finding eight more Graeco-Italiote tombs, which yielded some further valuable Attic painted vases. But these were tombs that had already been damaged and partially thrown into disorder in the course of planting trees and grape-vines.

The news from the Sanctuary of the Silarus, near Paestum, fully maintains the interest of previous years. ¹⁶ Excavation was conducted for two and a half months in the spring and the same length of time in the autumn, until December 1958. In the course of deep digging in the area previously excavated, to the north and northeast of the so-called "I. Thesauros," the excavators found many fragments broken off from the sculptured surfaces of some of the metopes which they had discovered re-used elsewhere in 1939—and also a layer with archaic sherds (6th century B.C.). More recently, while uncovering an area to the southeast of the main temple, a square building, 12 x 12m. has come

¹² AJA 62 (1958) 418.

¹⁸ A general study of the region, by M. and A. Fresa, has now appeared in *RendNap* 33 (1958) 177-202.

¹⁴ A]A 62 (1958) 418, pl. 113, fig. 4.

¹⁵ op.cit. 417, mentioning Padula also.

¹⁶ op.cit. 418. Information generously communicated by Dr. Paola Zancani Montuoro, who states that the excavators are deeply indebted to the Bollingen Foundation, whose continued support made it possible to carry on.

to light, constructed about 400 B.C. with re-used archaic blocks. Among these are three more metopes belonging to the early frieze, very well preserved, together with their triglyphs; their subjects are Sisyphos, the suicide of Ajax, and Herakles slaying a giant, probably Alkyoneus. Inside the building, there was a great quantity of archaic material, brought hither to fill up the foundations (some remarkable vases, Corinthian, Attic etc.; 120 silver coins; jewels etc. extending from the end of the 7th century B.C. to the 5th); and above this a whole favissa had been deposited: terracottas, vases etc., and the statue of the Goddess, one-third life size, in Greek marble—all these to be dated from the 4th to the 3rd century B.C.

In the News Letter of two years ago, ¹⁷ a place of distinction was held by the information from the southeast corner of the Italian peninsula, ancient Apulia and Calabria, now administered by the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Puglia e del Materano, the Soprintendente being Dr. Nevio Degrassi, with headquarters at the Museo Nazionale in Taranto. Subsequent developments maintain the interest of this area, so rich in historical and literary associations and in archaeological and artistic remains of all periods. ¹⁸

At Luceria (anc. Luceria), excavations conducted in the zone of the amphitheater, which is dated in the Augustan period, have shown that the foundations of this edifice rest upon remains of dwellings of the 2nd century B.C., with pavements of small tiles arranged in herringbone fashion, walls painted in the First Pompeian Style, and various household utensils. There are also a room with a hypocaust and several well-preserved cisterns.

Beneath these dwellings various tombs "a grotticella" have been found, excavated in the stratum of rock and datable about the 4th century B.C. The discovery of architectural terracottas suggests that such tombs possessed sepulchral sacella on their exterior. Their equipment includes rf. Apulian vases of various forms, ceramics of the style of Gnathia, and local fictile products of the Daunian type—as is well known, ancient Daunia corresponds to the present Province of Foggia.

The methodical exploration of CANNAE has developed along the lines which were briefly reported in these pages two years ago. The excavated area has been extended inside the city walls, revealing

structural remains of many periods, chiefly mediaeval, but also clearing wide stretches of the ancient inhabited area with many wells and cisterns, and several streets which led from the center of the city outwards to the walls.¹⁹ The house-walls of late periods frequently yielded Roman architectural members, especially columns, which had been re-used by the builders.

Palaeochristian and Early Byzantine remains are abundant: two basilical edifices in the SW zone of the city, and a basilical crypt with three naves directly adjoining the city walls and including in its structure a large sarcophagus decorated with a Byzantine cross within a circle—evidently the tomb of a bishop or else of the saint to whom the church was dedicated.

Among the abundant material which clearly had been brought here in the Middle Ages from the neighborhood of Canosa to be re-used in building, were three milestones of the Via Traiana (pl. 96, fig. 5), bearing a clear inscription with the name of Trajan and the number of miles from Beneventum, the starting-point of this branch of the Via Appia. A small antiquarium has been installed at this site.

At Canosa, ancient Canusium, a city of importance in both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, a great sepulchral mausoleum has very recently been discovered: square in plan, 12 m. on each side, with a burial chamber in the form of a Greek cross. Upon the square base, which was once faced with blocks of stone, there rose a cylindrical tower, the foundations of which survive. Hence the appearance of the mausoleum must have been similar to that of the famous tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way just outside Rome.

Another very recent development at Canosa has been the discovery of the Roman amphitheater: the excavation of the curvilinear exterior wall has begun (pl. 96, fig. 6) and has already yielded a monumental inscription bearing the name of a magistrate, probably the builder of the monument.

At Monte Sannace, near Giola del Colle (half-way between Bari and Taranto), Dr. Bianca Maria Scarfi of the Soprintendenza has conducted two campaigns of excavation. Here there was an Apulian inhabited center, the name of which is unknown: a long stretch of its wall has been un-

¹⁷ AJA 61 (1957) 379.

¹⁸ As previously, Dr. Degrassi has been most generous in

communicating information and photographs for our purpose.

¹⁹ FA 11 (1956) no. 2675, figs. 54, 55.

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covered (pl. 97, fig. 7), following the contour of the hillside and including a large gate set obliquely to the line of the curtain; also the dwelling-houses, and in the stratum beneath them many tombs of an earlier period, consisting of small sarcophagithe dead were buried in a crouching postureand next to each of these was set a small box-like receptacle containing the rich funeral equipment (pl. 96, fig. 8; pl. 97, fig. 9).

The material thus acquired possesses importance -it comprises several hundred pieces-especially by reason of the association of rf. Apulian vases with those of an indigenous type and with ceramics of the type of Gnathia. The most important individual vases are rf. Italiote products. Among the finest is a bell-crater showing a satyr about to seize a maenad, attributed to the Amykos Painter. It is to the Pisticci Painter, in all probability, that another crater is to be attributed, on which another satyr is approaching a maenad while a second maenad is fleeing toward the left. The study of the vases from this site has made it possible to identify several other Apulian painters of the second half of the 4th century B.C. Three of the Apulian vases are shown on our plate 97, figs. 10-12.

At the spot called Castiglione, near Conversano (toward the coast, SE from Bari), where there are remains of a mediaeval town with towers and walls, an ancient Apulian center has been identified, probably of the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C.: the remains consist of dwellings rectangular in plan, also burials in either clay pithoi or sarcophagi, with rf. Apulian wares accompanying the indigenous geometric ceramics. At Conversano itself a large tomb has been excavated, of the type a semicamera, which proved to contain a complete set of armor of an Apulian warrior of the close of the 4th century B.c.—the breastplate, in two pieces fastened together by a hinge on one side, girdle, greaves, and helmet, this last richly ornamented in relief and bearing a tall crest (pl. 99, fig. 13). The same tomb yielded a clay statuette of Victory driving a chariot drawn by two horses (pl. 98, fig. 14).

In 1958 the excavation of RUDIAE was initiated, native city of the poet Ennius, a short distance from Lecce. The remains, apparently, of a nymphaeum, with monumental façade, two large intercommunicating basins, and a water-channel supplying them which has been followed upstream

for some hundred meters, present special interest (pl. 98, fig. 15); but a more important discovery is that of a large agglomeration of rooms with walls well constructed of squared stone; beneath one of the rooms two tombs have been found which bear on their cover-slabs paintings in red with stylized fillets resembling those found in similar tombs at Roca Vecchia. This edifice borders on a well-preserved street with raised sidewalks bounded by stones set on edge.

The news from Taranto fully equals the expectations aroused by the name of this historic center. The museum, now fully rehabilitated and enlarged, maintains its place among the greater museums of Italy. In recent years, the Soprintendenza has continued the exploration of the enormously rich necropolis, bringing to light many hundred tombs of the Greek period; these extend in date chiefly from the 6th to the 3rd century B.C. The most common type is that of a rectangular trench cut into the rock and covered by slabs. Frequent also are the chamber tombs, sometimes adorned with paintings on the walls, and with the fronts of the funeral couches decorated in relief.20 Several of these tombs have been preserved in place to permit of their being visited by students. The material obtained includes in particular painted wares, either imported (bf. Corinthian and Attic; the rf. are rare) or Italiote products, likewise sacred terracottas and Hellenistic statuettes. Valuable material has frequently been found outside of tombs and in the numerous wells of the zone.

The most important discoveries include an archaic tomb on the present Via Capotagliata, with twelve bf. Attic vases, among them a Corinthianizing amphora, some cups close to Beazley's "C Painter," and a cup with a banqueting scene, probably by the Heidelberg Painter²¹ (pl. 98, fig. 16). Finally, a small stretch of the city walls of Tarentum has been uncovered.

In January, 1959, the Roman press presented a sensational item of news from Local: the discovery in a stone receptacle of some thirty bronze tablets inscribed in Greek characters, with the suggestion that these are an ancient copy of the famous laws of Zaleukos. Further, official, information is awaited. (See Archaeology 12, 2 [1959] 135-36.)

We may now consider the areas lying to the north of Rome.

²⁰ FA 11 (1956) no. 2863, figs. 75, 76.

²¹ J. D. Beazley, ABV 63-67, 682, 716.

Professor Renato Bartoccini, the Soprintendente for Southern Etruria, kindly communicates the following information as to the activities of his Soprintendenza:

At Cervetre, in the zone of the tumulus "del Colonello," the restoration of the vast monumental complex which has come to light in recent years has been carried further. Especial importance attaches to the restoration of a tumulus with its border entirely constructed in horizontal bands, of blocks of limestone of various colors. This monument represents an "unicum" for the Caeritan necropolis, and its importance is enhanced by the discovery of various architectonic elements which constitute the outer entrance to the burial chamber.

In the necropolis of Monte Abatone, the excavation has been continued of the tombs which had been identified by means of the now well-known Lerici system.²² Among the numerous objects found there may be mentioned an Attic rf. kylix signed by Pamphaios, a small impasto hut-urn with a cover decorated with large apotropaic horns, and another small clay urn in the form of a couch, with a female figure outstretched and in the act of completing her toilet.

In the zone of Tolfa, topographical and archaeological investigations have led to the discovery of numerous burial areas and a certain number of centers of habitation. The material thus found, after restoration, has served for the formation of a small communal antiquarium.

At the Aquae Tauri, some 5 km. northeast of Civitavecchia in the vicinity of the well-known sulphur springs, part of which fed the neighboring Roman baths, the archaeological remains have formed for some years past the subject not only of extensive restoration but also of systematic large-scale investigation, and many of the ancient structures of this imposing establishment have been brought to light. These undertakings, still in progress, will improve archaeological and architectural comprehension of the ancient Roman thermal complex, and consequently contribute to its exploitation from the point of view of "tourism."

At TARQUINIA, in the zone of "La Civita," the investigations in the area of the ancient city have led to the clearing of the great base of the "Ara della Regina," so that it is now visible in all its

impressive character. In the course of this undertaking the remains of Etruscan constructions of the 4th-3rd(?) centuries B.C. came to light, also some fragments of terracotta slabs probably belonging to the temple.

In the necropolis of Monterozzi a vast campaign of excavation has been initiated, in search of the painted tombs still concealed in the subsoil. In the course of twelve months have been found the tomb "delle Olimpiadi," the tomb "della Nave," a third one with banqueting scenes, and numerous others showing traces of decoration in polychrome bands and remains of frescoes. The most important of these, for its state of preservation and also for the artistic merit of its paintings, is that "delle Olimpiadi,"28 named for its representation of a series of gymnastic and sporting games, among them the two-horse chariot race, hurling the discus, boxing and javelin-throwing. The tomb "della Nave" is also interesting by reason of a marine view including the representation of a port and a large cargo vessel at the point of mooring fast to the shore.

Professor J. B. Ward Perkins, Director of the British School at Rome, kindly continues his generosity of former years by communicating the following:

Continuing its programme of field-survey in Southern Etruria, the British School at Rome has been primarily concerned with two areas. Mr. Guy Duncan carried out an intensive examination of the countryside adjoining the Etruscan outpost and Latin colony of Sutrium (Sutri), which commanded the important trunk-road (later the Via Cassia) leading through the Ciminian Forest into central Etruria (to appear in BSR 26 [1958]). Sutrium rather unexpectedly emerges as a quite late (fifth-century?) Etruscan foundation, the product probably of the northwestward expansion of Veii into what had been Faliscan territory. The comparative distributions of black-glazed wares, of terra sigillata, of later Imperial wares and of medieval settlement offer for the first time a detailed picture of the process of penetration and clearance of the primeval forest-land of central Italy.

At Veii a further section was cut through the fifth-century defences near the northwest gate (pl. 98, fig. 17). ²⁴ This yielded a very satisfactory stratigraphic sequence of structures, covering the whole period from the first occupation of the site down to its destruction in 396 B.C. The earliest stratum comprises several successive phases of a Villanovan

Tomba delle Olimpiadi, C. M. Lerici editore (Milan).

²⁴ AJA 62 (1958) 422.

²² AJA 61 (1957) 380, 381.

²³ Mentioned briefly A/A 62 (1958) 423. Now published in colors: R. Bartoccini, C. M. Lerici, M. Moretti, Tarquinia, La

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village-settlement, no doubt that which buried its dead in the nearby Grotta Gramiccia cemetery. This was succeeded by a substantial rectangular timber building, which was in its turn replaced by another building, of the same general plan but with stone foundations and a superstructure of timber or mud brick. The latter was demolished to make way for the fifth-century rampart. Elsewhere in the Ager Veientanus the outstanding discovery has been that of the long-lost Domusculta Capracorum, the center of a vast estate established by Pope Hadrian I (772-795), a detailed account of which is preserved in the Liber Pontificalis. The site has been ploughed, but the position of the eighth-century church and of the estate buildings can be clearly made out, and it is hoped to excavate the site later this year.

The important undertaking at Santa Severa, ancient Pyrgi, reported a year ago,²⁵ has continued satisfactorily and according to plan; the remains of a large triple-cella Etruscan temple have been found.

At the neighboring shore resort of Santa Ma-RINELLA, among the remains of a villa, a marble statue has been found, some six feet in height, representing a youth, perhaps Meleager or Apollo.

The exploration of BOLSENA (Vulsinii) by the French School of Rome, conducted by Dr. Raymond Bloch, has continued along the lines reported in previous years.26 On the hill of La Capriola, further finds of fondi di capanne and fragments of primitive pottery have confirmed the presence of a Late Appenninic settlement. Soundings to the south of the hill have revealed some burials of the First Age of Iron. One of them is intact (pl. 99, fig. 18): a fossa, of oblong form and careful construction, enclosed on all four sides by a border of pebbles. The burial equipment consists of impasto ware and bronze objects, including spear-heads. This tomb is of great interest as showing its morphology; another one—already violated -is important for its contents (pl. 99, figs. 19, 20): four bronze fibulae a navicella, one bronze bracelet, one bronze bulla (with the hole for the chain and some links), to be compared with the bullae found in the Villanovan tombs of the neighboring Bisenzio,27 which prove the use of this ornament during

the pre-Etruscan Italic period, one kantharos of buccheroid *impasto*, and in particular one imported Protocorinthian skyphos (stylistically datable at 700-675 B.C.): this skyphos permits the dating of the other tombs of the necropolis possessing a similar equipment, but its essential importance lies in the fact that this is in effect the first time at Bolsena that Villanovan and imported Protocorinthian material have been found associated. A start on an architectural excavation at the foot of La Civita has revealed an extensive structure, apparently Etruscan (stones set without mortar, combined with transverse tufa blocks): this is to be cleared during the approaching season.

The Soprintendenza for Etruria²⁸ maintains its tradition of safeguarding and interpreting its unique patrimony. At Volterra the exploration and rehabilitation of the theater is progressing, with the application of an ingenious technique of preservation involving the minimum intrusion of inharmonious elements; further details of the stage setting, the crypt and the main entrance have come to light.²⁹ At Populonia a hoard of gold, silver and bronze objects together with vases has been found, including a silver cup with embossed ridges, and three golden diadems which have bands bordered by leaves and a central rosette; their ends are curved and are decorated with ornaments which include figured representations (pl. 100, fig. 21).³⁰

In the Province of Grosseto, at the place called Colle della Regina near Campagnatico, a bronze military diploma has been discovered by chance. It consists of two bronze tablets, cm. 14 x 10, and is dated a.d. 306. It has been acquired by the Soprintendenza. The diploma (pl. 100, fig. 22) was issued by the emperors Valerius Constantius and Galerius Maximianus (as here styled) to a certain Valerius Clemens, a veteran of the IX Praetorian Cohort: it is one of the latest of such documents known, if not actually the very latest.³¹

At Fiesole, the investigation of the area about the so-called "altars" has been carried further. A favissa in masonry has been uncovered; it proved to have been entirely despoiled of its contents, but the presence of Campanian sherds in the filling

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. 423. Information as to Bolsena and Megara Hyblaea kindly supplied by Professor Jean Bayet.

²⁷ MonAnt 22 (1912) 432, 449-50.

²⁸ At Via della Pergola 65, Florence: the Soprintendente, Professor Giacomo Caputo, continues his kindness of former years by generously communicating authoritative information.

²⁹ The publication has been entrusted to Professor Giorgio Monaco.

³⁰ The stylistic and chronological study of these choice objects is in the hands of Dr. A. De Agostino.

³¹ The publication has been entrusted, in collaboration, to Dr. M. Bizzarri and Professor Giovanni Forni.

⁸² See A/A 60 (1956) 395.

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about it demonstrated that the "altar" (or base of an ex-voto) was erected at the beginning of the first century B.C. In the immediate vicinity some deep and wide concave hollowings in the rock have been found, perhaps *escharai*, but their nature may become clearer in future when the area of this stratigraphic excavation in the subsoil has been enlarged.

At Arezzo, some interesting finds have been made beside the Via Vittorio Veneto, at the locality Saione, where in former years a necropolis of Roman imperial date had come to light. A sort of enclosure formed by three rough walls set at right angles to one another proved to contain some rudely executed small urns, one of sandstone and one of travertine, each with a cover in the form of a gable roof, fastened to the body of the urn by means of an iron clamp. A burial inscription found in the neighborhood mentions a C. Sulpicius Serenus, it having been erected by his wife, Sulpicia Hilaritas.

At Chiusi, the precarious condition of the well-known Tomba del Colle has demanded drastic measures of conservation. The roots of a century-old pine tree were threatening to insinuate themselves into the tomb-chamber. Some time ago, the frescoes had been detached from the walls by the Istituto Centrale del Restauro: copies of them have now been installed in the tomb. All the roots of the tree, on its side towards the tomb, have now been amputated, and at the same time the inflow of rainwater has been diverted by means of a small drainage-channel. The need to resort to such measures is illustrative of the necessity for constant watchfulness in protecting ancient monuments against deterioration arising from natural causes.

The important undertaking of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, at Rusellae, mentioned in last year's News Letter, has been carried further with most gratifying results. Under the direction of Professor Rudolf Naumann, in July, September and October of 1958, a number of soundings were made along the fortification wall on the north side of the city, which in part still retains a height of over five meters: these have now made it possible to date the megalithic wall in this part of its course with certainty in the sixth century B.C. In this process a gate was cleared, having a vantage-court m. 4.5 x 11.5 set at an angle

to the course of the wall; thus a form of gate hitherto unknown in Etruscan territory has been recognized. The sides of the court, in contrast to the megalithic wall itself, are constructed only of small stones with clay mortar.

Moreover, on this side of the city, an older fortification wall was discovered, running partly in front of, partly beneath the later one (pl. 100, fig. 23). In contrast with the later wall, it had only a foundation of fairly large stones, and a superstructure of unburnt mud bricks, which at one point were still preserved to a height of several courses. The sherds found in connection with this wall date it at the end of the seventh century B.C.

In Umbria, on the Via Flaminia, the large-scale excavation of Carsulae has been begun by the Soprintendenza for Southern Etruria; special features are the theater, the amphitheater and, adjoining the forum, two small temples standing upon a single podium, perhaps dedicated to Vespasian and Titus.

Chance discoveries in recent years had been thought to identify the site of Novana in Picenum. The Soprintendente for the Marche, Professor Giovanni Annibaldi, has now undertaken systematic excavations at this place which have already revealed extensive structural remains. These include a stretch of wall formed of regular tufa blocks, the pavements of an early Roman dwelling, a large reservoir, and various other architectural remains and small finds. The identification of the site thus appears assured.³⁵

By reason of its special interest, mention must be made of the exhibition of masterpieces in gold from the Emilia, which was installed in the Museo Civico at Bologna by the Soprintendenza for Emilia and Romagna: the Etruscan, Roman and Lombardic periods were fully represented; many of the objects of the first-named period had been discovered at the necropolis of Spina.³⁶

We now cross to Sicily. From Catania and the region of Etna, Dr. Giovanni Rizza, Ispettore Onorario alle Antichità di Catania, kindly supplies information which is summarized in the following paragraphs.

At CATANIA itself, a series of chance discoveries during the past year has brought a noteworthy

⁸⁸ AJA 62 (1958) 424, pl. 117, figs. 18-20.

³⁴ Information kindly supplied by Professor Rudolf Naumann.

²⁵ For the information in this as in some other sections, we

have depended on accounts in newspapers.

²⁶ Article by Guido A(chille) Mansuelli, in *ILN* no. 6237, Dec. 20, 1958, 1104-05; also a special publication.

contribution to knowledge of the Roman city and its burial grounds.

In the course of digging for the construction of the new building of the Rinascente stores, between Via S. Euplio and Via Etnea, the remains came to light of a vast cemetery area of the Late Roman period. First a group of monumental structures, then a series of walls, beyond these an expanse of burial enclosures; these latter came to an end against a long continuous wall, beyond which there occurred only isolated, sporadic tombs. Both inhumation and cremation rites were practiced. An isolated group of inhumation burials of the same period were found to the east of Piazza Stesicoro. Remains of a necropolis also of the same period were found at the Via Antico Corso, at the corner of Via Plebiscito: these included a well-preserved hypogaeum, and the earth filling outside it yielded a Roman portrait of the first century of our era.

Another chance find, at the corner of Via Vittorio Emanuele and Via S. Barbara, was that of a bath establishment: it had a large hall entirely paved in marble, and beside it some bathing-pools. Remains of another bath structure were found in the sector between Piazza Dante and Via Bambino—a polygonal hall, its pavement resting upon suspensurae. Still other Roman buildings, with stretches of pavements showing mosaic decoration in black-and-white, were found in Piazza Dante.

The name of Centuripe is familiar in archaeological literature—the neighborhood of the Mulino Barbagallo was the scene of the discovery, about 1950, of an important edifice of Early Imperial date. It is in this neighborhood that the commune, under the supervision of the Soprintendenza for Eastern Sicily, has partially explored an underground tunnel, 8 meters wide and some 120 meters long, which appears to have connected two opposite sides of the ridge upon which the Roman city stood (pl. 100, fig. 24), a remarkable anticipation of the achievements of modern engineering, and comparable to the famous tunnels of Posillipo and Lake Avernus.

At Troina, on the Via Pintaura, the remains of a bath establishment were found, including a cement pavement resting upon *suspensurae*.

At MEGARA HYBLAEA, 37 MM. Georges Vallet and

François Villard, for the French School of Rome, 1) have continued the clearing of the Hellenistic fortress. So An informative stratigraphic section, executed in the course of clearing the Hellenistic city wall (to an extent of 80 meters), has revealed, beneath the cement pavement of the Byzantine reoccupation and the Roman level (both of them the dwellings of farmers), the archaic houses (polychrome Megarian ware with figured decoration of the second half of the seventh century B.C.).

2) The series of exploratory investigations, in depth and on the surface, started during the previous campaign, have been carried further and have uncovered: an edifice m. 44.05 x 7.40, a portico assigned to the Hellenistic period by the coins there found (especially a bronze hoard of the beginning of the third century) and which is covered over by more recent Hellenistic dwellings. Beneath this portico it has proved possible to distinguish, over an area of m. 21.80 x 14.80, some groups of archaic foundations; also, to the north, another group, m. 28.75 in extent and m. 1.10 in height, dated by means of sherds, has been sampled. This zone therefore presents a high degree of interest from the point of view of architecture. To the south, the Agora of the third century is to be cleared in the course of the next campaign: it has already shown some rectangular bases and some pedestals.

3) To the west of the archaic necropolis which had formerly been excavated by Paolo Orsi, 30 another has been excavated in part, sparing the present vineyards: some twenty inhumation burials (small monolithic sarcophagi), badly damaged, datable by means of the objects discovered in them (fragments of Corinthian and Ionic vases, silver spangles and rings) at the close of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

In the zone lying inland from Gela, 40 in the Contrada Ramilia, another mansio has been identified on the Roman highway between Catania and Agrigentum. At Terravecchia, some distance to the north of Caltanissetta, as the result of a close inspection, on the basis of the study of air photographs and of the terrain itself, a city-plan has been identified, laid out on terraces sloping from NW to SE which are adjusted to two streets connecting with the two gates of the city. 41

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41 Dr. Adamesteanu's bibliography continues to grow: "Butera:
Piano della Fiera, Consi e Fontana Calda (Scavi e scoperte dal
1951 al 1957 nella Provincia di Caltanissetta)," MonAnt 49

⁸⁷ AJA 62 (1958) 425.

⁸⁸ MélRom 70 (1958) 38-59.

⁸⁰ MonAnt 1 (1889) 765-912.

⁴⁰ Information kindly supplied by Professor Dinu Adame-

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Near Ragusa, systematic excavations conducted by Professor Antonino Di Vita of the Soprintendenza for Eastern Sicily have revealed structural and fictile remains which appear to identify the site in question with the Greek colony of Camarina: they testify to the repeated destruction of the city related by the authors.

On Sept. 21, 1958, the Museo Nazionale at Gela was inaugurated; this takes its place among the more important local museums, incorporating as it does the fruits of years of systematic excavation and research at Gela, and in its territory and the hinterland.⁴²

In the Aeolian Islands, the inauguration of the Museo Archeologico Eeoliano at the Castello di Lipari⁴³ is of wide interest: this museum contains the yield of a series of campaigns conducted by the Soprintendenza of Syracuse, resulting in a stratigraphical documentation which is fundamental for the comparative and absolute chronology of the Central and Western Mediterranean area, together with Spain, France and the British Isles, in relation to the dated cultures further to the East; two of the sites, the Castello di Lipari itself and the Contrada Diana, taken in combination, exhibit a complete, undisturbed series of strata from the Neolithic up. The scope is extended to include

the closely related culture of Milazzo on the opposite coast of Sicily.

Certain sensational discoveries which have been accorded space in the daily press belong not to archaeology but to palaeontology—they lie in the sphere of interest of Professors Blanc and Radmilli of the University of Rome. Since however they have to do with the history of life on the Italian peninsula, even though in remote ages, they may be briefly enumerated here:

The continued finding of remains of elephants or kindred species now extinct at least in this part of the world: a completely preserved skeleton, in the zone of Monte Spaccato adjoining the course of the Via Aurelia on the outskirts of Rome; another specimen at Belvedere di Riano, some 25 km. distant from Rome on the Via Flaminia; and finally, at Cornazzano, at the ninth kilometer of the Via Braccianense, where it was already known that such remains existed, a veritable "cemetery of elephants"-explained as a former lake where such creatures, when wounded or disabled, took refuge and awaited the release of death; a far earlier period is represented by the discovery of fossilized skeletons of *oreopithecus*, a precursor of the present race of man, in lignite deposits near Grosseto.

ROME

il Museo A. E. (Palermo, Flaccovio Ed., 1958).

(1958) 204-688. "Scavi e scoperte nella Provincia di Caltanissetta dal 1951 al 1957, II. Parte; Manfria, Monte Desusino, Milingiana, Suor Marchesa, Priorato, Fiume di Mallo, Lavanca Nera e Gibil-Gabib," NSc 1959, 185-315. "Le iscrizioni false di Licata e Gela" in Atti del III. Congresso internaz. di Epigrafia Gr. e Lat. (Rome 1959) 425-34. "Nuove antefisse dipinte da Gela," in ArchCl 10 (1958) 9-13. In the press: "L'opera di Timoleonte nella Sicilia centromeridionale alla luce delle nuove scoperte," in ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ IV.

42 P. Griffo, BdA 43 (1958) 342-46.

48 L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier, Il Castello di Lipari e

Acknowledgements for photographs: figs. 1, 2, 2a, A. M. Colini; fig. 3, C. Pietrangeli; fig. 4, Gabinetto Fotografico of the Museo Provinciale, Salerno, courtesy V. Panebianco; figs. 5-16, Gabinetto Fotografico of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Taranto, courtesy N. Degrassi; fig. 17, J. B. Ward Perkins; figs. 18-20, J. Bayet; figs. 21, 22, Gabinetto Fotografico of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Florence, courtesy G. Caputo; fig. 23, photo German Arch. Inst. in Rome, courtesy R. Naumann; fig. 24, G. Rizza.

BOOK REVIEWS

ABSTRACTS OF THE TECHNICAL LITERATURE ON ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE FINE ARTS, I, 1-4, II, 1-2, 1955-1958. The International Institute for the Conservation of Museum Objects, The National Gallery, London.

This new series continues the volume (1943-1952) published by the Freer Gallery, Abstracts of Technical Studies in Art and Archaeology. It is the result of the efforts of numerous volunteer contributors who search out information in the field of art technology and conservation in published sources all over the world, Items are classified under the following headings: I, Museology; II, Materials and Techniques; III, Properties of Materials; IV, Conservation and Restoration; V, Analysis of Materials and Technical Examination; VI, Authentification and Forgery. The editor in chief is Rutherford J. Gettens, Curator, Research Laboratory, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

ELISABETH PACKARD

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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Inyanga. Prehistoric Settlements in Southern Rhodesia, by Roger Summers (with contributions by H. B. S. Cooke, P. V. Tobias, H. Wild, J. F. Schofield, K. R. Robinson). Pp. xviii + 336, figs. 85, pls. 22. University Press, Cambridge, 1958.

Inyanga is a mountainous district on the eastern border of Southern Rhodesia, famous not only for its beautiful scenery, but also for extensive (2000-3000 mi.²) ancient stone ruins and terraced hillsides. This is the first detailed modern archaeological investigation of the district, although Randall-MacIver devoted considerable attention to it in his book, Mediaeval Rhodesia (1006).

Human occupation of the district dates back well into the Upper Pleistocene with traces of Sangoan, and more extensive Middle Stone Age (Stillbay) and Later Stone Age (Wilton) industries in caves and shelters, as described by K. R. Robinson. The bulk of the report, however, is a careful description, based on some 36 substantial excavations, of the several Rhodesian Iron Age cultures present. The earliest, either between 550-800 or 1200-1400 A.D., probably contemporary with the last of the late Stone Age Bush people, were the "Ziwa" agriculturalists, probably without cattle, but occasionally terrace-builders, who were already in contact with the east coast and Arab traders. The ancestral Shona people, who subsequently spread into the Rhodesias, seem to have avoided Inyanga. The region was uninhabited until the end of the fifteenth century. Then, until about two centuries ago, the extensive works in stone (stone lined pit groups, pit enclosures, forts, stone-faced terraces, cairns and rare monoliths) were created by the "Uplanders" and later on, by the "Ruin Builders." These were poor agriculturalists, lacking cattle, but sheep, pig or goat keepers, who constructed elaborate strongholds against warlike invader peoples occupying adjacent lowland regions. The author skillfully links some of these former populations with later groups known after the time of Portuguese contact.

The book is a well-written, well-illustrated report which sets a high standard for studies in African archaeology and adds greatly to knowledge of Iron

Age cultures in central Africa.

F. CLARK HOWELL

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THE ROYAL CEMETERIES OF KUSH, VOLUME IV: ROYAL TOMBS AT MEROË AND BARKAL, by *Dows Dunham*. Pp. xxiv + 218, figs. 6 + 136, charts 3, maps 4, pls. 75. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1957. \$32.50.

With the appearance of the volume under review, Mr. Dows Dunham would seem to be nearing or to have passed the halfway point in the publication of the results of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition to the Sudan. I am indebted to him for informing me that the present series will be concluded with a volume on the private tombs; there will then remain the material on the Barkal temples and two volumes on the forts at the second cataract, of which the first volume on the forts has already been prepared for the press.

A substantial part of the cumulative results of this major undertaking is now available through a number of articles by Reisner and Dunham and these handsome final reports. The steady pace at which the volumes have been issued (1950, 1952, 1955, and 1957) is all the more noteworthy since the Museum has also, under the aegis of Dr. William Stevenson Smith, issued two of the final reports on the Giza excavations (1942 and 1955). These achievements come at a time when the publication of the integral final reports of other large American archaeological endeavors in Egypt appears to have reached a near impasse aside from the publication of the more significant inscriptions.

For an account of the earlier volumes of the Royal Cemeteries of Kush one may consult with profit the reviews in this journal: Vol. I, El Kurru, by Nora E. Scott, AlA 55 (1951) 415-16; Vol. II, Nuri, by W. B. Emery, AlA 63 (1959) 89; Vol. III, Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Bar-

kal, by W. C. Hayes, AJA 58 (1954) 159-60. It is with the last of these reports that the reader of the present volume will be most concerned, inasmuch as the reliefs of the tombs described in Vol. IV are presented there.

Like its predecessors in the series, Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal is a factual and detailed presentation of the architecture of the individual tombs and the related finds. Since the tombs had been extensively plundered, the fare is not rich, but this inherent situation is almost compensated for by Reisner's meticulous recording and Dunham's publication of the material left or overlooked by the tomb robbers.

In the introduction, Dunham provides a revised list of the Meroitic rulers, thus continuing the lists in RCK I, 2-3, and RCK II, 2-3, and replacing the list in RCK III, 2-4. Taken together, the lists extend from the beginning of the Napatan period to the end of the Meroitic period: from Kashta, about 750 B.C., to the owner of the last royal tomb at Meroë, whose reign ended in A.D. 339, an estimated total of seventy-two consecutive reigns. Prior to Kashta there are approximately five generations represented by tombs in the el Kurru cemetery. The basis for this extraordinary schematization is Reisner's typological study of the tombs and their equipment, as revised by Dunham, and Macadam's studies of the royal names. Synchronisms between these sequence-reigns and the Mediterranean world are largely restricted to cases in the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty, the first part of the Ptolemaic period, and Roman times. The introduction also includes a useful corpus of royal names, both those written in Meroitic script and in hieroglyphs, which have been gleaned from a large number of sites and objects.

The tombs are described in the order of the dates assigned. Each is represented by a plan and section and a list of the objects, many of which are drawn. For the reliefs in the chapels, reference is made to Miss Chapman's volume in the same series (RCK III).

In most respects the tombs of the Meroitic rulers continue the Napatan traditions, but there are many changes. For example, the use of the shawabti is virtually discontinued. Of the types of object absent in the earlier tombs one might mention the bronze bell with iron clapper. Since the scheme of the publication has not so far included a discussion of these objects, the published volumes being restricted to factual presentation of the material, it may not be out of place to discuss this class of object as a single illustration of what one may expect to gain from a study of the tomb equipment.

The earliest bells occur in tomb Beg. N. 20, which is assigned to reign no. 39 of the sequence of seventy-two reigns (ca. 133-116 B.c.). All four were found with their clappers missing, two of the bells on the outside of the threshold of the door blocking and two of them at the foot of the stair in the original filling. A hemispherical type and a taller type with out-

curving rim are represented. The function of the bells and the reason for their ceremonial deposit are both unclear, but there seems to be at least one indication that they may have been used as cow bells. In Beg. N. 15, assigned to reign no. 52 (ca. A.D. 45-62), deposits of bells, beads, and ox or cattle bones were found in the original filling over the steps. One of the bells is engraved with two cows, each represented wearing a collar with attached bell and a string of large beads around the body. Cattle certainly played a major rôle in the Meroitic economy, and this prominence may help to explain the burial deposits.

The chief interest of the bells, however, lies in those with engraved representations of enemies. A bell from Beg. N. 16, assigned to reign no. 53, that of Aryesbekhe (ca. A.D. 62-78), shows seven kneeling prisoners, their arms bound to their ankles, six with the end of an arrow sticking out from the chest and the seventh with a dagger in this position. In Beg. N. 18, assigned to reign no. 55 (ca. A.D. 93-115), there is an octagonal bell on each side of which a standing captive is represented, one of the figures with transfixing dagger and the others with arrows. In Beg. N. 29, assigned to reign no. 59 (ca. A.D. 150-167), two of the bells are engraved with such scenes. In the first, four captives are represented on their backs, their heads raised (as a sign that they are alive?), and with a vulture preying upon each. On the second bell a single captive is shown on his stomach with his head raised and his upper arms bound to his ankles, which are bent back so that the heels touch the elbows; this captive wears an insignia of rank or of tribe on his forehead. These captives, when there is more than one of them, are clearly intended to represent different races or peoples, each captive being distinguished by his headdress from the others. Among them one recognizes the manner of wearing the hair characteristic of the Sea Peoples in the relief of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.

The ultimate source for these figures certainly lies in the temple reliefs of the New Kingdom at Thebes and at other sites in Egypt, Nubia, and possibly the Sudan. A weak secondary influence may have been the scenes of the underworld as represented in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings at Thebes and in the illustrated papyri. Direct copies of Memphite relief are attested at Kawa in Dynasty 25, so that the distance of the source presents no problem. The immediate source for the captives on the bronze bells, however, is unquestionably the reliefs in the temples at Meroë and Barkal and in the chapels of these very tombs at Meroë. In the relief from the chapel of Beg. N. 6, assigned to reign no. 46 (Amanishakhetē, roughly contemporary with Petronius' invasion of 23 B.C.), similarly differentiated captives are seized by the ruler (RCK III, pl. 17); in the relief in the temple at Naga' (Lepsius, Denkmäler V, pl. 56) the differentiated captives are part of name-rings (?). Two headless statues of bound captives in the kneeling position 3.

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were found by Garstang in the Lion Temple at Meroë (Garstang, Meroë, 21-22). The figure of the captive lying on his stomach with the ankles tied to the elbows or the upper arm occurs prominently in the relief from Beg. N. 11, assigned to reign no. 36, about 186-177 B.C. (RCK III, pl. 8 D), as well as on the base of a staff held by a figure in the relief from Beg. N. 1, the tomb of the Kandake Amanitere, reign no. 50, about A.D. 25-41 (RCK III, pl. 18 D). It occurs also on the early Meroitic sandstone dais frequently copied by visitors to the Barkal temples (Porter-Moss, Topographical Bibliography VII, 222) and in the relief in the sun-temple at Meroë itself (Garstang, Meroë, pl. 33, 3). I can cite no source for the figures of the supine captives attacked by the vultures, but I imagine that the immediate prototype existed in a scene now destroyed in a temple or tomb chapel at Meroë. Vultures appear to the left and right of the group of prisoners on the sandstone dais at Barkal, and in the relief on the columns of the southeast temple at Musawwarat es Sufra a vulture is shown in the act of seizing or tearing apart two men (Lepsius, Denkmäler V, pl. 75).

The occurrence of these bells with scenes of prisoners engraved on them raises several questions to which solutions are not easily found. Their significance is not apparent. If they were cow bells, a suggestion for which the evidence is given above, there does not seem to be a logical explanation as to why they are engraved with these scenes. The practice of placing these bells in the filling of the stairs appears to be confined to the Meroitic period; bells are absent, as far as I can judge, in the Napatan tombs and in those of the X-group people excavated by W. B. Emery at Ballana and Qustul. Are the captives merely copied from Egyptian tradition or do they represent the real enemies of the Meroitic kingdom? Evidence that the latter alternative may be the case is to be found in the relief published in RCK III, pl. 8 D, where the surface has been prepared for the insertion of hieroglyphic labels next to the captives. The type with the headdress characteristic of the Sea Peoples would seem to be an anachronism, unless the type is reinterpreted to represent a people contemporary with the Meroitic kingdom. This point is difficult to solve, since there may well be in these Meroitic representations a residue of Egyptian tradition which is only explicable in terms of the civilization of dynastic Egypt.

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

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Studien zur Polychromie des Plastik. I. Ägypten: Erwägungen über die ursprüngliche Farberscheinung insbesondere der Skulpturen aus schwarzem und grünlichen Hartstein. Mit einem Exkurs über die Hautfarben der ägyptischen Götter (Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in History of Art, III, 1), by *Patrik Reuterswärd*. Pp. 68, pls. 12. Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958.

It is quite impossible in a brief review to do justice to this monograph of sixty-odd pages, packed as it is with provocative ideas. As the sub-title indicates, it concerns itself chiefly with the extent of polychromy in Egyptian sculpture in green and black stone. The author contends that all Egyptian sculpture in whatever material was, unless unfinished, to a greater or less extent painted in color. Hard stones, however carefully worked, cannot be excepted. While the Egyptian chose them perhaps primarily for their durability and was probably not entirely insensitive to their beauty, he was nevertheless literal-minded. Even such figures as the Mykerinos statues show remains of a red-brown flesh tint over the carefully finished greenish slate, and it is probable, though evidence is lacking, that the famous Chephren of beautiful diorite also had a light coating over the flesh parts to simulate the appearance of life.

In short, well into the Middle Kingdom one can usually assume almost a total polychromy for such figures in hard stone as did not approximate the natural color of the Egyptian. In dark red stone, only garments, jewelry, wigs, and other details may have been in color, but even some red quartzite was apparently considered too light (the color of foreigners) and so was overlaid with paint of a deeper shade, as in the Dedefre of the Louvre. Eyes, when not inlaid, must always have been painted: the "blank" eyeball was something quite foreign to Egyptian concepts. If the stone was fine, the base and back pillar were habitually left exposed, though the engraved characters that ornamented them were often filled with blue pigment.

In the late Middle Kingdom and especially in the New Kingdom, on the other hand, the flesh parts of divine and royal figures in green or black stone were apparently frequently left in the unnatural color of the stone, though other details may have been executed in gold or color. These unnatural (perhaps one should say "supernatural") colors were the colors of divinity, shared by gods and kings alike.

In a well-documented excursus, Dr. Reuterswärd discusses the color of the gods—gold, green or blue (often interchangeable), and black. Such colors are not arbitrarily chosen; they have a special significance and possess a religio-magical potency. Thus, an overlay of gold is more than a costly attribute, more than ostentation or decoration: gold is a divine essence, a living thing, immortal and an assurance of immortality. Green and black stone are not merely symbols, they are the very flesh of the gods; even if overpainted in natural colors, they retain their potency.

The discussion of Osiris, known as early as the Pyramid Texts as the "Great Green" or the "Great Black" and often depicted with flesh of those colors, is of especial interest. It has sometimes been assumed that the green or black color of the Lord of the Underworld is a symbol of death or decay—at best, of a shadowy existence under the earth. Such ideas may indeed have been part of the Egyptian concept, but textual evidence indicates that green and black had a less negative symbolism. Osiris is a vigorous and powerful deity, and his coloring reflects the green of life-giving waters, of renewing vegetation, the black of the fruitful earth. The sculptures in green and black stone of royal personages are evidence that they share in his divine and immortal essence.

The statues and portrait-heads of private persons in dark stone which have survived from the Late Period-that vague and so largely unexplored limbo of Egyptian art-present a problem. Though they show little if any evidence of original polychromy, Dr. Reuterswärd finds it hard to believe that at least the eyes, when not originally inlaid, had no paint. He suggests that perhaps the use of green and black stone in private sculpture indicates an extension of "Osiridification" to non-royal persons, such as the priest represented in the famous "green head" of Berlin. (It is indeed difficult in certain cases not to assume some original polychromy for late pieces. I recall, particularly, a head in dark stone in the collection of the late George Hewitt Myers in Washington, D.C., in which a white fault in the stone runs like a scar across the face, producing an effect that must have been as disturbing to the ancient Egyptian as it is to the modern viewer.)

Because the author has limited himself primarily to a discussion of restrictions in overpaint in Egyptian sculpture, he has dealt chiefly with the painting of hard stone. It is of course well known that most wood sculptures and those in soft stones, such as limestone, were extensively painted, especially in the flesh parts. In a sort of appendix, however, he comments on figures in alabaster and crystalline limestone, which are often sparsely painted (eyes, lips, hair or headdress, jewelry, etc.). Here the white stone seems to have no symbolic religious or magical meaning, and it can be assumed that the beauty of the material alone inspired the Egyptian to leave it with no more than touches of polychromy. (That fine stone and fine carving can sometimes, however, have been obscured is shown by a shawabti of the Eighteenth Dynasty in crystalline limestone in the Brooklyn Museum, which was apparently originally completely overlaid with gold leaf.)

Another appendix touches briefly on the subject of bronzes. There is, of course, evidence that many bronzes were completely or in the flesh parts overlaid with gold leaf. One can assume a golden or copperred color for others, though it is difficult to judge of the original appearance of most bronzes, patinated as they are by time. It is possible that the color of the metal was modified in certain cases to allow for contrast with inlays of gold, silver, electrum, and cop-

per. In the author's opinion, the "black bronze" of Egyptian texts may imply an alloy deepening the color or may refer simply to the raw metal: he cites parallels from ancient Greek and modern German, where "black" is used to define raw copper.

The problem of the bronzes is indeed rather summarily treated and certainly demands further investigation. Indeed the entire monograph invites continued examination of the evidence for polychromy in Egyptian sculpture. This in no wise detracts from the material the author has collected and commented upon nor from the validity of many of his tentative conclusions, of which this review necessarily gives a sketchy and inadequate account. His brief paper should prove an incentive to further work directed toward the understanding of the aesthetic principles, so often involved with religio-magical concepts, which inspired the use of color in ancient Egyptian works of art.

ELIZABETH RIEFSTAHL

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L'ART DES CYCLADES, DU DÉBUT À LA FIN DE L'AGE DE BRONZE, 2500-1100 AVANT NOTRE ÈRE, by *Christian Zervos*. Pp. iv + 278, pls. 347, text figs. and maps. Editions "Cahiers d'Art," Paris, 1957.

Like all Zervos' books, this is a volume magnificent in production and photography. The selection of Cycladic art, both in color and in black and white, is the best one is likely to see. The long introduction is scholarly and practical, with particularly welcome outline maps of the islands and their sites, and a fairly detailed list of excavations with their dates and results. It contains studies of architecture, tombs and burial customs, stratification, types of artistic industry, cultural affinities and religion, a summary of aesthetic impressions, and a good select bibliography. Reasonable and flexible dates are offered: Early Cycladic ca. 2600-2000, Middle Cycladic ca. 2000-1700, Late Cycladic ca. 1700-1100 B.c. The plates are arranged by these periods, from the strong originality of Early Cycladic through gradual submission to Minoan artistic influence to the final syncretistic productions of comparatively poor quality, borrowing from both Crete and the Mycenaean mainland. The selection of idols and ceramics is intelligent, full, and finely presented. In short, Zervos has combined the expected photographic brilliance with a long-needed apparatus of considerable use to the archaeologist and student, in a book as indispensable to academic libraries as to connoisseurs of this popular field of art.

EMILY TOWNSEND VERMEULE

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Exochi. Ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld, by K. Friis Johansen. Sonderdruck aus Acta Archae-

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ologica 28. Pp. 196, figs. 233. Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1958. D.kr.60.

Johansen pioneered the systematic study of archaic Greek pottery over 40 years ago with his Sikyoniske Vaser. His contribution to the ordering of Rhodian geometric can now be welcomed with gratitude and congratulations.

The site Exochi was investigated by Kinch while he was digging Lindos, to the east. The finds were divided between Rhodes and Copenhagen. Neither Kinch nor Blinkenberg lived to complete the publication. By the time Johansen came to the task the finds in Rhodes had been lost, and could be known only from surviving notes and drawings. The very existence of this, the most important group of Rhodian geometric material yet excavated, has been barely acknowledged, and the surprise of its appearance is

only matched by surprise at its richness. The slight remains of the site are described, and the contents of the graves are given in catalogue form with very full descriptions, good photographs, and plausible drawings. There follows a discussion of the vases grouped by shape which, with the many illustrated comparanda, is virtually a study of all Rhodian Late- and Sub-geometric pottery. The dating of the "metope" style with concentric circles, which seems particularly at home in the islands, is brought down by the presence of a fragment at Exochi, where nothing is presumed earlier than 750, and of the fragment at Syracuse. A unique amphora from Grave A derives its shape directly from the Cyclades (Naxian Bb group); though it is here provided with a low foot, the banding on the body is different, and the rows of upright wavy lines belong to a different island tradition. On the neck is a male figure with raised arms. The commonest of the large vases are standed craters with loop handles joined to the rim by a strap. Their pedigree in the islands is rehearsed, as well as their relations with Attica where the shape was never quite so popular nor, in this form, so longlived as it was farther east. Their decoration forms the basis for a division of the pottery into two broad groups, one "Atticizing," the later "orientalizing." Most of the smaller Rhodian vases can readily be assigned by style to either group, and the grave assemblages bear out the division. There are interesting possibilities in the parallels which can now be drawn between these Rhodian vases and similar craters in Ionia-Samos, Chios, and even farther north. With Crete too, though Johansen tends to minimize the cultural relations between the two islands. There are here the beginnings of a useful chronology for Rhodian geometric. The upper date for the cemetery is determined by comparison with Attic and set at about 750. The lower date, of 675, is less sure as it relies on the absence of the mass of Protocorinthian usual in Rhodes, and the absence of Wild Goat vases which, at any rate, I would not expect to find anywhere before the

third quarter of the century. Stratified deposits at Emporio in Chios show how late the early orientalizing style of the standed craters can survive in the seventh century, and the Exochi cemetery might perhaps be allowed a full century.

Three other Rhodian pottery types, also represented at Exochi, are studied. The first appears in a cylindrical pyxis and jug, with which another pyxis and jug from Rhodes can be associated. Johansen sees here the imitation of ivory vases, but this could only apply to the body shape of the pyxides, not to the lid or the jugs. The decoration also in no way reflects that of ivory pyxides, the black-on-red is but one step removed from Cypriot, and rows of impressed triangles appear often enough on other vases (add Clara Rhodos 3, 104 fig. 98, and part of a pyxis-lid knob from Camirus, Oxford 1935.854). The second group, of the "circle and wavy line style" is best known in spherical aryballoi with high necks; their most characteristic decoration pendent hooks painted with a multiple brush-on a compass for the curl, freehand for the stem. Their floruit is of the first half of the seventh century, their inspiration Cypriot, their place of origin Rhodes. The last group, red-painted aryballoi, have similar connections though the most popular shape is closer to Phoenician prototypes. To their number may be added finds in Nubian graves (Sanam, LAAA 10 [1923] 97, Type VI a-e, pl. 17). Imports include Protocorinthian (there are also local imitations of kotylai), little Cypriot, an "Ionic cup." In plain pottery is a unique brazier.

Of the other find the most significant are the gold pendants and bands with beaten designs, some geometric, some with animals and chariots. In better style are two Rhodian gold bands in Denmark which are also published here: one with elaborate rosettes, the other with animals and a man between lions.

In the last pages Johansen draws some far-reaching conclusions from his analysis of Rhodian Geometric. The Atticizing style of the mid-eighth century is seen as part of the current of trade and interest which brought several vases, which have been called Attic, to the east. If true, this could be of the greatest significance for our assessment of the importance of Athens overseas in the geometric period, but there must be grave doubts. I have shown elsewhere (BSA 52 [1957] 5-9, 24f) that Euboea probably led the Greek states in eastern ventures, notably at Al Mina. It is perhaps time to challenge all identifications of Attic Geometric in the east. The standed craters which have been found there are more at home in the islands, and several have been found-or fragments-at Eretria. It may well not have been Attic vases or Athenian ships which carried Atticizing influences to the east, and it has yet to be shown that it was her own enterprise that taught Athens her few orientalizing habits.

JOHN BOARDMAN

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Fouilles de Xanthos. I, Les Piliers Funéraires, par *Pierre Demargne*; dessins et relevés de *Pierre Coupel* et *Pierre Prunet*. Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul. Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris, 1958.

This valuable book is the first in a series that will publish the results of the French excavations carried on in Xanthos in the years 1950-57. It deals with the quadrangular pillar monuments, specifically with the so-called Lion and Harpy Tombs (29ff, 37ff), the sarcophagus pillar (47ff), a pillar of which only one block remains, British Museum B953 (77f), the inscribed pillar (79ff), and the pillars of the theater (107ff), and of the akropolis, with its adjoining rock tombs (1121ff)—all situated on or near the "Lycian" akropolis.

The author has fittingly dedicated his volume to the memory of his predecessors, Charles Fellows and Otto Benndorf, and in his introduction he gives a vivid account of Fellows' discovery of the Lycian monuments in 1838, his subsequent visits in the forties, and the Austrian expeditions in 1881-1908 under Benndorf, Niemann, and others.

Nothing could better illustrate than this book the difference between the "heroic" age of the nineteenth century and the present scientific approach. The early explorations were brilliantly, conscientiously, and cursorily executed, and have enriched the British and the Vienna Museums with such treasures as the Lion and Harpy tombs, and the Nereid and Gjölbaschi monuments. The present follow-up researches supply minute and accurate descriptions, a wealth of excellent illustrations and convincing reconstructions, but relatively few new objects, and all of these remain in Turkey.

The most notable part of Demargne's contribution consists of the definitive accounts of the pillar monuments themselves as they now appear, cleared of obstructions, photographed and drawn. Since these Lycian monuments which range from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. are unique, apparently derived from local wooden architecture, with no Oriental or Greek influence, this detailed presentation is most welcome. These gigantic structures, erected on rock foundations, with monolithic pillars several meters high, stand as witnesses of the importance of Lycia during archaic and classical times. The rulers who erected them for their own glorification, both to proclaim their triumphs and to house their bodies after death, must have had wealth and wielded considerable

Ancient writers tell us little of the early history of Lycia, its mountainous landscape and isolated position having evidently protected it against invaders. Only Kyros' general Harpagos at last succeeded in subjecting her, and accordingly we find the Lycian Kybernikos listed by Herodotos (7.98) as commanding a contingent of ships in Xerxes' expedition against

Greece. Lycia regained her freedom through Kimon, portraits of her dynasts appear on her coinage during the first half of the fourth century B.C., but after the conquests of Alexander the Great she disappears as an independent power. The pillar monuments supplement this slight historical sketch not only by their magnificence, but through the subjects and styles of their sculptures, as well as by the Lycian inscriptions (some bilingual) which occasionally are carved on them.

In his descriptions of the sculptures Mr. Demargne has not tried to republish the reliefs from the Lion and Harpy tombs, since they have been adequately treated by Pryce in his Catalogue of the British Museum Sculptures I, 1 (1928) and by Akurgal in his Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien (1942). But he has supplied excellent descriptions and discussions of the newly discovered sculptures. These consist of: (1) two reliefs of a warrior and of a man holding a horse (pl. IV), not connected with a known monument and dated before the middle of the sixth century and around 525 B.C. respectively; (2) a relief representing wrestlers and a kitharist, found in the sarcophagus pillar and dated ca. 525 B.C. (pl. XIII); (3) a few fragments belonging to the Harpy monument including the upper part of a head (pl. viii), which fits on the lower head of the seated man on the South side (Br. Mus., Pryce, Cat. pl. xxII) and a piece of a projecting lion (pl. x); (4) reliefs from the inscribed pillar representing defeated enemies (pls. xxxff), dated in the fifth century B.C.; and (5) a few fragments including one of a lion, similar to B 315 in the British Museum, from the fourth-century pillar of the theater (pl. xLvIII).

Practically no help for the dating of these sculptures is given by outside evidence. The soil that surrounds the pillar monuments was thoroughly disturbed through the centuries and contained objects of all periods, ranging from Attic to Roman and Byzantine. There is, therefore, no stratification, and the dates assigned to the sculptures have had to be deduced from their style. But since the style is either pure Greek or Greek with a local tinge, this has generally not been difficult. Nevertheless there have been diverse opinions. For instance, the reliefs of the Lion Tomb have been assigned to ca. 600 B.C., ca. 540 (Akurgal), and ca. 560 (Demargne); and those of the Harpy Tomb to ca. 500 B.c. and ca. 480-470 (Demargne). In spite of the arguments cited for a date around the middle of the sixth century for the reliefs of the Lion Tomb, I still think that the period around 600 seems more likely. The lions show the separate accentuation of volumes, the angular contours, the flat, simplified planes that one associates with early rather than middle archaic art, and the human figures and horses are much more primitive than the lively, well proportioned ones on the lebes, Akropolis 606 (Beazley, Development pl. 13), and other black-figured renderings of the late second quar3

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ter and middle of the sixth century, or than the kouroi of the Tenea and Melos groups. In the Harpy Tomb the draperies with folds symmetrically stacked to a central box pleat are paralleled in Greek sculptures and vase-paintings of ca. 500 B.C., as Langlotz long ago rightly pointed out; witness those by the Kleophrades Painter and the early Brygos Painter (cf. Lullies and Hirmer, Griechische Vasen pls. 36ff), whereas after 480 begins the looser and less symmetrical rendering of the folds exemplified by the mantle of Aristogeiton and the draperies by Douris and the late Brygos Painter (Lullies and Hirmer, op.cit. pls. 92ff). To argue that the Lycian reliefs should be dated later than contemporary Attic and Ionian works on account of a "provincial lag" is, in my opinion, uncalled for, for they were evidently executed by Greeks for Lycian chieftains. In fact the Lycian sculptures illustrate once again the familiar story of enterprising Greek artists working in foreign lands, e.g. in South Russia, Persia, Phrygia, Cyprus and the West, adapting their subjects to local requirements, but retaining their own style either in pure form or slightly tinged by local color. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that native Lycian sculpture is absent. There is nothing equivalent to the Scythian art of South Russia, the Persian of Iran, the Sikel of Sicily, or the Iberian of Spain. Lycian sculpture, at least as we know it today, seems to have been produced entirely by Greeks or by artists working in close contact with Greeks; it is not an independent phenomenon. And this seems strange, considering the highly individual character of Lycian architecture.

The future volumes in this series (by Demargne, Metzger, Frézous, Delvoy, and L. Robert) will treat of the other monuments of Xanthos, including those of the Roman and Byzantine periods, as well as of the important Attic vase fragments, coins and inscriptions. When the publication is completed, in the same competent manner as the presentation by Demargne, Coupel and Prunet, Lycia will have become one of the best known countries in the periphery of the Greek world.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

ROME

THE ATHENIAN AGORA. V. THE GREEK LAMPS AND THEIR SURVIVALS, by *Richard Hubbard Howland*. Pp. 252, pls. 56. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958. \$12.50.

The excavations in the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies have been carried on, with interruption during the war years, since 1931. The work is still in progress, though greatly reduced in scale. The excavators, many of whom have been engaged in the work since its beginning, have now begun to devote their time to a final publication

of the results. The task is formidable, not merely because of the immense quantities of objects unearthed, but because of the very completeness of the records kept from the beginning. In the case of such ubiquitous objects as terracotta lamps this presents a truly gigantic task. In an appendix to the volume here under review the author gives the location and dates of more than 200 significant deposits and lists the lamps found in each. Actually there are some 1200 such deposits that must be considered, though not all of them can have a direct bearing on the particular problem that each author of a volume has to face.

If the plethora of information thus increases the author's work and slows down the publication, it also makes his task infinitely simpler, once he has completed the tabulation of his data. And the results, of course, become more rewarding both to the author and to the users of his book.

The volume contains the typology and minute description of somewhat less than 900 lamps and fragments, including a few lamp molds. This is more than one third of the total number of inventoried pieces, some 2500 in all, upon which the study is based. Two later lots of lamps will be published in a separate volume by Judith Perlzweig and Clairève Grandjouan.

The lamps, extending in dates from about 700 B.C. till shortly after A.D. 100, are divided into 58 types, and most of the types are further subdivided into subtypes and variants. Each type or subtype has received a descriptive title, followed by reference to the numbers of the lamps included, to the plates on which they occur, and to correspondence, if any, with the publication of Corinth lamps. There is a full discussion of each group, with frequent references to the plates of photographs, sections and facsimiles of inscriptions. Then follows the catalogue in numerical sequence, giving the Agora inventory number of each item; reference to the plate or plates in which the lamp appears; measurements, individual descriptions; references to previous publications and, if significant, to the deposit and the square within the Agora excavation chart indicating where the lamp was found. A certain amount of duplication in such a full and thorough treatment is inevitable. This main body of the text is followed by a concordance of the Agora inventory numbers to the catalogue numbers, a descriptive index of deposits with the types of lamps and their catalogue numbers given in each case, a concordance of types of the Corinth and Agora lamps, a general index, and an index of inscriptions. There are 21 plates of sections of the wheel-made lamps, seven plates of inscriptions (graffiti, painted marks, signatures), 27 plates of photographs, a map of the Agora, and a chronological chart showing the distribution and duration of types through the eight centuries covered by the contents.

The author set out to meet the twofold demand of (a) preserving in printed form all the pertinent information relating to his subject, and (b) of presenting

the material in such a way as to make the book readily usable. A critical perusal of the volume has convinced me that he has faithfully kept this double objective in mind and has attained it with remarkable success. In his discussion of specific features, such as the open socket on certain early types and the small side knob on Hellenistic types, he invariably presents conservative and common sense points of view. He has noted under several types the introduction of imported lamps and their effect upon the Athenian lamp industry. But he has refrained from drawing far-reaching conclusions regarding the historical or economic implications of his study. He has made the data for such use of the material available to historians and others who wish to build further upon them. Had the author succumbed to the temptation of synthesizing, he might have made his book more readable and his own task more enjoyable, but the value of such deviation from his appointed task might be questionable.

Occasionally he has permitted his imagination to roam briefly, as when he suggests that certain "behemoths" of the first century B.C. "may have been commissioned by arrogant Roman conquerors who felt no compunctions about squandering captured Athenian oil reserves." Some amusing features come to light, as in the case of a lamp lid with the plastic representation of a mouse, suggestive of the "propensity of these animals to sip oil when they had the opportunity"

The inscriptions fall into two categories, those incised or impressed in the wet clay, mostly lamp makers signatures; and those scratched or painted on the finished products, usually by the owners. Among the latter are three lamps used as ostraca of known date, furnishing a valuable check on the dating. Makers' signatures are limited to the mold-made types.

Some readers will doubtless object that the author's classification is too detailed, that he has drawn such fine distinctions between the various types that no one else will be able to appreciate them. In many cases such criticism may seem justified. For the 58 types are only part of the story. The subdivisions under each type have been treated with just as much detail as the single types. In fact where a type is subdivided there is no separate discussion of the type as a whole, each subtype is considered separately. Only 21 types are undivided. In reality there are 172 divisions, each with its own separate discussion. Since only 889 lamps and fragments are described, the average number of lamps in each division is only a little over five. Several of the subtypes consist of a single specimen.

The casual user dipping into the book, without taking the trouble to read it from cover to cover, is likely to find this confusing. But there is another side to this picture. The distinctions that the author has observed do exist, and whether he chooses to call them types, subtypes, variants or something else is immaterial. The differences have to be noted, and the author has presented the arrangement that to him

seemed the most logical. A different typology could well be proposed, but one that ignored these differences would not be helpful. It can never be said that the author has been unaware of the user's convenience. He has arranged his material in such a way that any desired information can be obtained with a minimum loss of time. In the text there are references to the plates both under each heading and under the individual types. Every photograph and section gives not only the catalogue number, but indicates the type or subtype of each illustrated object. From the point of view of the user's convenience the book could well serve as a model. Because of this arrangement the minute subdivision into small groups does not complicate the use of the book but rather the opposite.

There is, however, one serious disadvantage in so large a number of types. The distinction is so fine that it becomes virtually impossible to remember any of them. Whoever uses the book will have to have it within easy reach at all times. This difficulty might have been overcome by combining several related types into larger groups. For example, the molded Hellenistic lamps, types 45 to 58, which are treated under 52 separate headings, seem to me to fall naturally into comparatively few groups, perhaps five or six, that could have been given distinctive labels so as to make it simpler to bear the classification in mind. In a frontispiece he has presented a "synoptic illustration of some developments in local manufacturing from the early seventh century B.c. to the first century after Christ." This selection might have been enlarged to include all the major developments, with a single specimen picked from each large group. Some of the lamps in this selection, e.g. 741, 757, have so many features in common that they would fall within the same group of such a classification; others, like the Knidos lamps and the Ephesos lamps, are not represented. Such criticism, however, amounts to no more than an admission that the classification of objects such as lamps is of necessity arbitrary and can never be wholly satisfactory.

Mr. Howland's work marks a new stage in the study of lychnology. For the first time a large representative body of lamps has been subjected to critical study, with all the pertinent excavation data at the author's disposal. The chronology that he has established, which in some cases differs considerably from that proposed for corresponding types from Corinth, is therefore likely to remain unchanged, except for minor refinements. To field archaeologists his careful dating will be of inestimable value, for fragments of Attic lamps are likely to occur in all classical Greek excavations. The author will have earned the unstinted gratitude of all archaeologists for presenting us with this refined tool for chronological computation. He has set a high standard of accomplishment in the publication of an unglamorous and common com-

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The appearance of the second volume of the Agora lamps is eagerly awaited.

OSCAR BRONEER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Thésée, IMAGES ET RÉCITS, by Ch. Dugas and R. Flacelière. Pp. 87, pls. 24. E. de Boccard, Paris, 1958.

In recent years many comprehensive studies related to mythological subjects and the heroes of Greek mythology have been written, comprehensive both in the reference to the literary sources and to the artistic monuments which deal with the specific hero or myth. Thésée, Images et Récits by Ch. Dugas, who has died recently, and by R. Flacelière is a novel attempt to familiarize the layman perhaps rather than the classical scholar with some aspects of Theseus' life and deeds as reflected in a couple of authors and some Greek vase-paintings.

R. Flacelière has translated for this purpose Dithyrambs 17 and 18 of Bacchylides, with a short introductory note preceding the translations (13 ff). Flacelière reminds the reader on page 11 that Theseus is frequently alluded to in Greek literature, but that "les seules oeuvres aujourd'hui conservées qui sont entièrement consacrées à Thésée ont pour auteurs un poète lyrique . . . et un prosateur beaucoup plus récent, du Ier siècle de notre ère: Plutarque." Thus, the literary part of Thésée closes with a translation of Plutarch's Theseus (25 ff), preceded again by a short introductory note (21 ff).

In the second part of *Thésée* the great connoisseur of Greek vase-painting, Ch. Dugas, describes a select group of mostly red-figure Athenian vase-paintings, which depict various incidents in Theseus' life. Since the number of vase-paintings with the myths of Theseus is extremely large, the choice must have been a rather difficult one; Ch. Dugas has dealt wisely with this difficulty. Especially useful for the layman are the many close-ups of vase-paintings (pls. 2, 3, 12-15, 18-21, and 24); the spectator can thereby enjoy the many subtle and refined renderings of individual forms and traits. The photographs are mostly good, except plates 4 and 5, where the scenes near the handles are out of focus and the highlights render some details invisible.

Dugas gives a description of each vase-painting (57 ff), and supplementary bibliographical information is added for each plate on pages 83ff. About the purpose of the *Images* Dugas has the following to say: "Conte et image, étroitement dépendants, représentent une forme de poésie sans apprêt, mais qui est une création continue de la cité dans son ensemble, trame où se fait, se défait, se refait, en une élaboration interrompue, la merveilleuse histoire des héros. Pour illustrer ce qui précède, voici, entre beaucoup, quelques images qui permettent de revoir le Thésée dont on parlait dans les rues d'Athènes."

Not all of Dugas' descriptions and interpretations are satisfactory. One may ask oneself whether the purpose for which the booklet was written left room for entering, for instance, upon the difficult task of interpretation of the one side of the Niobid krater in the Louvre in Paris (pl. 14), which depicts an assembly of heroes. I would rather have omitted this picture altogether than to comment on it as follows: "Nous sommes dans l'Hadès, et c'est ce qui explique l'allure indécise des personnages, fantômes errant inoccupés dans la prairie d'aspodèles au delà du Styx" (66).

The utter falseness of this interpretation becomes clear at once if one looks at the vase-painting as a whole (Pfuhl, MuZ fig. 492). What has Athena or the horse to the extreme right to do in Hades? Nor is Dugas' interpretation supported, as he thinks, by the picture of the Nekyia on the kalyx-krater in New York (close-up on pl. 15), which is different from the vase-painting in Paris in vital details, in fact all those details which in a straightforward manner prove that the vase-painting in Paris is not an assembly of heroes in Hades.

Equally unfounded and confusing for the layman is what Dugas says about the gesture of Antiope in the scene of rape on plates 6 and 8. He calls it "un geste d'adieu à ses compagnes plutôt qu'un appel au secours" (62). The gesture can only refer to the pleading for help to her companions, who are coming to Antiope's rescue on the reverse of the cup in Oxford (pl. 7), of which Dugas says: "D'ailleurs, sur la seconde face, aucun combat entre les amis de Thésée et les deux cavalières qui ne demandent peut-être qu'à imiter Antiope" (62). I do not think that the frivolity which Dugas reads into this vase-painting is appropriate at all.

The vase-painting reproduced on plate 9 (by the Panaitios painter), which depicts Theseus' visit in Amphitrite's realm of the sea, dates from about 490 B.C. and thus precedes the composition of Dithyramb 17 by Bacchylides. But, even so, would not this very picture have presented an occasion for Dugas to recall the poem of Bacchylides and to point to the connections which exist between the lyrical art of Bacchylides and the splendor of the Panaitian design? Is not the Theseus of Panaitios the Theseus of Bacchylides,

"Ah! dans quelles pensées
Il jeta le chef de guerre de Cnossos,
Quand il sortit, non mouillé, de la mer,
Splendide merveille pour tous!
Sur ses membres étincelaient les dons des dieux."

This is indeed the way in which "conte et image, étroitement dépendants, représentent une forme de poésie sans apprêt," to cite Dugas' own words (58).

The painting by Panaitios, lyrical in intent and mood, could have been juxtaposed to the designs on plates 11-14, testimonies not only of the early classical style in Greek art, but of the introduction of the new ethos after the Persian Wars. Polygnotos has been

credited with the depicting of this ethos by Aristotle. We feel the closeness of the vase-paintings to the plays of Aeschylus and Sophokles. Dugas does not mention Polygnotos as a creative genius of the new ethos in monumental painting in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., which is a pity, because the vasepaintings on plates 11-14 could only thus have been placed in their proper context. There is a casual reference to the Stoa Poikile on page 65. It is very likely not because the subject of Amazonomachy "devient un épisode très populaire après les guerres médiques" that "il est fréquemment illustré" (85), but because of the fact that the monumental paintings in the Stoa Poikile by Mikon and by Polygnotos are the prototypes of the Amazonomachies and other subjects in Attic vasepainting from 465 B.c. onwards.

If further similar studies on the Greek heroes and myths were planned by French scholars, one would hope for a somewhat closer collaboration between archaeologist and philologist, a wider variety of literary texts, and a careful description and interpretation of the monuments.

CHRISTOPH CLAIRMONT

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ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CLASSIQUE I, 1955-1956. Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy, Mémoire No. 19. Pp. 166, pls. 29. E. de Boccard, Paris, 1958.

This volume, comprising ten papers presented at archaeological conferences at Nancy in October 1955 and 1956, covers a wide range of subject matter. Since much of it deals with new material, it provides an interesting and useful series of articles.

Pierre Amandry (Grèce et Orient) considers first (pp. 3-15) the origin of the bronze caldrons and tripods with decorated plaques or animal protomés or both of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. His technical and stylistic arguments for an eastern origin are generally convincing; recent finds at Gordion may modify his views on the role of Phrygia. Secondly (17-20) he suggests a Thraco-Macedonian origin for most of the Greek jewelry and metalwork of the 5th and 4th centuries.

Jean Bayet (Les fouilles archéologiques de l'École française de Rome en Italie de 1946 à 1956: Mégara Hyblaea; Bolséna) reports (23-38) on recent French excavations. Megara Hyblaea had four periods of occupation, late Neolithic, archaic (mid-8th century foundation), Hellenistic and Roman. Early archaic and Hellenistic houses and archaic religious centers are of interest. Areas which remained Etruscan until the 3rd-2nd century exist near Bolsena. At Capriola are late Bronze Age oval huts and Etruscan succeeds Villanovan without interruption.

Jean Bérard (Recherches sur l'interprétation historique des légendes grecques) discusses (41-51)

the two traditions of Greek colonization in South Italy and Sicily. Chief objections to his theory that the legendary traditions stem from the Mycenaean inhabitation are the complete break between Mycenaean and 8th century colonization and the post Trojan War character of most of the legends.

Three papers deal with Roman subjects: François Chamoux, Observations sur l'arc de triomphe de Glanum (Saint-Rémy de Provence) (55-63); Paul-Marie Duval, Observations sur les amphithéâtres, particulièrement dans la Gaule romaine (67-73); Jean-Jacques Hatt, La méthode stratigraphique des fouilles et son application à Strasbourg and La céramographie gallo-romaine (77-88).

Léon Lacroix (Les "blasons" des villes grecques) concludes (91-115) that devices of its great families were not used on Athenian coins but that cities did employ emblems for coinage, weights and measures, and documents.

Roland Martin (*Problème des origines des ordres à volutes*) uses new discoveries (119-32) to clarify the origin of the capitals with volutes. He distinguishes four types and finds Koldeway's restoration of the Neandria capital incorrect; the two upper elements belong to one series, the lowest to another.

Jacques Tréheux (L'aménagement intérieur de la Chalkothèque d'Athènes) suggests (135-46) changes in the restoration of IG, II², 1438 on which he bases two new reconstructions of the interior of the Chalkotheke. Either would provide the necessary number of wall sections.

Edouard Will (Archéologie et histoire économique. Problèmes et méthodes. Étude de quelques cas particuliers) concludes (149-66) by discussing the use of archaeological material, particularly pottery, in studies of Greek economic history. He emphasizes the extreme care needed while recognizing the value of this type of evidence. With regard to his views on the pottery industry and mass production it is perhaps pertinent to note that a large establishment is not needed to turn out vases in quantity and the products were certainly intended for a far-reaching and highly organized trade.

MARY CAMPBELL ROEBUCK

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ROBERT BOEHRINGER, EINE FREUNDESGABE, Erich Boehringer, ed. Pp. 772, pls. 5, numerous ills. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1957. DM 65.

This collection of articles is a tribute to Robert Boehringer on his seventieth birthday. Though not primarily an archaeologist himself, he has written on the portraiture of Plato and Homer. Thus, among the 48 articles that form the book, eight are on archaeological topics, and the first one, by Margrit Boehringer (pp. 113-18, figs. 1-5) appropriately deals with

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a replica of the Homer-Epimenides type, from Knossos, now in the Herakleion Museum. This head is classified as Type VI in Boehringer's iconography and is here brought to the attention of archaeologists for study.

The late Ludwig Curtius (153-61, pls. 1-4, figs. 1-10) published a portrait of Julius Caesar in the collection of Count Blücher von Wahlstatt in Frankfurt-am-Main. This head was made for insertion in a statue of the *Togatus-Velatus* type, and is probably a contemporary copy of a bronze, erected when Caesar was nominated Pontifex Maximus in 63 B.C. This makes it the earliest extant portrait of the Dictator in his late thirties. The head is studied in the light of contemporary portraiture, but the present reviewer does not feel too confident about its attribution to the Rhodian School and its comparison with the youth's head, fig. 10.

Wolfgang Krauel (345-64) contributes a poetical and historical excursus on the island of Rhodes, largely based on R. Matton's book.

Friedrich Krauss (365-69, figs. 1-11 and 6 drawings) publishes new dimensions of the columns of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia derived from recent studies.

Ernst Langlotz (397-421, figs. 1-16) analyzes the subjects and shapes of Attic vases found in tombs as funerary gear or containing the ashes of the dead, trying to prove their eschatological meaning. He claims that Attic masters used certain shapes (Nikosthenic and Tyrrhenian amphorae, etc.) and specific subjects alluding to abduction or resurrection mainly to satisfy the taste of their Italian clientele, but at times also for use in their native land. Thus, female heads on amphorae would represent Aphrodite, the Wanassa of Paphos, mistress of Life and Death, and Adonis shown with her should foster hopes of resurrection; the centaurs are considered in their function of carrying the dead to Elysion; even the representations of tragic myths (e.g. the slaughter of the Niobids, the legend of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, etc.) are explained as painted threnoi meant to minimize, by contrast, the fate of the dead whom they accompany in the tomb. Also, many figures on Attic lekythoi are interpreted as "ghosts" appearing to the living, and the funerary use of loutrophoroi is considered as a symbol of the marriage between Death and the deceased. Many of these explanations are interesting and plausible, but the tendency to interpret most Attic vase-painting in the light of allegory and chthonian beliefs seems to have been pushed too far.

Dieter Ohly (433-60, figs. 1-26) discusses the female torso found in Persepolis, of the so-called Penelope type. The statue is dated ca. 465-455 B.C. on stylistic grounds; it is therefore suggested that it was taken to Persepolis by Artaxerxes during one of his raids on East Greek towns and sanctuaries, and finally damaged in the destruction by Alexander in 330 B.C. The other extant sculptural replicas of the type are

of Roman date, and therefore could not have copied the Persepolis statue; yet the close similarity of the drapery arrangement in all of them and their correspondence to the newly found torso suggest that the original monument must have been replaced soon after its removal by the Persians, possibly with an almost exact replica by the same master. The piece is attributed to the Samian school, although Samian production dwindled after the archaic period, but the present reviewer sees no distinctive East Greek traits in the statue; the monument could have been carved in Greece even if it was to be erected elsewhere. The analysis of the type in minor arts confirms that the figure represented the wife of Odysseus.

Karl Schefold (543-72, figs. 1-32) attributes to Agorakritos the original of a female head formerly owned by Th. Mommsen and now in a private collection. He takes this opportunity to review what is known about the Parian master, stressing his relationship to Pheidias and other contemporaries. The article includes a series of good photographs of the fragmentary sculptures from the base of Nemesis, which the author compares with the reliefs of the Nike Balustrade, reviving Lawrence's theory that Master E is to be identified with Agorakritos. This reviewer feels, however, that the sharp ridges, the crisp folds and the deep pockets of shadow on the Nike untying her sandal can hardly compare with the stunted edges, the flat backs and the shallow valleys of the cloth on the Rhamnousian figures. Also, the treatment of the so-called transparent drapery appears different on the two monuments (contrast especially figs. 27 and 32). One regrets that no comparison is made between the fragments from the base and the sculptures from the Athenian Agora, recently assigned by Miss Harrison to the frieze of the temple of Ares and attributed, we believe rightly, to Agorakritos.

The article contains other interesting remarks on various subjects. The reviewer agrees with the writer in assigning to different dates the four reliefs from the altar of Pity (considered not in a metopal arrangement but as individual dedications; n. 7, p. 544), but is baffled by the statement that the Stele from Aegina, also attributed to Agorakritos, is the "oldest grave relief" extant from the Attic sphere after Kleisthenes' decree of 505 B.C. (p. 552). The well-known Sounion Stele, Athens, Nat. Mus. 3344, for instance, to mention the first example that comes to mind, is to be dated ca. 470 and is therefore earlier than the Aegina Stele.

The last article by Hermine Speier (605-22, figs. 1-11) deals with the head of a mule in the Vatican, considered to be a Greek original of the first quarter of the fourth century. The author also briefly reviews the literary and iconographic traditions of such animals.

BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Antike Reiterstandbilder, by H. v. Roques de Maumont. Pp. 102, figs. 50. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 16.

This charming and beautifully published essay collects the available information concerning extant equestrian statues from antiquity. The author makes his point that the equestrian statue was an honor reserved for rulers. Thus, the marble statues of the Athenian Acropolis are portraits of members of the family of Peisistratos and such statues are completely lacking from the whole period of democracy in Athens, the well known monuments before the Propylaea having been demonstrated to be men standing besides horses, not riders. Magistrates were allowed equestrian statues under the Roman Republic, but under the empire only members of the imperial family and, in the provinces but never in the city of Rome, knights (but not senators).

There is little discussion of those equestrian statues which are recorded but not preserved (such as Domitian in the Forum, Statius 1.1). The "Regisole" of Pavia, known from various drawings and actually standing until the French Revolution, is accepted as second century creation and a drawing in the Budapest Library is given the usual interpretation of Justinian. Since R. de M., this drawing has been otherwise interpreted by Phyllis W. Lehmann in ArtB 41, I (March 1959) 39f, and the other equestrian statues of Constantinople rediscussed; the latter are not treated by our author.

Since the whole work is very brief, one may excuse while regretting the extreme brevity of notes and the lack of an over-all bibliography. Is there too uncritical acceptance of the opinions of others in some cases, notably the reviewer's previous statements about a gilded horse-head and sword in Baltimore? I suggested a date in the second century A.D. in my Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (1949), noting, however, the kinship to horses from Herculaneum. The discovery of the great bronze monument at Cartoceto de Pergola (one horse head only illustrated, in FA 4 [1949] 329, no. 3344 and BdA 43 [1958] 185, fig. 3) and the information, kindly offered by G. Annibaldi, that the Baltimore horse was discovered at Suasa, not more than 10 kilometers from Cartoceto and published in BdI (1884) 201-204, have made me modify my opinion. The Suasa and Cartoceto horses are certainly contemporary and from the same artistic establishment; they may even be from the same monument, a reasonable supposition which I cannot substantiate until there is a full publication from Cartoceto. The date of the Baltimore horse is therefore approximately that of the Herculaneum horses and the monument at Cartoceto. Quite independently, A. Alföldi has dated this horse even earlier than I am ready to allow, in the Roman Republican period, on the basis of the type of sword

which accompanies it and the phalerae attached to the bridle (Germania 30, Heft 2 [1952] 189f).

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

JEWISH SYMBOLS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD. Vols. 7 and 8, PAGAN SYMBOLS IN JUDAISM, by Erwin R. Goodenough (Bollingen Series xxxvII). Pp. xviii + 239, figs. 291 (on 39 pls.); pp. xii + 282, figs. 168 (on 38 pls.). Published for Bollingen Foundation by Pantheon Books, New York, 1958. \$15.00.

In two magnificently produced, beautifully arranged, and lavishly illustrated volumes, E. R. Goodenough advances his monumental enterprise which is surely the most ambitious individual effort in the study of ancient Jewish symbolism undertaken in our time.

The material included is vast, the erudition of the author imposing, and both his thoughts and his visual juxtapositions challenging and often controversial. Regardless of their position on the crucial problem of the extent and character of symbolism in pagan and Jewish antiquity, archaeologists will find here an unusual iconographic compendium which includes many monuments that are little known. Near Eastern and Egyptian art as well as the arts of Classical antiquity and Early Christianity are represented in the selection, which occasionally extends even into the Middle Ages. These monuments are commented upon in a series of short studies which, though full of learning, are yet written in a clear and eloquent style.

The volumes under review treat of the following subjects: the Bull, the Lion, the Tree, and the Crown; Miscellaneous Divine Symbols (Rosettes, Wheels, Masks, Gorgoneum); Symbols Primarily Erotic (Cupids, Birds, Sheep, Hare, Shell, Cornucopia, Centaur); Psychopomps and Astronomical Symbols (Eagle, Griffin, Pegasus, Ladder, Boat; Helios, Zodiac, Seasons, Lunar and Astral Symbolism). Under each major subject, the treatment of the theme in Jewish art and literature is compared with the treatment in pagan traditions. Conclusions are then drawn from such comparisons. In their most elaborate form, these surveys include not only the Greco-Roman but also the Near Eastern and Egyptian material. Thus the discussion of the bull starts with "Representation of the Bull by the Jews in the Greco-Roman Period"; goes back to "The Bull in the Old Testament"; turns then to "The Bull in Egypt and the Near East" (which includes the Aegean); proceeds to "The Bull in the Greco-Roman Tradition"; reverts to Judaism with "The Bull in Postbiblical Jewish Literature"; and ends with "Conclusions," in which the initial problem ("Why are bulls, bull heads, and bucrania represented on some Jewish tombs of the Roman era?") is answered to the effect that Jews of Roman times

borrowed the symbol of the bull anew from the pagans rather than inheriting it from Old Testament times. Goodenough concludes that Jews used the symbol of the bull to indicate power, especially the life-giving power, the power that also gives immortality; this hypothesis is not proved, Goodenough concedes, "but

is the most likely assumption" (p. 28).

The author strives to show that Jewish symbols "must be seen in their general setting," which includes for him "the ways in which (a symbol) was used in the art and symbolism of all relevant civilizations" (p. 37). As a result, Goodenough's discussion covers an amazing multitude of subjects. Thus, under "Felines in Jewish Iconography" we find Lions Guarding Inscriptions, Guarding the Torah Shrine, Lions with Vase, Lions with a Victim, Nursing Lions, Lions in Vines, Lions with Daniel, Lion with Orpheus, Lions as Throne Guards, Harnessed Felines, Lion Masks, and Lion-Footed Tripods. This is followed by short surveys of representations of the lion in Mesopotamia, Persia, Anatolia and Syria, Egypt and Greece, which are interpreted with the aid of some references to texts. Goodenough manages to bring most of this material under the general notion that the lion "symbolizes at once destruction and mercy" (p. 47) and is "divine power, apotropaic power, associated with the sun, and as a consequence with the phallic source of life." The author tends to minimize the possibility that even the Royal lion hunts of Assur could represent actual happenings. The fundamental "ambivalent" symbolism of the lion-fighting scenes as well as of the groups in which a lion devours somebody or something is that of life and death-"the lion and the hero alike kill and are killed because both these acts are part of divine liberation of life." They represent an early, pre-mythical, "subverbal sense that from this symbol man can get life and fertility." "The goddess Ishtar is the lion and the King hunts this lion and dedicates it to the lion goddess. Again we have the self-immolation of the god or goddess of ferocity as the ground for our hope of mercy."

These examples must suffice to illustrate Goodenough's approach. Symbolism, especially symbolism of times long gone by, is a subject on which opinions will always be divided. Personal temperament as well as the temper of the times' play a part in the perennial oscillation between "maximalists," those who discern a symbolic meaning in everything, and "minimalists," those who would sharply reduce meaningful content of visual symbols and extend instead the purely aesthetic "decorative" element of art. The quotations given above indicate that Goodenough takes a position well toward the "maximalist" wing. Much insight into the difficulties of the problem may be gained by a perusal of the reviews of Goodenough's earlier volumes written by scholars of a different persuasion:

¹ Some instructive illustrations for time-conditioned premises of symbolic exegeses are cited by R. M. Dorson, "Theories of

A. D. Nock, Gnomon 27 (1955) 558ff; 29 (1957) 524ff; A. Momigliano, Athenæum 34 (1956) 237ff; R. Marcus, CP 52 (1957) 43ff, 182ff; H. J. Leon, Archaeology 11:2 (1958) 135; and Goodenough's rejoinder in the concluding chapter of the eighth volume.

Goodenough's aim is "to bring the reader to perceive or feel the power and beauty of the symbolic vocabulary Jews borrowed from paganism." He contends that "when the Jews adopted the same lingua franca of symbols (as the Greco-Roman world) they must have taken over the constant values in the symbols . . . but the explanations Jews gave the symbols must have made them seem truly Jewish . . ." These explanations Goodenough proposes to investigate in the next volume, which will be devoted to the paintings of the synagogue of Dura. There his theory of non-rabbinical Judaism, a Judaism of hellenized Jews is to receive its crowning summation.

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I MONUMENTI DELLA PARTE MERIDIONALE DEL FORO ROMANO, by Sandro Stucchi. Pp. 95, figs. 40. Edizioni dell' Ateneo, Roma, 1958. 1900 lire.

This small book deals with some knotty topographical problems concentrated in a limited area of the Roman Forum. Identification of Ionic temples on the Sorrento Base, the Boscoreale Cup, and the Anaglypha of Trajan as the Temple of the Deified Julius, stimulates a reconsideration of some monuments in its vicinity. The sites of two commemorative arches to Augustus, the position of the Fasti Consulares, the location of the Porticus Julia, evidence for the Rostra Plebis, and other related questions are discussed in the light of archaeological remains, evidence from coins, reliefs, and Renaissance drawings. In identifying the Ionic temple on both slabs of the plutei as that of Deified Julius, the author submits a new hypothesis to the much-discussed topographical background of the anaglypha. Although not all of Signor Stucchi's conclusions will be accepted by topographers, his scholarly presentation of material must win respectful attention.

DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

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Das RÖMERGRAB IN WEIDEN BEI KÖLN, by Fritz Fremersdorf. Pp. 72, pls. 64, text ills. 10. Verlag der Löwe, Koln, Dr. Hans Reykers, 1957.

In 1843 a coachman began to dig the foundation trenches for a small farm building next to his cottage at Weiden, 9 kilometres from Cologne. As he worked he encountered first, stones, and then a staircase—and

Myth and the Folklorist," Daedalus (1959) = Proceed. Amer. Acad. Arts and Sciences 88:2, 280ff.

so was found one of the most important discoveries ever made in a Roman province, an underground tomb in a remarkably good state of preservation. As little about the find was published the site has remained virtually unknown up to the present day. Professor Fremersdorf first began to collect notes for this report in the nineteen-thirties but the events of 1939-45 intervened and it has only now reached completion. Unfortunately in the hazards of war he lost most of his records of the small finds from the tomb, while the whereabouts of the actual objects themselves are now unknown.

According to the usual Roman burial custom the site lies beside an important main road. It consists of a rectangular underground vault built of tufa, approached by a staircase of twenty-seven steps and entered by an ingeniously constructed door made of a block of stone. Inside, numerous small niches for cremation urns are ranged round the walls, some of them also occurring in the three arched recesses which are placed in the centre of the walls opposite, and on either side of, the entrance. These recesses provide us with one of the most striking features of the tomb. They all have a raised floor or shelf and this and the sides of the recess below the niches are lined with stone slabs. Carved fragments attached to the wall in front of the shelf at each end originally extended to ground level and, as Professor Fremersdorf points out, there seems to be no doubt that here we have a full scale representation of a kline or couch with back and sides reaching to shoulder height and legs decorated with moldings. This identification is supported by the fact that standing in the grave chamber are two lifesize stone chairs with low arms and rounded backs, decorated with a design showing that they closely imitate the basket chairs familiar to us from such pictures of daily life as the toilet scene on one of the Neumagen reliefs. Even the thick seat cushion is indicated. Standing on the couches are three busts of Italian marble representing a man, a woman and a girl.

At the present time the tomb chamber also contains a fine marble sarcophagus originally found in pieces and sculptured in relief. Along the long front side the portraits of husband and wife are shown in a roundel supported by winged victories. Figures of the four seasons, depicted as young men carrying baskets of fruit or flowers appear on the other sides of the victories and on the rounded ends. The back is unworked showing that the sarcophagus was meant to stand against a wall and this provokes the question of which wall, as all are occupied with niches and recesses. The mystery deepens when we realize that in any case the sarcophagus is too big to have come through the door intact. Consideration of the earlier accounts of the work at Weiden provide the answer, as they show that much fallen stone was found covering the upper levels of the underground tomb, as well as some stonework and red plaster which prob-

ably fell from a barrel vault and the floor of a room above it. Obviously another tomb chamber existed above ground level, it fell into ruins, and its floors collapsed, precipitating the sarcophagus and the associated grave goods into the vault beneath.

To the student of Roman provincial life the tomb at Weiden offers many features of interest. Its numerous niches for cremations supply us with a remarkable example of a provincial columbarium, and with the sarcophagus, presumably intended for an inhumation burial, and the position of the grave by a Roman road, we find in this one site a summary of Roman burial customs. The couches and chairs, too, provide an interesting variation on the theme of the funeral banquet which is such a favourite subject for grave reliefs. Apparently it was believed that the souls of the dead men reclined on the couches and those of the women sat on the chairs; and today we welcome the opportunity to study these representations of Roman furniture unobscured by the human figures which usually hide much of such features as cushions and rounded backs on the sculptured tombstones and sarcophagi. Professor Fremersdorf compares the couches with those on the fine series of tombstones showing funeral banquet scenes found elsewhere in Cologne, and the chair with the examples appearing on the Neumagen reliefs showing a lady at her toilet (mentioned above), and the school scene. While the pattern of the basket work appears clearly in the toilet scene, one wonders if the school chairs with their more angular outlines were not made of wood rather than wicker. The same might apply to the chair on the tombstone of M. Valerius Celerinus illustrated in pl. 5, as an example of a funeral banquet with husband reclining and wife seated. For further examples of the wicker chair depicted in a funerary context we may, perhaps, add the clearly portrayed examples on two Roman sarcophagi, one in the Lateran, the other in the British Museum; and also the York tombstone where Julia Velva reclines on a couch with her daughter sitting in the chair at its foot (Liversidge, Furniture in Roman Britain [1955] figs. 3, 13, p. 23).

The three marble busts are presumably portraits of some of the inmates of the tomb and those of the man and woman in particular give us a striking impression of character and personality. Professor Fremersdorf quotes the divergent views of three authorities on their chronology but all agree in considering that the girl is the earliest in date. She may be the work of a Gaulish sculptor while the other two may be the superior work of immigrant artists working in the second century, the woman's bust being probably the latest. The dating of the sarcophagus is also disputed, most probably it was imported from Italy some time in the late third century. This would fit in fairly well with what is known of the small finds, presuming they were deposited in the tomb at the same time. Some of the glass might be later and some of the more unusual objects may be of earlier a

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date and perhaps deposited as heirlooms. They include four pieces of ivory carved in relief, probably belonging to a casket; and a beautiful little statuette of chalcedony which may belong to a fan.

The fine villa which must have been the home of the people who owned the Weiden tomb still awaits discovery and so far we have only the dwelling of their much loved dead, as the author points out in his conclusion. Perhaps his most interesting and well illustrated account of their impressive tomb provides them with a not unworthy memorial.

JOAN LIVERSIDGE

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LE THÉÂTRE DE PHILIPPOPOLIS EN ARABIE (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Vol. LXIII), by *Pierre Coupel* and *Edmond Frézouls*. Pp. viii + 144, pls. 31; Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1956.

This is a painstaking and well-illustrated monograph on a rough-hewn and unadorned theater. The authors have described nearly every conceivable detail in plan and execution of this small mid-third century structure. If they had stopped with this, the incredible effort might not have been justified, but they have also sought to explain its peculiarities and define its typological position in the history of theater construction in the Empire.

The chief of these idiosyncrasies are as follows:

(1) an observable asymmetry, (2) a straight and unadorned scaenae frons, (3) narrow parodoi which do not communicate with the exterior, (4) the absence of tribunalia above the parodoi, (5) the reduction of the parascaenia to narrow passageways which form, in effect, continuations of the ambulacrum. The result of the last is to provide a continuous corridor around the entire structure, with the stage building reduced, in their view, to a part of the system of traffic cir-

The asymmetry is explained in terms of haste in building and the authors have carefully worked out a hypothetical order of construction of the parts which will logically account for these errors in execution. The other deviations from the normal theatrical ground plan are, in the last analysis, explained as individual adjustments by the architect to achieve maximum capacity and ease of circulation in a minimum space (the largest diameter is 42 m., the seating capacity, 1500-1700). An ingenious parallel with the theater at Bosra is drawn (pl. x11), and countless parallels are adduced for particulars. The poverty of decoration and defiance of some of the canons of the "western" theater are seen as indications of a change in taste beginning at about the time of Philip's reign.

The book may suffer in general from a tendency to overextend hypotheses for the purpose of reconstructing every detail; but this is forgivable in view of the clear and logical argument. One of the most interesting sections deals with the non-Vitruvian mathematics of the ground plan, in which the basic figure is a triangle with base and height in the proportion 6:5 and the unit of 1/6 the base determining important fixed points in the structure (pl. XIII).

Other architectural monographs might profit from the authors' idea of including as an appendix a glossary of technical terms. The value of the book is further enhanced by a thorough index and a very good set of drawings and photographs on which nearly every detail may be studied, except perhaps the "A" which the authors find is the only significant mason's mark and is said to indicate the axis of the theater.

Typographical errors are few and minor. An inconsistency appears between p. 48, where MM. Frézouls and Coupel seem to reject the hypothesis of a continuous lintel over the valva regia, and p. 92, where they accept it and compare it with Bosra. The frequent references to the mistakes of Butler and of Brünnow and Domaszewski are annoying, and would be amply taken care of by the general statements on p. 2.

One awaits with interest the projected general study of Syrian theaters forecast in the preface, for which the present volume promises an exceptionally high quality.

JOHN ARTHUR HANSON

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Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone, ville episcopale de Saint Augustin, by *Erwan Marec*. Pp. 260, figs. 39, pls. 66 (3 in color). Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris, 1958. Paper, f. 18.25.

With this scholarly volume M. Marec presumably concludes the excavations of Hippo Regius, undertaken in 1924 and since carried forward under the Service des Antiquités de l'Algérie. The book thus marks the end of a program of thirty-odd years, during which the author has uncovered the remains of one of the most famous cities of early Christianityits forum, marketplace, theater, two great baths, many blocks of private houses and a range of seaside villasall combining to form a vivid picture of the renowned episcopal seat of Saint Augustine. He now presents the specifically Christian structures, particularly a great three-aisled basilica which, on fairly plausible grounds, he identifies as the cathedral of the Saint despite the fact that it gives scant evidence of the pristine grandeur one would gladly associate with this towering Father of the Church.

The basilica, one of the largest in North Africa, seems to have been inserted almost casually in the

heart of a "Christian insula," engulfing in its nave a much smaller and more primitive church which had a rectangular sanctuary and itself occupied the site of a still earlier private house. Since dating depends on stylistic evaluation of mosaic pavements, and those of the basilica are placed ca. 350, the primitive church was perhaps built before the persecution of 303 and may well be the earliest in Africa. The basilica was entered from the east and obviously had no atrium or narthex; its nave of eleven bays was delimited by pier arcades, the apse and half-dome were fronted by a low wooden bema and no galleries existed over the aisles. Opening from the north flank at an irregular angle was the narrow apsidal Chapelle du Consignatorium, and attached to this was a baptistery also of very irregular plan. The east-to-west orientation, the anomalous angles of the various dependencies and the confused assemblage of surrounding courts and rooms, which comprise a problematical five-aisled basilica and an interesting triconch hall, are proof enough that the entire ecclesiastical complex was little more than a makeshift which gradually adapted and absorbed adjacent houses and workshops.

Throughout this architectural hodge-podge the floor mosaics are by far the most important remains, although many were cut and broken for the insertion of tombs, a practice perhaps initiated for the burial of Augustine himself in 430. His repose, however, was broken in 496 when the bishops exiled by Thrasamund secretly translated his relics to Sardinia. It is therefore impossible to identify his original restingplace, although many other tombs are marked not only by mosaic inscriptions but also by Christian symbols, such as the Chrismon, Cross, and Alpha and Omega, enframed in amazingly rich carpets of ornament. Throughout the "Christian insula" the ornament, indeed, attains a sumptuous variety of motifs and a wealth of color elsewhere rarely equalled. Only the badly damaged Mosaic of the Muses and that of the Amours Vendangeurs show figure subjects, the former reminiscent of like works at Antioch, the latter a provincial reflection of the vault mosaics of Sta. Costanza.

EMERSON H. SWIFT

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DIE KUNST DER RÖMERZEIT IN GALLIEN, GERMANIEN UND BRITANNIEN, by *Helmut Schoppa* and *Helga Schmidt-Glassner*. Deutscher Kunstverlag, Munich, 1958.

With such a wealth of choice as is to be had among the monuments of Gaul a book like this attractive picture-book becomes a personal thing and it has obviously been compiled with pleasure as well as care. It is designed for a wider public than archaeologists, but many specialists will be glad to have such excellent large-size photographs of familiar, and less familiar, subjects. Miss Schmidt-Glassner found time to visit

Narbonne, Bordeaux and Toulouse, the Gallo-Roman treasures of which do not often get into the limelight, and to photograph gems like the fine head (no. 113), and the tombstone of the wife of Bassinus with her curiously styled coiffure, in the Bordeaux Museum. There are successful shots of the Gallic weapons and the naval trophies on the arch of Orange, and of the trophies on the arch of Carpentras, difficult subjects to photograph well, and it is pleasant to see the basin into which the aqueduct debouched at Nimes taken without the railings in front of it. The German examples are, naturally, outstandingly good, and include some of the notable painted plaster from the fourth century palace under the Cathedral at Trier. The one of the empress with her diadem and jewels shows the hundreds of pieces of plaster that had to be assembled by Dr. Kempf and his assistants to restore this ancient masterpiece. In Britain the authors did not get far beyond the British Museum and Bath, but they were fascinated by the Mildenhall treasure.

Mr. Schoppa has written a thoughtful and readable introduction, his theme being how the northern countries in the late first century B.C. stepped from prehistory into a partnership with the classical heritage. There are a few minor inaccuracies, such as confusing Scots with Caledonians; sometimes the captions indicate a certainty of identification which has not yet been reached; a view of the "temple of Diana" at Nimes (64) is rather misleadingly called a view of the interior of the Nymphaeum; no. 46 puzzles me—is it not the wolf and twins rather than the hind and Telephus, since a hand of a second child seems to show?

OLWEN BROGAN

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ROMAN AND NATIVE IN NORTH BRITAIN, I. A. Richmond ed. Pp. x + 174, pls. 8, maps and figs. 16.
Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, 1958. 18s.

This finely produced and modestly priced volume presents various aspects of the Roman occupation of North Britain, as viewed by five eminent British archaeologists. There are six sections:

1) Native Economies and the Roman Occupation of North Britain, by Stuart Piggott, Abercromby Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh. 2) Roman and Native, A.D. 80-122 (the advance northwards under Agricola and the first Roman domination of South Scotland), by John Clarke, Lecturer in Humanity in Glasgow University. 3) Roman and Native, A.D. 122-197 (the building of Hadrian's Wall across the North of England, ca. A.D. 122, and the pushing forward of the frontier, ca. A.D. 142, to the Antonine Wall on the Forth-Clyde isthmus), by John Gillam, Reader in Romano-British Archaeology in King's College, Newcastle. 4) The Severan Reorganisation (the rebuilding of Hadrian's Wall after its destruction at the end of the 2nd cen-

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tury A.D., with outpost forts to north of it), by Kenneth Steer, Secretary to the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scotland). 5) Roman and Native in the Fourth Century A.D. and After (another restoration of Hadrian's Wall, ca. A.D. 300, and its many vicissitudes before effective power in North Britain passed into the hands of native dynasties in South Scotland) by Ian Richmond, Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire at Oxford. 6) Ancient Geographical Sources for Britain north of Cheviot, also by Ian Richmond.

The wide scholarship and the human understanding of the five contributors enable the reader to see the Roman occupation through the eyes both of the Romans and of the natives. There is, for example, Professor Piggott's memorable sentence: "The Celtic cow-boys and shepherds, footloose and unpredictable, moving with their animals over rough pasture and moorland, could never adopt the Roman way of life in the manner of the settled farmers of the south." The magic of Mr. Clarke's word-pictures brings to life-often to pathetic and tragic life-the meaning of Roman occupation to conquered peoples. Mr. Gillam's skilful use of archaeological evidence vividly illustrates the fact that "the people on either side of the frontier were in different worlds." Dr. Steer follows the longrange patrolling of "exploratores" or scouts far into South Scotland. Professor Richmond traces the replacement of "exploratores" by "areani," native homesteaders in the pay of Rome, and the abolition of the "areani" when they cast in their lot with their kinsmen instead of with the Romans. So confused and uncertain had frontier loyalties become.

As Professor Richmond observes, in his editor's preface, "the interaction of Roman and native produced and consolidated a political and economic pattern which formed the background of the cultural pattern of Scotland in later ages. . . . So was created the shape of things to come."

ANNE S. ROBERTSON

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RECUEIL DES BRONZES DE BAVAI, by Germaine Faider-Feytmans (Gallia, sup. VIII) Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1957.

This excellent book exhibits daring, ambition and application beyond the accepted requirements for a catalogue of metalwork. It is nothing less than a catalogue of all bronze statuettes and utensils (more than three hundred) that have been excavated during the past two centuries at Bavai, chief city of the Nervii of northern Gaul. Only fifty-three remain in the local Dépôt de Fouilles while large numbers are in neighboring museums, chiefly at Brussels, Douai and Lille, and a few have travelled farther afield, notably the British Museum's Hercules that forms the cover design and the equally handsome Amazon lampstand in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-

en-Laye. The register of museums and collections that have benefited from Bavai excavations comprises more than eighty! Through all these repositories Mme. Faider-Feytmans has searched and also through inventories and records, published and unpublished, such as the works of Caylus, Bavai's second collector (the first was Charles-Alexandre de Croy et d'Aerschot, 1574-1624) and the illustrated manuscript of Abbé Augustin Carlier (1732-1818). The result of this almost superhuman labor is a repertory with full descriptions, all proveniences marked on a city plan, and illustrations from new, old and even broken negatives and from drawings or from a combination of these, and an historical introduction. That many objects have had to be listed as lost, stolen or destroyed is due to no fault of the author or of the local custodians but to the circumstance that besides the usual hazards of commercial traffic a truly incredible sequence of wars and occupations mar the history of this unfortunate area. These missing pieces offer a challenge to critics and this reviewer admits to being unable to locate a single one.

The work is thorough but non-committal. Full bibliography is listed for each piece but comparative bibliography is almost non-existent, being limited to references necessary for the recognition of certain fragmentary utilitarian objects. Circumstances of finding are recorded and they offer some external evidence for dating certain objects. There is no discussion of style or date, but the author promises further work on this subject, merely hinting at local workshops responsible for many of the better decorative bronzes and the common Mars and Mercury statuettes (the Mercurys are the largest group), at Gallic manufacture of certain statuettes in the Celtic tradition, and at importation from Italy of the best statuettes (the Hercules and the Amazon and a few more) and the famous folding tripod. The majority of objects are dated, rather generally, in the first or early second century (p. 17). Others are obviously later, and only a few appear earlier, though one might suppose an early date from the lost Jupiter, no. 4, and the strainer, no. 267. In contrast to this scarcity at Bavai of pre-Roman trade objects, one might mention certain other north European collections, notably the bronze vase collection at Nijmegen recently published by Den Boesterd.

The few post-Classical objects of some quality are isolated and a most valuable section deals with a small group of modern forgeries. The evidence for condemning these consists not merely of the usual flaws of style and iconography. Against them are the additional facts (not in themselves conclusive) that all were made within the limited period from 1813 to 1834 and that most of them are duplicates of known objects found in this area or elsewhere. Tabulation of analysis (spectographic, semi-quantitative) indicates an alloy of copper and zinc with very low tin content (1 to 4%). The lack of penetration of the patina is shown in microscopic slides of the structure of the metal.

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Two of these forgeries are nos. 320 and 321, statuettes of Diana. A statuette in the Walters Art Gallery (no. 54.971: Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery [1949] 99, no. 217, pl. 44) is mentioned as their prototype. It establishes the type and conceivably it served as a basis for the forgeries, though its source in Italy is against this supposition. It is not clear to me whether Madame Faider-Feytmans doubts it but I am convinced that it is genuine, having devoted some further study to it. The modeling is good, much sharper and clearer than that of the forgeries and the details include even the marking of the animal skin of the left shoe (the right foot, I now think, is largely restored). My previous description called the surface black with a brown deposit and only spotty red and green areas, but it should have been stressed that the brown, red and green might be called typically antique in their appearance, if such things can ever be judged at all. As a check on this judgment a spectographic, semi-quantitative analysis was made, with the following result, in line with ancient bronze generally and totally different from the Bavai forger's material: tin 8.0%; lead 3.0%; zinc 0.06%; antimony 0.09%; iron 0.3%; silver 0.025%; nickel 0.04%; copper, the remainder, about 88%.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE GREAT PALACE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS: Second Report, ed. by *David Talbot Rice* for the Walker Trust, University of St. Andrews. Pp. xxiv+204, figs. in text 45, plates 50, folding plates 6, frontispiece and 3 inserted plates in color. Edinburgh, The University Press, 1958. £5/5/-.

This is a report of the results of excavations and surveys made between 1951 and 1954 in the area below Sultan Ahmed in Constantinople, continuing the study of the same region in 1935-38 published in the First Report in 1947. There is also an important account of studies of the "House of Justinian" north of the Bucoleon Harbor. The work was supervised by D. Talbot Rice and J. B. Ward Perkins, who wrote most of the text; among other members of the staff, Spencer Corbett was the chief architect and wrote the account of the "House of Justinian." In an appendix is printed a review of the First Report by the late A. M. Schneider, originally written for, but never published in, *Antiquity*. The illustrations are lavish on every point, and of finest quality.

The volume must be read with close reference to the First Report. In the first place, only so will the reader get a clear idea of the environment of the site, and the nature of the building being examined. (Unfortunately, neither report has a map or plan showing the position of the buildings explored in the Byzantine or modern topography of the city.) Furthermore, much of the new material supplements the

earlier discoveries and there are many corrections or changes of view as to the explanation of various phenomena.

The complex as it is now understood consisted of the great Peristyle which was investigated in the earlier campaigns, and an Apsed Hall to the southeast. The Peristyle had gone through several periods, in one of which the colonnaded passage was paved with the mosaics which constitute perhaps the greatest result of the exploration. Before the peristyle a paved marble way had crossed the site approximately in its northwest-southeast axis, leading to the predecessor of the Apsed Hall. The Hall itself was discovered for the first time in the investigation of 1952-54, lying between two massive foundations previously designated as Db and Dc by Mambury and Wiegand in their Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel (1934), and mistakenly identified in the First Report as churches, with the Pharos between.

Chapters I and II, by Rice, Perkins, and David Oates, describe the actual excavations of these areas in meticulous detail. Contrasted to the simplicity of the major lines of the structures involved, architecturally and in terms of relative chronology, the difficulties of excavation and description are many and formidable but the investigators have performed their task with a system and perseverance that achieves as much clarity as might be expected and inspires confidence. Most of what they have to say concerns the sub-foundations of the structures, since little was preserved above floor levels; the most important contribution of these chapters is the picture they give of the variety of ad hoc devices of walling and vaulting for the various requirements of terrain and superstructure that are not always clearly understood. One great hope of the investigation-to recover solid evidence for the date of the mosaic floors—was disappointed, though some unfinished capitals in the debris below the mosaics, for which dates between 500 and 600 have been suggested, at least go far to suggest a date for the mosaics later than that suggested in the First Report. In the excavation southeast of the peristyle the plan of the Apsed Hall separated from its antechamber by a triple arch was clearly established, and the complicated vaulted substructures, quite well preserved, were extensively examined. The Apsed Hall apparently went with the mosaic Peristyle; the traces of its predecessor to which the Paved Way led give no clear idea of its form.

Chapter III is a study by J. B. Ward Perkins of the structure and building methods of early Byzantine architecture. Starting from the many bits of masonry excavated, of which the relative chronology at least is often clear, he analyzes the occurrences and character of dressed stone work, brick-work, mortared rubble, arches and vaulting, timber, and clamps and dowels. He then describes examples of masonry elsewhere in Constantinople and on the basis of this (together with an appendix listing examples from a

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dozen other sites in the near east), presents an account of early Byzantine concrete and brick work, going back to the techniques of Republican Rome and the early middle east. Finally there is an analysis of the factors in the history of Byzantine developments themselves. Altogether this is an extremely impressive and valuable study; its contributions can hardly be summarized briefly, but apart from the purely archaeological value of the data assembled and the inferences, one is impressed by the argument that early Byzantine builders were drawn into erecting structures with forms developed from the inspiration of Roman concrete vaulting, by means of materials and techniques in use at the particular locale: in Constantinople particularly a type of brick masonry including pitched vaults learned from the east.

Chapters IV and V are brief notes on the brick stamps and pottery found, by D. T. Rice. The account of the pottery in the First Report is much more extensive and important. One wonders whether some attention to C. H. Morgan's "Byzantine Pottery" (Corinth XI [1942]) might not have been appropriate in one of the reports. The captions on figures 22 and 23 may be misleading: "from well below south-west portico" means "from a late well penetrating below the level of the floor of the southwest portico."

Chapter VI, on the mosaics, will no doubt have the greatest general interest. One large new section of the main floor of the northeast portico toward the eastern corner was cleared, and some bits of border. The lower register depicts, among other things, a hunter, two boys on a camel, and a building below which issue two streams of water; above is a fountain, a hunter, and a bear devouring a lamb; above this two men hoeing, some trees, a man being kicked off his mule. In one of the sections of border is a running series of scrolls framing various motifs including animals and, most important, a magnificent male head. All the illustrations are exceptionally good, and the color plates are superb-much better, even, than in the First Report. One might note here that the illustrations in the Skira Byzantine Art of figures published in the First Report also appear to be better than the color plates of the First Report. There is a full analysis of all these motifs and the technique, and a lengthy consideration of the dating, with the conclusion that on the basis of internal evidence they belong between 450 and 550. If there be criticism of this treatment the most fundamental would be that it fails to take full account, though it recognizes, the implication of the secular character of the motifs. The fact of the style, so emphatically "classic" in its "humanism," should be a clue to the character of the values of the Byzantine court at whatever time the mosaics were laid; at least until more is known about these matters the aesthetic style of the mosaics cannot be a good clue to the date itself.

The problem of identification is discussed briefly by Rice and Perkins in Chapter VII, and they quite

wisely stop short of firm statements. They seem to be confident that Marcian was responsible for some of the construction, but whether for the earlier period (the Paved Way) or the later (the Peristyle Court and Apsed Hall) they make no commitment. If the former, the possibilities for the builder of the Peristyle Court and its mosaics may include even Justin II. In all this discussion of identification and chronology one wonders whether our archaeological and historical information about what must have been an extremely intricate history of a vast and complex building is anywhere nearly enough to allow us to use it in the problems of what, after all, were only two elements of the whole. Indeed, one wonders why Schneider's suggestion in his review of the First Report, that the buildings belonged not to the Imperial palace itself but to some private palace, is ignored in this Report. (See also G. Downey's review of the First Report: AJA 53 [1949] 81-83.)

Finally, the chapter on the "House of Justinian" by Corbett is an extremely welcome contribution. He traces the history of the succession of buildings at the harbor—the original sea wall, a quai, stairs, covered landing, observation terrace later replaced by covered arcade—all this giving a glimpse of the visible part of Byzantine palace architecture running from the fourth through the ninth century, that is all too rare.

ROBERT SCRANTON

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EARLY CHRISTIAN IRELAND, by Máire and Liam de Paor. (Ancient Peoples and Places, VIII.) Pp. 264, pls. 76, figs. 36. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1958. \$5.00.

This is an admirable book. It is a well-written, excellently illustrated description of life in Ireland between the fifth and twelfth centuries, useful to the student; it is at the same time a book which will seize and hold the attention of the non-specialist. The arrangement is broadly chronological, beginning with a chapter on Roman contacts, moving on to the period dominated by the great monastic foundations, with chapters on society and art. Then comes the Viking Age, and the story concludes with the modifications brought about by alien influences in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Mr. and Mrs. de Paor, who are both professional archaeologists, approach their subject primarily through the material evidence, a method which has its special advantages and drawbacks. An illuminating paragraph (p. 19) indicates how the physical features of the island explain both the cultural unity of the country and its political fragmentation. The native economy, with its isolated homesteads, was ill adapted to a diocesan system of church government; instead the monastic family was evolved (50-51). In a book of this size and approach we should not look for

answers to questions which can only be answered, if at all, from the literary sources. The reader is inevitably left with the old problems of Irish history still unanswered: wondering, for instance, precisely what the word "monk," which we use so freely, had come to mean by the ninth century, or asking what exactly were the powers and privileges of the provincial kings.

There are precise and vivid descriptions here of monastic and lay settlements. We not only see the monastic architecture and treasures, we see people at play with their pets and gaming boards, people at work with tools and equipment, people cooking with their ovens, troughs and pottery. This chapter on the "Life of the People" is one of the most fascinating in the book.

The weapons of the Viking Age, the metalwork and sculptured crosses are similarly well portrayed; but the chief political preoccupation of the ninth and tenth centuries, the maintenance and extension of overlordship by the great Irish kings, necessarily receives very scanty treatment. It may be that the emphasis on the struggle between the Gael and the Gall during this period has brought Irish history out of focus. Were the Viking raids so generally and permanently disruptive of monastic life as has sometimes been supposed? Ought we to "suggest that the religious life of the monasteries . . . must have become impossible in the ninth century" (142)—that century which, after all, produced several of the extant Irish monastic rules, besides other ecclesiastical texts? Brian Boru should surely be regarded not only, not even primarily, as the champion of Ireland against the Norse (cf. p. 160) but as an Irish overlord in the tradition of Felim and Mael Sechnaill I and Cormac, a king whose nearest foreign parallel is not Charlemagne but Athelstan, who also, on occasion, called himself imperator. Brian, consolidating his powers as he advanced through Ireland by the building of fortifications, was a more effective overlord than his predecessors had been. But it was the separatist tradition of Ireland, as much as the Foreigners, which defeated him. Leinster, for whose allegiance the kings of the Uí Néill and of Munster had for centuries contended, played an important part in the events leading to the battle of Clontarf and to Brian's defeat and death; and it was a king of Leinster who, at war with his fellows, invited in the Anglo-Normans, so opening up a new era in Irish history.

KATHLEEN HUGHES

NEWNHAM COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

TREND AND TRADITION IN THE PREHISTORY OF THE EASTERN UNITED STATES, by Joseph R. Caldwell. Pp. xiv + 88, figs. 13. Memoir No. 88, American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis., 1958, \$1.50. (Also issued as Scientific Papers, Volume X, Illinois State Museum, Springfield.)

This publication is "a modified version of a doctoral dissertation" submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and is best understood in that light. It reflects current interest of anthropologists "concerning common factors in the development of civilizations" and raises the important question as to whether "there are significant developmental differences between what we are calling nuclear civilizations and non-nuclear cultures."

Caldwell presents his interpretation of prehistoric cultural developments in the Eastern United States over 10,000 years, primarily from the point of view of his own specialized knowledge of the Georgia area. It is perhaps unjust to expect anyone adequately to present a complete documentation of his approach in some 80 pages of text and drawings. The presentation is thus sketchy, schematic and provocative. It is doubtful if any interpretation presented will be acceptable on the basis of the evidence published in this paper. There are no significantly new concepts or theories presented in this interpretation although there are new terminologies, emphases and cultural alignments.

The three major trends of Eastern United States prehistory are presented as the development of "primary forest efficiency" from about 8000 B.c. to 2000 B.c.; the development of regional traditions from 1500 B.c. to A.D. 500; and finally, an increasing modification of the resident eastern cultures by concepts and practices of Meso-American origin.

The first substantive chapter is devoted to "The Establishment of Primary Forest Efficiency." It discusses "The Old Quartz Industry" of Georgia as a possible Early Archaic Complex; the hunting-gathering cycle of some southeastern coastal tribes; the development of the forest hunting pattern; the specialized shellfish economies; the appearance of earthenware in the southeast and the Archaic diffusion sphere. I am in complete accord with Caldwell in his suggestion that during 6000 years the Archaic cultures reflect increasing stability, and develop or acquire many new tools and techniques. The only explanation of this phenomenon, however, which I was able to find in this paper "is that the development of the shouldered javelin point promoted greater hunting efficiency." There is no development of the mechanisms by which "primary forest efficiency" was achieved and no adequate documentation of the results which this efficiency produced.

The second substantive chapter is on the rise of regional traditions. It occupies half of the text and discusses what Caldwell terms "The Middle Eastern Tradition," "The Northern Tradition," "The Southern Appalachian Tradition," and "The Gulf Tradition." Tradition is "a special term for whole cultural continuities." It may be said that "any culturally transmitted pattern of action seen through time is a tradition, with or without an archaeologically preserved product, or it may be action with no material

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precrial product at all." The reviewer feels that a substantial part of the recognition, differentiation and validity of these separate traditions as listed must rest on "patterns of action" which are not recoverable from archaeological evidence! What Caldwell has actually done, however, is to say that we can recognize four major culture centers persisting for considerable time periods by four different methods of surfacing pottery. The "northern tradition" is identified with cordmarked pottery, the Middle Eastern with fabric impressed pottery, the Southern Appalachian with stamped pottery and the Gulf tradition with the plain surfaced pottery of the southeast. This recognition of the importance of ceramics in the study of prehistoric peoples goes somewhat beyond desirable limits. In any event, the evidence on which these traditions are recognized as cultural wholes, significantly separated from each other at one time period, and showing distinctive cultural continuity through time, is not

The Northern tradition is essentially what has been called for years Woodland, or more correctly, northern Woodland, and which reached an early culmination in the Adena-Hopewellian area centers. The Middle Eastern tradition is said to be associated with broadleaf forests in the area south of the Prairie Peninsula in Illinois to the Fall line of the southeast. Caldwell emphasizes the dependence upon nuts of Middle Eastern people for their food supply. This is demonstrated, however, only from one site, which he dug in north Georgia. Both the Middle Eastern and South Appalachian traditions are viewed as developing from regionally distinct Archaic cultures stimulated by increments, chiefly ceramic, from the Northern tradition. This direction of cultural flow is emphasized by the gradual decline of the Middle Eastern tradition as the dominant Northern tradition expanded. These two early ceramic surface finishes in the south might better be regarded as regional specializations of the Woodland pottery of the east, which were derived and stimulated from the north, and are hence sub-units of the Early Woodland pottery. The early Gulf tradition is clearly derived from two external sources and grafted on resident Archaic groups. The Northern tradition spread easily down the Mississippi Valley and thence eastward along the coastal plain. This spread occurs subsequent to the intrusion of the South Appalachian tradition into northern Florida. These two blended to produce early Gulf.

One of the difficulties in using the tradition concept as an interpretive device is that it so emphasizes the observed continuities in a geographical area, that its practitioners tend to ignore the significant temporal changes, which can realign and reorient the basic features of the prehistoric life of the several areas. It is possible that this is the case in some current interpretations in the Southeast. The present concept of the Gulf tradition overemphasizes the continuities, in what has aptly been called a coastal diffusion area,

as indicating the maintenance of a cultural adaptation and orientation through 2000 years of time. It may be doubted, however, that the prehistoric Caddoan cultures of A.D. 1400 should be closely linked with Tchefuncte and Santa Rosa-Swift Creek as a cultural continuum which is more important than the cultural traits which link Caddoan to Middle Mississippi. It may also be doubted that the Marksville culture of A.D. 200-400 should be regarded as forming a cultural ancestor to Fort Walton that is more important to Fort Walton than is the latter's connection to the Mississippi complexes in the neighborhood of Montgomery, Alabama.

This is the same kind of a classificatory trap which allows Southwestern archaeologists to regard the Mimbres phase as "Mogollon" culture and contemporary and similar complexes in west-central New Mexico as "Anasazi" culture. Such emphasis on regional developments tend to override the basic similarities of the Puebloan adaptation which strongly link Mimbres to some contemporary Anasazi units.

Caldwell recognizes that there are few indications of Middle American cultural elements prior to the Mississippi cultures. He adopts the view that the Gulf tradition is derived from the Circum-Caribbean culture type but does not recognize that this is in conflict with the data which he has presented on the origins of the Gulf tradition. Archaeologically, the Circum-Caribbean culture type as defined by Steward, is not applicable to the Gulf Coast area, and the archaeological complex given the term Circum-Caribbean by Rouse, does not appear in Florida to Louisiana. There is no Circum-Caribbean culture by anyone's definition in eastern Mexico. The middle to late "Gulf tradition" sites can most correctly be viewed as stimulated by developing Mississippi pattern concepts to the west and north. No other explanation fits the archaeological data. Caldwell has attempted to utilize proposed priorities for certain cultural elements in "Gulf tradition" sites, but none of these are certainly dated and most of them are attributable to misinterpretations.

The viewpoint is adopted in this paper that the spread of Mississippi culture was by movement of people. While this is true in some cases it is not the only explanation and does not recognize the fact that, to date, no archaeologist knows where the Mississippi culture first developed. Caldwell has also adopted a recent limitation of the term Mississippi culture to essentially the concept developed by W. H. Holmes in about 1890. The concept of the Mississippi pattern as a fundamental reorientation of economic, social and religious life has been a valuable concept for the past 25 years. The attempt to jettison it is not an advance.

One of the important conclusions offered by Caldwell is of the inadequacy and inapplicability of the stage classification of Willey and Phillips to the prehistory of the Eastern United States. With this I am in complete agreement.

There are many more interpretive positions adopted by Caldwell which might be questioned and I know that others will do so. It is the reviewer's opinion that a more valuable thesis would have resulted from a more limited application of his interpretive devices to the material and region with which he was thoroughly familiar. The difficulty here was not with Caldwell alone.

JAMES B. GRIFFIN

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Digging into History, by *Paul S. Martin*. Chicago Natural History Museum, Popular Series, Anthropology, No. 38. Pp. 157, numerous plates and figures. Chicago, 1959.

Digging into History is a popular account of the excavations by Martin and associates in the Pine Lawn Valley, New Mexico, and neighboring areas. It is this and more. A very good account for the layman, it also offers a distillation of Martin's reflections on the social implications of the archaeological data gathered through fifteen years of digging. It is a thoughtful postscript to a long series of technical

The contents fall easily into two general parts. The first contains background information; the hows and whys of archaeology, and the time and space framework of Southwestern Archaeology. Martin's prologue presents the background for the American Indian cultures. Migration of Asiatics to America is followed by Southwestern and Mexican occurrences of the Paleo-Indian big game hunters. The Desert Culture basis of the Cochise sequence, and the importance of its gathering economy in the transition to the agriculture of the Cochise-derived Mogollon Culture are portrayed.

Brief sketches delineate the discovery and characteristics of the Anasazi, Hohokam, Mogollon, and Patayan culture groups. These sub-cultures of the Southwestern Co-tradition differ in details, but all are related through derivation from the Desert Culture base and through a continuing interchange of ideas.

How ruins are found and chosen for excavation, digging and processing materials, assembly and interpretation of the data, comprise another background chapter. Martin also discusses briefly the Mogollon homeland and its resources, the relation of language to culture, and the causes of culture change. Another chapter presents the temporal framework found in Pine Lawn Valley, and the methods used in dating its sites. Sources of some Mogollon culture traits are suggested, with a brief comment on their long unbroken history.

In the second and larger part of the book, Martin paints, in broad strokes, pictures of the Mogollon people and culture. There is little technical detail, yet one emerges with a good idea of how these people

lived, how they met their day-to-day problems, made their houses and tools, farmed and hunted, carried on their ceremonies, and something of the probable nature of their ideas and concepts.

In "The Time of Limited Wandering," Martin describes the hunting-gathering-seasonal wandering culture of the preceramic Cochise. "Emergence of Small Sedentary Communities" tells of corn and the revolution it precipitated, pit houses and villages, pottery and other minor handicrafts, and the ceremonialism of the people. "Beginning of Town Life" takes up the development of many-roomed pueblos, the increasingly complex artistic development, as well as community life, great kivas and plazas, calendar, and rituals. "Summary and Conclusions" reviews the Pine Lawn history and abandonment, and discusses some factors that limited development.

A final chapter stresses the importance and relation of archaeology to our own culture, and suggests some of the uses to which the data derived therefrom may be put. Bibliography and Index complete the book,

There are points that one could argue with Martin, e.g., that men wove the baskets (p. 68), but these are minor. The book is well written, well printed, and tastefully illustrated. It should be on the professional's bookshelf as well as on the amateur's.

JOE BEN WHEAT

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Pecos, New Mexico: Archaeological Notes, by Alfred Vincent Kidder. Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, volume five. Pp. xx + 360, figs. 72, tables 8. Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. 1958.

Almost certainly the most comprehensive program yet completed in North American archaeology has been that of the Pecos Expedition, initiated by the Robert S. Peabody Foundation in 1915. For ten seasons Dr. Alfred V. Kidder carried forward excavations that set a standard for the archaeological profession on this continent, and which have resulted in the publication of eight monographs and fourteen shorter papers by various authors. Now the final volume in this sequence has appeared, but it must be read in the light of its relationship to those that have come before. The penumbra of Pecos stretches far across the mesas and valleys of the Southwest, and for two generations has provided a welcome shade for hundreds of burrowing archaeologists there. The practice of the profession will never be the same again, thanks to the labors, the wisdom, and the devotion of Dr. Kidder and his colleagues.

When the first spade was struck at Pecos, archaeology in the Southwest was emerging from adolescence. Although Nelson, shortly before, had for the first time in the New World used systematic stratigraphy, Kidder applied it at Pecos far more effectively

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through his opportunities at a large site having great depth. Pecos was a Pueblo village in north-central New Mexico, originally built about A.D. 1300 as the culmination of a local cultural development of considerable duration. It survived the vicissitudes of Spanish, American, and nomadic Indian pressures until its abandonment in 1838. In the early 17th century a Franciscan mission was erected there. On the surface lay sherds of many of the types then recognized from the northern Southwest. The site thus provided an ideal source of data for the history of the Upper Rio Grande from late prehistoric to modern times.

Dr. Kidder was a young man in 1915 with previous experience elsewhere in the Southwest, but he and Pecos grew up together. He was fortunate (and so were they) in having with him certain fellow diggers, then little known: Amsden, Wauchope, Vaillant, Lothrop, Guthe, to name some of them. That they worked as a brilliant and devoted team is evidenced by the publications that have come from their pens, embracing many of the most complete and competent reports in Southwestern literature. The two great volumes on pottery by Kidder, Amsden, and Shepard; Kidder's The Artifacts of Pecos; Hooton's report on the skeletal material; Parson's ethnography of Jemez; Guthe's study of San Ildefonso potterymaking; and Kidder's classic Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology, stand as permanent monuments in the bibliography of the Southwest.

But excavation and publication were not all that Pecos produced. In 1927, at Dr. Kidder's invitation, about 25 active field workers met there and agreed upon a framework for Puebloan chronology that still serves admirably. The "Pecos classification" bends with the wind but does not break.

Dr. Kidder's defection to the Maya country in 1929 might have been tragic for the Southwest but for the steadfastness of his early loyalties, and it is fitting that he has been able to complete the reporting upon Pecos—the only large excavation in the Southwest that has ever been so fully documented.

The present volume purports to comprise "Notes"an achievement in understatement. It contains full architectural reports on three ruins near Pecos and on the several structures of Pecos itself. These are excellent though relatively condensed, and the data are clearly ordered, described, and illustrated. A major concern of the book is centered upon the kivas, over thirty in all. Each is separately treated with the author's usual directness and lucidity. At Forked Lightning ruin were excavated two circular subsurface kivas and six rectangular and "corner" kivas, above ground. These all antedate the kivas at Pecos, whither their builders migrated about 1300. At Pecos were excavated 17 circular kivas, all subterranean, built during the centuries from Pueblo III to historic times, and 4 rectangular kivas, all above ground, built after 1600. The circular kivas were generally "standard" in major features. A valuable summary is appended of all that

is known of modern Rio Grande kivas, followed by a discussion of the place of the kiva in Pueblo cosmology and community life, and its successful struggle for survival in the face of missionary opposition.

A section on mortuary practices derived from about 2,000 burials indicates that most were flexed in oval pits, with limited amounts of pottery and other artifacts. Burials under the nave of the church were extended.

One of the most absorbing sections of the book is that dealing with the domestic arrangements in the great Quadrangle, in which Dr. Kidder sets a model for this kind of writing. The building itself, 420 feet long and containing over 600 rooms, enclosed a rectangular plaza, and was terraced to three or perhaps four stories, covered portales running unbroken in front of the living rooms. The ingenious feature lay in the construction of transverse partitions dividing the structure into uniform "apartments," each composed of three rooms in the basement, two on the second story, and one on the third. The entire building had been built as a unit about A.D. 1450 on the remains of an older pueblo, as a new departure in "settlement pattern." On the basis of this and other evidence Dr. Kidder permits himself some astute speculations upon the social structure and even the personal psychology of the inhabitants-a hazardous procedure but done in this case with convincing argu-

But excellent as are the formal parts of this report, its greater value lies in the author's insights, speculations, and what might be called his humanism. This book is no mere compendium of data. From all its pages there speaks the vital spirit of the ancients, given tongue by the sympathetic and sensitive insight of the author. Rarely in archaeological writing do the people of the past come convincingly to life, and perhaps as rarely do archaeologists show themselves inspired architects of culture history. Dr. Kidder prays pardon for what he considers a ceramic skeleton in his closet, which he calls the "pot-sided" approach. But in his final "Discussion" he expiates this sin (if it ever was one) by one of the best ethno-archaeological syntheses ever written. He considers comprehensively and without dogmatism the whole story of Pecos, not only from its material remains but in the light of its known history and of Pueblo culture in general. He feels that its decline cannot be explained in terms of Apache or even Comanche inroads, for he considers that major cultural changes are too complex to be resolved by single causes, and he evokes a picture of "symbiotic" relationships between villagers and nomads that deteriorated into hostility perhaps only in periods of food shortage caused by drought.

In this connection he discusses similar puzzles of Pueblo withdrawals from the San Juan and La Junta areas. He weighs the evidence for internal tensions in Pueblo society as a whole, drawing upon the writings of Bennett, Parsons, Thompson, Titiev, and Goldfrank, emphasizing the existence of covert anxiety, ambition, social coercion, and absence of "democracy," and finally analyzes the features in which Pecos differed from Jemez, Taos, and Picuris, which were like it in nothing but language.

It is indeed a strait and narrow way between "scientific fact" from the dead earth and imaginative inference from the stratosphere of intuition and analogy, and most of us tread it at our peril. But our

betters may dare to enter upon it without danger, and among those happy few goes Dr. Kidder. The present volume is a testament to his abiding faith in his ideals, his profession and his stars. It is the fulfillment of a great achievement, and it is an inspiration to us all.

WATSON SMITH

PEABODY MUSEUM WEST OF THE PECOS, TUCSON, ARIZONA



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Fig. 10. Malibu (Calif.), J. Paul Getty Museum: Lansdowne Herakles



Fig. 5



F16. 4

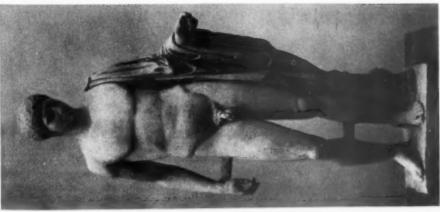


Fig. 3. New York, Metropolitan Museum: Polyclitan Hermes from Lansdowne House



Fig. 11. Nostell Priory: statue of a nymph of Artemis



Fig. 14. Formerly Margam Park: statue of the drunken Herakles



Fig. 6. London, the late A. P. Oppé: dancing maenad



Fig. 8. London, Soane Museum: Greek frieze fragment, running woman



Fig. 2. London, Wellcome Museum: Pheidian Nike



Fig. 9. London, Soane Museum small statue of Asklepios

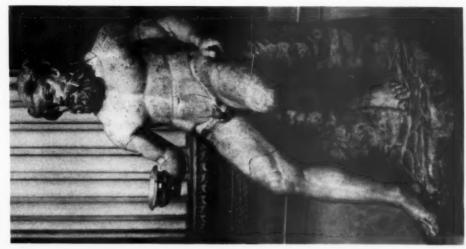


Fig. 18. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery: Silenus

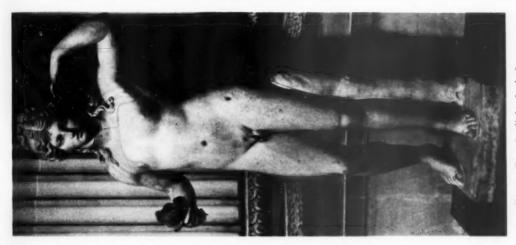


Fig. 17. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery: hermaphrodite



Fig. 16. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery: fountain nymph

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Fig. 30. Northwick Park: fragment of statue of Hadrian



Fig. 13. Northwick Park: head of Pan, Praxitelean type

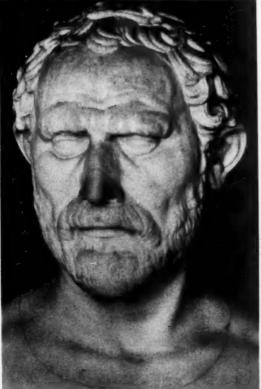


Fig. 21. Northwick Park: head of Demosthenes from Shobden

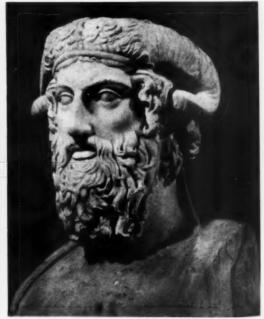


Fig. 7. London, Kenwood: herm bust of Zeus Ammon



Fig. 20. York, City Art Gallery: Silenus reclining



Fig. 31. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery: statue of Antinous



Fig. 26. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery: archaistic Kore



Fig. 19. Nostell Priory: statue of Silenus



Fig. 27. York, City Art Gallery: archaistic Kore



Fig. 39. London, Soane Museum: relief fragment, Paris or an eastern barbarian



Fig. 12. London, Soane Museum: torso of an apoxyomenos



Fig. 15. Stratfield Saye House: Eros, from Apsley House



Fig. 33. Stratfield Saye House: porphyry head of Julia Domna



Fig. 32. Stratfield Saye House: porphyry head of Faustina II



Fig. 29. London, Soane Museum: bust of Augustus



Fig. 34. London, Soane Museum: archaistic head from relief in the Forum of Trajan



Fig. 28. Stratfield Saye House: head of Roman of the late Republic



Fig. 1. Manchester Museum: Assyrian relief, of Ashur-nasir-pal

Fig. 22. London, All Hallows Church, Barking: grave relief of Demetrios and Heraklia

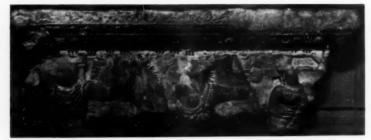


Fig. 35. Manchester, City Art Galleries: fragment of Attic Amazon sarcophagus



Fig. 24. Manchester Museum: detail of Etruscan alabaster urn



Fig. 25. New York, Metropolitan Museum: Etruscan urn from Lowther Castle



Fig. 36. Woburn Abbey: sarcophagus fragment, childhood of Dionysos



Fig. 37. Syon Lodge: season sarcophagus



Fig. 38. Detail of portrait medallion



Fig. 41. Reading: Attic red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape from Margam Park



Fig. 42. Reading: Attic red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape from Margam Park



Fig. 40. Oxford, Pusey House: early Christian sarcophagus panel



Fig. 1. Vienna, Hofmuseum 193 (Von Lücken, Greek Vase-Painting pl. 61)



Fig. 4. Mykonos (from Dugas, Délos XVII, pl. 62, 145)



Fig. 3. Louvre S 1679 (from CVA 6, pl. 8, fig. 1)



Fig. 2. New York, MMA 41.11.1 (BMMA 36, p. 188, fig. 1)

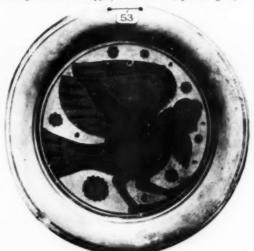


Fig. 5. Louvre CA 1629



Fig. 6. Berlin inv. 3934



Fig. 7. British Museum 95.10.27.1 (courtesy Trustees of British Museum)



Fig. 9. Corinth CP 516









Fig. 10. Corinth CP 2439-2442



Fig. 8. British Museum 95.10.27.1 (courtesy Trustees of British Museum)



Fig. 11. Palermo



Fig. 12. Munich S.H. 346 A (Sieveking and Hackl, fig. 46)



Fig. 13. Copenhagen, NM inv. 1630



Fig. 15. New York, MMA 06.1021.26 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906)



Fig. 17. Corinth CP 2438



Fig. 14. Copenhagen, NM inv. 1631



Fig. 16. New York, MMA 06.1021.26 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906)



Fig. 18





Fig. 20b



Fig. 19



Fig. 200



Fig. 20d

Fics. 18-20. Hermitage inv. 5551



FIG. 21



Fig. 22



F1G. 23a



Fig. 23b



Fig. 23c



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Fig. 26. British Museum 64.10.7.20 (courtesy Trustees of British Museum



Fig. 31



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



F16. 32



Fig. 33



F1G. 27. Corinth CP 2364

Figs. 31-33. Berlin F 1089



fuseum

P 2364

Fig. 2







Fig. 3



F16. 4



Fig. 5

Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

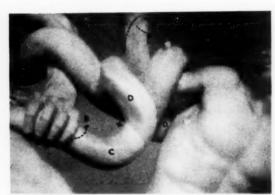


Fig. 9



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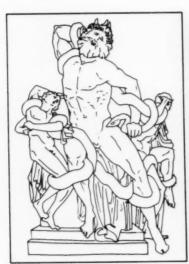


Fig. 11



Fig. 13



Fig. 12



Fig. 2a. Rome, Via Praenestina: marble sepulchral altar of librarian



Fig. 2. Rome, Oppian Hill: pavement of house of Republican period beneath church of San Pietro in Vincoli



Fig. 1. Rome: remains of walls of Republican Rome in zone of Porta Carmentalis



Fig. 3. Rome, Capitoline Museums: statue of bearded Dionysos, head and r. arm restored



Fig. 4. Nocera Superiore: remains of stretch of cryptoporticus extending along inner face of fortification wall; upper left, steps leading to rampart-walk





Fig. 6. Canosa: start of excavation of amphitheater

Fig. 5. Cannae: milestone of Via Traiana, doubtless brought from neighborhood of Canusium in Middle Ages



Fig. 8. Monte Sannace: partial view of Apulian settlement



Fig. 11. Apulian crater: Dionysos, maenad and satyr



Fig. 10. Apulian crater with mask-handles: scene of offerings at a grave



Fig. 9. Detail fig. 8: sarcophagus tombs accompanied by boxlike receptacles for funeral equipment

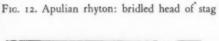




Fig. 7. Stretch of wall of Apulian settlement Figs. 7-12. Monte Sannace, near Gioia del Colle



Fig. 16. Taranto: Attic bf. cup attributed to Heidelberg Painter: banqueting scene

Fig. 14. Castiglione, near Conversano: cast of clay statuette,

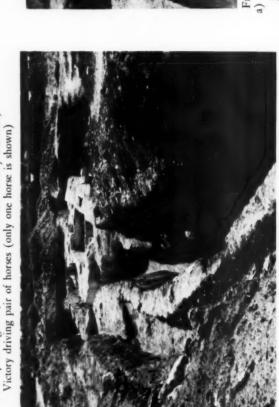


Fig. 15, Rudiae: water-channel leading to two basins



Fro. 17. Veii: British School's excavations near northwest gate 1958:

a) right: remains of fifth-century rampart wall; b) center: remains of rectangular house, mud-brick (?) on stone socle, destroyed by a);
c) center and left: post-holes and slots for rectangular timber-framed house, replaced by b); d) odd post-holes from earlier huts. The sentence is a scalar house in this century rampart

Fig. 15, Rudiae: water-channel leading to two basins



Fig. 13. Castiglione, near Conversano: Apulian bronze helmet

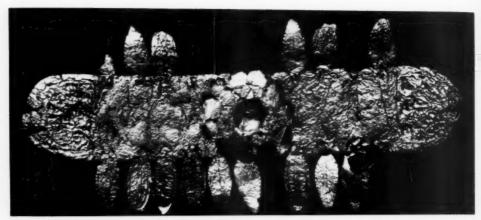


Fig. 21. Populonia: gold diadem



Fig. 23. Rusellae: Cyclopean wall of 6th century B.c.; beneath it, socle of mud-brick wall of 7th century



Fig. 24. Centuripe: subterranean gallery in the Contrado "Difesa"

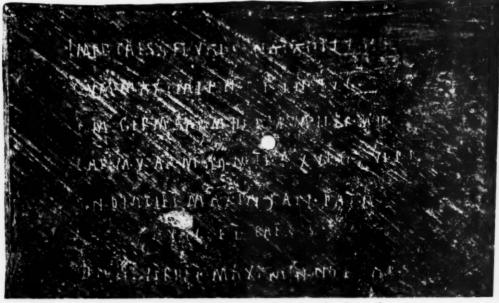


Fig. 22. Colle della Regina near Campagnatico, Prov. of Grosseto: one of two tablets of bronze military diploma

